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EDITED AND ANNOTATED BY REUBEN G. THWAITES CORRESPONDING
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CONTENTS AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

Page.

Alexander Mitchell, steel portrait Frontispiece

Officers of the Society for 1888 vii

Preface xi

Jean Nicolet, Interpreter and Voyageur in Canada—1618–1642. *Henri Jouan* 1

Bibliography of Jean Nicolet. *Consul Willshire Butterfield* 23

Important Western State Papers 26

Papers: *French Domination*—Saint Lusson's procès-verbal, June 14, 1671, 26; La Salle's procès-verbal, March 14, 1682, 29; La Salle's procès-verbal, April 9, 1682, 33; Perrot's minute of taking possession, May 8, 1689, 35. *English Domination*—Preliminary articles of peace, Nov. 3, 1762, 36; Definitive treaty of peace, Feb. 10, 1763, 39; Proclamation of King George, Oct. 7, 1763, 46; Quebec act, 53. *American Domination*—Provisional articles of peace, Nov. 30, 1782, 60; Definitive treaty of peace, Sept. 3, 1783, 60; Jay's treaty, Nov. 19, 1794, 61; Jefferson's plan for the government of the Western Territory, 1784, 61; Ordinance of 1787, 63.

Radisson and Groseilliers in Wisconsin 64

Papers: Third voyage of Radisson, 64; Fourth voyage, 71.

Papers from the Canadian Archives—1778–1783 97

Library of Congress

Papers: *Letters*—Lord Germain, 175; Gen. Frederick Haldimand, 138, 139, 160, 161, 181; Sir Guy Carleton, 174, 175, 177; Lieut. Gov. Patrick Sinclair, 141, 144, 147, 149, 151, 153, 154, 155, 157, 158, 163; Lieut. Gov. Henry Hamilton, 178; Maj. A. S. de Peyster, 97, 99, 111, 115, 117, 118, 121, 122, 124, 127, 129, 131, 133, 135; Lieut. Gov. Daniel Robertson, 165, 166, 171, 173; Lieut. Col. Mason Bolton, 130; Capt. D. Brehm, 149; Capt. John Mompesson, 162; Lieut. G. Clowes, 155; Charles Michel de Langlade, 164; Mrs. Langlade, 150; Gautier de Verville, 100, 126; George McBeath, 166, 171; Jean Baptiste Cadott, 170. *Passes*—From Gen. George Rogers Clark, to Indian chiefs, 113, 177. *Reports*—Relative to naval affairs on the upper lakes, 185–212.

iv

Thompson Maxwell's Narrative—1760–1763 213

Narrative of Andrew J. Vieau, Sr. *In an interview with the Editor* 218

Antoine Le Clair's Statement. *In an interview with Lyman C. Draper* 238

George P. Delaplaine's Statement. *In an interview with the Editor* 243

Prairie du Chien, in 1811. *Nicholas Boilvin* 247

Capture of Fort McKay, Prairie du Chien, in 1814. *Douglas Brymner* 254

Illustrative Documents: *Letters and Reports*—Col. R. McDouall, 260; Lieut. Col. William McKay, 256, 257, 263; Capt. Joseph Perkins, 256, 257; Capt. A. Bulger, 259.

Dickson and Grignon Papers—1812–1815 271

Papers: *Letters*—Col. Robert Dickson, 271, 272, 273, 276, 277, 278, 279, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 287, 288, 289, 292, 293, 294, 295, 297, 299, 300, 302, 303, 306, 307, 308, 309, 311; Capt. A. Bulger, 312, 318; Lieut. Louis Grignon, 974, 275, 283, 295, 303, 304, 305,

Library of Congress

307, 309, 310, 314, 315. *Fac-similes*—British paper money, in circulation in Wisconsin, 274, 275.

Letter-Book of Thomas Forsyth—1814–1818 816

Letters: Gov. Ninian Edwards, 316; Forsyth to Governor Edwards, 318, 320, 324, 325, 327, 329, 330, 341, 345; to Gov. William Clark, 342, 347; to Gen. Benjamin Howard, 326; to Rufus Eaton, 331; to Treaty Commissioners Clark, Edwards and Chouteau, 338; to Secretaries of War, 336, 338, 351, 352.

Prairie du Chien in 1827. *Joseph M. Street* 356

American Fur Company Invoices—1821–22. *The Editor* 370

Illustrative Documents: List of traders, from the Company's Book of Invoices, 371; Sample invoice, 377.

Sketch of Morgan L. Martin. *The Editor* 380

Narrative of Morgan L. Martin. *In an interview with the Editor.* 385

Illustration: Map of Lead Region (1829), 400.

Early Days in Jefferson County. *Elisha W. Keyes* 416

Alexander Mitchell, the Financier. *James D. Butler* 435

Illustration: Steel portrait of Mr. Mitchell (frontispiece).

v

The Boundaries of Wisconsin. *The Editor* 451

Library of Congress

Illustrations: *Maps*—Jefferson's plan for dividing the Western Territory (1784), 452; Division provided by the ordinance for the government of the Northwest Territory (1787), 453; first division of the Northwest Territory (May 7, 1800), 455; the Territory as divided by act of Feb. 19, 1803, 457; act of Jan. 11, 1805, 458; act of Feb. 3, 1809, 460; act of April 18, 1818, 461; Michigan Territory (1834), 463; Wisconsin Territory (1836), 464; Wisconsin Territory (1838), 466; Landmarks of boundary disputes in Wisconsin, 468.

Local Government in Wisconsin. *David E. Spencer* 502

INDEX 513

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PREFACE.

The tenth volume of the Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin closed the First Series. While, therefore, the present might properly have been styled Volume I. of the Second Series, it has been deemed best to continue the numbering in order to avoid confusion on the part of those having occasion to make citations. But while there has been

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no change in numbering, it will be seen that this inauguration of the Second Series has been observed by many changes in typographical style and make-up. It will be noticed, also, that the entire volume has been reserved for Collections, the Annual Proceedings being issued in pamphlet form as a separate publication. The recent rapid accumulation of materials for the making of Wisconsin history has rendered necessary the devotion of all available space to the purpose of their presentation, and such will hereafter be the editorial policy.

The contents of Volume XI. will be found to cover a wide field of interest, ranging through two and a half centuries of Wisconsin growth. M. Jouan's article on "Jean Nicolet" gives all available information relative to the lineage, early life and domestic relations of the first white discoverer of the Northwest. This contribution, reinforced by Mr. Butterfield's "Bibliography of Jean Nicolet," and papers in previous volumes of Collections, appears to exhaust the subject. Under the head of "Important Western State Papers" are given the principal documents promulgated by the French, English and Americans respectively, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, having reference to domination in the Northwest; most of these are found exceedingly difficult of access by the average historical student, but their republication in this form will at once remove the difficulty. The publication of selections from the third and fourth voyages xii of Radisson and Groseilliers, who visited the wilds of Wisconsin in the winter of 1658–59, is one of the striking features of the volume. These adventurers probably discovered the Mississippi river in the spring of 1659, fourteen years previous to the voyage of Juliet and Marquette, and the record of their remarkable experiences along the Fox-Wisconsin water-course, in the neighborhood of Chequamegon bay, and around the headwaters of the Chippewa river forms a novel and thrilling chapter in the story of Wisconsin. But the "Papers from the Canadian Archives" are even more noteworthy. Heretofore the history of the region now comprised in Wisconsin, during the Revolutionary War, has been clouded in mystery. But the discovery of the Haldimand Collection of letters and reports has thrown much light thereon. Copies of all of the Haldimand papers referring in any way to operations

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in Wisconsin or on the upper lakes during the War, are herewith reproduced, so that it is now possible for the first time to construct that missing chapter in our history. "Thompson Maxwell's Narrative" presents some interesting material on the Pontiac War, but it is chiefly notable for its presentation of the record of probably the first voyage ever made across Lake Superior under the British flag,—the event occurring in May, 1762. The "Narrative of Andrew J. Vieau, Sr.," gives for the first time the story of Jacques Vieau's trading post at Milwaukee, established in 1795, and also presents some fresh information as to Solomon Juneau and the early lake-shore fur trade, as well as interesting pictures of pioneer life in Milwaukee. This narrative is interestingly reinforced by the "Statements" of Antoine le Clair and George P. Delaplaine: the former giving an account of life on Milwaukee river at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and the latter of men and affairs in the Wisconsin metropolis from 1836 to 1838. In a letter to Secretary of War Eustis, Indian Agent Nicholas Boilvin gives a description of "Prairie du Chien in 1811;" while Indian Agent Joseph M. Street presents a similar view of life at "the Prairie" in 1827. The story of the capture of Prairie du Chien in 1814 has been previously told by Thomas G. Anderson and xiii others in these Collections. But in this volume, fresh detailed contemporaneous accounts are presented from different points of view—from that of the British leaders, Colonels McDouall, McKay and Dickson, Captain Bulger and Lieut. Louis Grignon; and that of the American Indian agent at Peoria, Thomas Forsyth. In these letters and reports, on both sides, the details of the expedition appear to have been at last adequately given. In the course of the "Dickson-Grignon Papers," much interesting side-light is thrown on early social life at Green Bay, the habits of the Wisconsin Indians and the methods of the fur trade. In the "Letter-Book of Thomas Forsyth" there are shown the methods adopted by the Americans to keep the Illinois Indians from fraternizing with the Wisconsin allies of the British. In the "American Fur Company Invoices," there are exhibited some of the methods and the extent of the Northwest fur trade in 1821–22. The "Narrative of Morgan L. Martin" touches Green Bay, Milwaukee and lake-shore history from 1827 to 1870, closing with an historical sketch of the Fox-Wisconsin river improvement. Colonel Keyes writes entertainingly of "Early Days in Jefferson County." Professor Butler relates the

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remarkable career of "Alexander Mitchell, the Financier." The article on "The Boundaries of Wisconsin" will be found replete with information relative to one phase of the history of our state not generally understood. Mr. Spencer closes the volume with an article on the history of "Local Government in Wisconsin," showing how the New York system of county organization came to be established in this state.

It is perhaps needless to add that, in the presentation of documentary material, care has been taken to reproduce the original with accuracy of detail, so far as the mechanical limitations of typography will allow.

Madison, Wis. , June 15, 1888.

JEAN NICOLET, INTERPRETER AND VOYAGEUR IN CANADA. 1618–1642.¹

¹ Previous to 1852, Jean Nicolet was unknown to history as the discoverer of the Northwest. In his *Discovery of the Mississippi*, published that year, John G. Shea identified the Men of the Sea, spoken of in the Jesuit *Relations*, as the Winnebagoes, or "Ouinipigou" of those days. In the *Relation* of 1640, Father Le Jeune outlines the extent of Nicolet's explorations; and Dr. Shea was enabled, because of this identification he had made, to point out in his volume the fact that Nicolet was beyond doubt the first white man to set foot within what are now the States of Michigan and Wisconsin. But Dr. Shea had not pushed his researches further than to be able to say that this remarkable tour into the unbroken wilderness of the Northwest was made "as early as 1639," afterwards placing it "in 1639." This conclusion was followed by Western historians until 1876, when Benjamin Suite, of Ottawa, in his *Mélanges d'Histoire et de Littérature* (Ottawa, 1876, pp. 426, 436), showed that Nicolet's tour must have been made in 1634–5; M. Sulte's "supposition" being that "Nicolet left Allumette's island about September, 1634, and went to Wisconsin." This supposition he amplified in a paper in *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, vol. viii., under date of August, 1877. In 1881, Consul Willshire Butterfield issued a monograph entitled *History of the Discovery of the Northwest by John Nicolet in 1634, with a Sketch of his Life*. In this

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valuable little work, Mr. Butterfield brought forth new facts and arguments, which fixed the date at 1634 beyond the region of doubt, and established an entirely new fact,—previously undiscovered by historians of the West,—that Nicolet did not discover the Wisconsin river, as had been previously assumed, but only journeyed up the Fox river as far as the village of the Mascoutins and then journeyed southward to the country of the Illinois.

At the editor's request, Mr. Butterfield has prepared a bibliography of the subject of Nicolet's career. With this bibliography, the present article by M. Jouan, Mr. Butterfield's monograph, and M. Sulte's article in Vol. viii, of these *Collections*,—with Dr. Draper's notes upon the last named,—the subject of Nicolet is practically exhausted, so far as the presentation of historical material is concerned.— Ed.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF HENRI JOUAN,² BY GRACE CLARK.

² Post captain (retired), at the port of Cherbourg, France. The original article appeared in *Revue Manchoise*, 1st quarter, 1886. — Ed.

For some time, considerable attention has been directed in France toward Canada, concerning which, as we must admit indeed, but little thought was given until recently, when some travelers who are eminent publicists reminded us that there is across the Atlantic a country called “New France,” where there lives a population of French origin; that this population, even while it accepts certain accomplished facts not to be recalled, still preserves a filial veneration for the motherland, notwithstanding its separation of more than a century, still retains the faith of its fathers, and still speaks their tongue, which it deems a point of honor to keep pure from all mixture with the language of the rulers whom the fate of arms has placed over it. Thanks to their energy, I ² their perseverance and their mutual understanding, the descendants of the French in Canada have preserved almost intact their primitive institutions; they take an active part in the administration and government of the country; their language is upon the same footing as English in the deliberative assemblies; in a word, they have made a wide place for themselves there,—

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a thing quite necessary, however, to attribute to their number and to their vitality, which is affirmed by its remarkable growth. In 1763, at the time of the cession of Canada to England, there were sixty thousand Frenchmen there; to-day the French Canadians number nearly three millions!

Most of our large journals quite recently published some letters that were addressed to them by the publicists, merchants, engineers, etc., who were members of the French delegation conducted by the curé Labelle, perhaps the most popular man in Canada, where the Catholic clergy, recruited from the population of French origin, exercise a very great influence; which delegation was to ascertain *de visu* the varied resources that this country offers and to study the means of establishing between it and France a direct run of business that should be profitable to both. These visitors are unanimous in declaring that the reception given to “our people of France,” as we are still called there, exceeded all that they could have imagined; one of them goes so far as to say that he dare not relate all the kind attentions of which they have been the recipients, because he would not be believed. Their accounts are of continuous festivities of every sort, with addresses of welcome, picturesque excursions, and triumphal entrances, accompanied by the ringing of bells, into cities decked with tri-colored flags, among which some old banners adorned with the *fleur-de-lis*, still reverently preserved as relics, are here and there seen. The clergy in their altar garments, led by the great dignitaries of the church, came and received our countrymen at the doors of the churches that were adorned as for the greatest Catholic festivals and where the holy sacrament was exposed for adoration. It is but just to add that the reception given them by the English was no less warm nor less cordial.

The various provinces of France have coöperated in a greater or less degree in the formation of the French population of Canada, but it was the provinces of the West and Northwest that furnished the greatest number of emigrants; in particular, Normandy, whose influence is recognized to-day in the language, where we find certain turns of speech, certain meanings of words, still in use in our province. If one looks through the “Annals” of the Canadian cities he will find there all our old family names. Almost all

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the employés of the company which was formed during the winter of 1613–1614 came from Normandy. The crews of the ships were furnished by the ports of Rouen, Honfleur, Fécamp, Cherbourg, le Havre, Dieppe, and Caen. These cities were the nurseries which produced the most useful interpreters.¹

1 Benjamin Suite. *Les Interprètes du temps de Champlain*; “Memoirs of the Royal Society of Canada,” 1st t. 1883.—H. J.

In order to train these interpreters, the need of whom had been felt since the beginning of colonization, young men were taken, sometimes mere youths, and sent to live for some years in the midst of the “savages” as the natives were indiscriminately called, in order to learn their languages and to become initiated into their customs. Some of these interpreters were highly gifted persons and much better instructed than the generality of colonists; it was from their ranks that Champlain was accustomed to choose his agents to explore unknown regions and to conclude treaties with the savage nations.

Among these *voyageurs* and interpreters there is one, Jean Nicolet, who occupies a prominent place in the very earliest history of Canada, and of whom the inhabitants of Cherbourg have the right to be proud inasmuch as the strongest presumptions—as I shall forth with show—permit them to claim him as a child of their city, or at least of its vicinity; and still I am much afraid that he is to-day unknown by the majority of them. Are there many among them who have read the extract from the *Relation de la Nouvelle France de 1643* given by M. Pierre Margry in the first volume of his careful studies upon the *Discoveries and Settlements of the French in the West and South of North America*,² where the salient facts of his life and tragic end are related? If Nicolet is forgotten among us, he is not so in Canada, where his name is constantly recalled to the present generation by the seignory and county of Nicolet, Nicolet lake, Nicolet river, and the pretty city of Nicolet, in high tide of prosperity, which numbered 7,364 inhabitants on January first of this year, and in which is located Nicolet seminary, one of the first colleges of the new world. Quite recently a decree of the pope divided the diocese of Three Rivers and one of the

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sections became the new diocese of Nicolet, the titular taking possession of it in July last.³ “If Canada had entered the era of statues, it would be high time that Jean Nicolet had his bronze in the city of Nicolet,” wrote a Canadian publicist to me, M. Benjamin

1 During a period of forty years, beginning with 1632, the Jesuits in Canada kept their superiors in France regularly informed of all that concerned the country; taken together, their reports constitute the *Relations*.—H. J.

2 1879. Paris, Maisonneuve.—H. J.

3 July, 1885.—Ed.

5 Sulte,¹ who has given much attention to our compatriot. Moreover it is not only in Canada that an interest is felt in him; in 1881 a citizen of the United States, Mr. C. W. Butterfield, of Madison, Wisconsin, wrote a book² in memory of the explorer who first showed the way to the vast territory that to day constitutes the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin, of him whom he calls “the gallant Norman,” “the indomitable explorer,” “the courageous Frenchman.” Perhaps my fellow-citizens will find some interest in reading the following pages which I in my turn devote to Nicolet in order to make him known to them,—pages that sum up what I have learned from the publications to which I have just made reference and from the information that has been kindly furnished me by their authors.

1 At the present time president of the French section of the Royal Society of Canada.—H. J.

2 *History of the Discovery of the Northwest by John Nicolet in 1634, with a Sketch of his Life*, Cincinnati, Ohio, 1881.—H. J.

Jean Nicolet may have been twenty years old when he arrived in Canada in 1618. Canadian historians place his birth at about 1598, at Cherbourg. Positive proof of this last assertion is wanting; at least I have not been able as yet to obtain from Canada

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any information authorizing the fixing of his birthplace indisputably, but there is a strong presumption that he was from Cherbourg or its vicinity. According to his marriage contract drawn up at Quebec in 1637,³ he was the son of Thomas Nicolet, mail-carrier [*messenger ordinaire*] between Cherbourg and Paris, and Margaret Delamer, two family names still very common in Cherbourg and vicinity,⁴ and names that are found very often in the oldest titles preserved. Nothing surprising then if a Nicolet born in this district should have been mail-carrier between Cherbourg and Paris, and if one of his children,

3 See note at close of this article.—H. J.

4 The Nicollets of Cherbourg and vicinity wrote their name ordinarily with two l's; in the *Relations* of Canada we find without distinction “Nicollet” and “Nicolet” for the name of the explorer. It is the latter spelling that has prevailed in Canada and consequently I have adopted it.—H. J.

6 brought up in a maritime city, should have left his native country to go and seek his fortune in the lands beyond the sea.

On this presumption, M. Pierre Margry (who had become acquainted in Paris with a copy of the same marriage contract), in 1858, sought information at the mayoralty of Cherbourg, and obtained that which follows, gathered from the registers of catholicism of the church of the Holy Trinity, and deposited in the Hotel de Ville in 1792:

December 3rd, 1604: birth of Roulland Nicollet, son of Thomas Nicollet;

October 27th, 1605: birth of Thomas Nicollet, son of Thomas Nicollet;

December 15th, 1611: birth of Perrette, daughter of Thomas Nicollet;

August 13th, 1656: death of Jeanne Nicollet, daughter of the late Thomas;

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December 14th, 1605: birth of Marguerite Delamer (possibly a first cousin of Jean, but, at all events, not his mother; the date would contradict it).

As one may see, there is in all this nothing about Jean.

During the last months of 1882, I resumed these researches at the request of M. Pierre Margry, commencing by examining the old catholic registers [*registres de catholicité*] of Cherbourg, which go back to June 12, 1549, but without success. There was nothing concerning the birth of Thomas Nicollet and of Margaret Delamer, their marriage, their death, nor the birth of a son named Jean up to the end of 1605. These records give only the births, and furthermore there is a break of eighteen years, from 1572 to 1591. The marriages and deaths are recorded only from 1610 onward, with a break from 1620 to Easter 1628.¹ These old registers are otherwise very incomplete; the entries of births give only the family and christian names (usually only a single christian name) of the newborn, the father, the godfather and the godmother; the mother is not mentioned.

¹ As appears from the marriage contract of Jean, executed in 1637, his father was dead at this last date.—H. J.

⁷ The entries of marriages mention only the family name and first name of the bride and groom and of the father of each. In the lists of deaths we find only the family name and first name of the father and again not always that. The registers kept by M. Groult, curé of Cherbourg, from 1628 to 1668, written entirely by his own hand, mention the baptisms, marriages, and burials, performed at Cherbourg, both at the church of the Holy Trinity and at the chapel of the chateau; but nothing affirms positively that before 1628 the clergymen of this chapel were not alone commissioned to keep note of the persons who were baptised, married and buried. May it not be that such was the case of Thomas Nicolet, Margaret Delamer, and their son Jean? We can affirm nothing, deny nothing, in this respect, since the records of the chapel of the chateau, which was pulled down in 1689, have not for a long time been in existence.

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I have likewise sought the marriage contract of Thomas Nicolet and Margaret Delamer, and for that purpose have turned over from three to four thousand different documents, kindly placed at my disposal by M. Druet, a notary of Cherbourg—documents which were signed by M. Druet, royal tabellion, and his colleague M. François Landrin, from 1580 to 1603. I have indeed found numerous marriage deeds but not the one I was seeking; although it was in this interval from 1580 to 1603 that there was the greatest number of chances to discover it. I can even say that in all these deeds in which the Nicolets figure many times, I have seen but a single time (May 10, 1593) a “Thomas Nicolet, *bourgeois* of Cherbourg”; it must however be observed that there were at Cherbourg other notaries than M. Philip Delamer, and their minutes have been scattered or lost. There is nothing which says that the contract in question was not drawn up by one of these.

Canadian historians, as I said before, make Cherbourg the birthplace of Jean Nicolet, probably on account of the declaration that he made en arriving in Canada, that he came from Cherbourg, that he was from Cherbourg; but does this declaration specify that he was born in the city; or indeed, in saying that he was from Cherbourg, a city already well known at that time in maritime and colonial circles, did he not better fix the ideas of those whom he addressed than if he had given as his birthplace a small locality entirely unknown? This supposition is not too bold, it seems to me, for we see the same thing done every day. This fact led me to conduct researches in the neighborhood of Cherbourg, chiefly at Hainneville, five kilometers from Cherbourg, where, out of 1,050 inhabitants, one can count thirty-seven heads of families bearing the name of Nicolet. I had besides heard some old letters spoken of that existed still in that commune; letters written long ago by a person who had afterwards crossed the sea. I was not more fortunate at Hainneville than at Cherbourg; the registers of births, deaths, and marriages go back only to 1660, and among the numerous Nicolets and Delamers who figure there I found nothing bearing upon Jean or his parents. The different Nicolets whom I questioned—especially the more aged of them—could acquaint me with nothing more.¹

1 I had however a moment's hope. When I spoke of old letters I was told a story that had agitated all Hainneville nearly forty years before. At that time there was discovered in the Study of a notary at Laval, a will left by one Nicollet who had quitted the country long ago: an inheritance of eighteen millions that had not been claimed, was in question. Had this Nicollet any connection with the Canadian? Some anecdotes told me at Cherbourg might have led me to believe it, but it was a mistake. A delegation of the Nicollets of Hainneville had repaired to Laval and to Rennes. One of the delegates was still living at Cherbourg. We were brought together and he told me that there was indeed a will and a valuable estate was to be inherited, but they had been obliged to admit that they had nothing to do with it. The testator was called Le Nicollais and was originally from another part of the country. I was ignorant of this when I presented myself at Hainneville; my questions caused the old story to be suddenly revived and at the same time excited a distrust towards me that people scarcely gave themselves the trouble to conceal. Evidently I had come for the millions; in vain I protested it was the first time I had heard them spoken of. I was not believed; I knew much more about it than I would say; I was simply an intriguer, a schemer for the inheritance. Some tried to cajole me by reminding me that they had been the first to give me information, that it was fair consequently that I should share with them. Others, more skeptical, but more kindly disposed, contented themselves with considering me an "innocent;" and indeed a person going from door to door, on a rainy November day, floundering about in broken up roads, and through muddy back yards, to look after some worthy fellow dead 240 years, could hardly be in his right mind.—H. J.

9

In other communes, my attempts were not more successful; therefore up to the present time nothing affirms positively that Jean Nicolet was born at Cherbourg or in its vicinity. There is only a presumption; but until a more fortunate, or more skilful, seeker shall have found certain proofs, may not this presumption, ought it not indeed, to be regarded as equivalent to a certainty?

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Nicolet arrived as I have stated in 1618 in Canada, where “his temperament and excellent memory aroused great hopes for him.”¹ He was a man full of spirit, daring, and at the same time deeply religious. He was sent very early (probably about 1620) a hundred leagues from Quebec up the Ottawa river, among the Algonquins of Allumette island (Champlain had ascended this river in 1615) in order to learn the language of the Algonquins which was then in general use in the west and on the north bank of the St. Lawrence. He remained for two years among these savages without seeing a single European, living their life, “always accompanying the barbarians on their expeditions and travels, amid fatigues that cannot be imagined except by those who have seen them; several times he passed seven or eight days without eating anything; he was seven whole weeks without other nourishment than a little bark.”² About 1622, he at the head of 400 Algonquins went to negotiate peace with the Iroquois and succeeded completely in the undertaking. Later he went among the Nipissings, or Algonquins of Lake Nipissing, fifty leagues farther to the northwest, and remained with them eight or nine years, becoming so to speak, one of them, adopted by the nation, taking part in their frequent councils, “having his cabin apart, doing his own fishing and trading.”³

1 *Relation de la Nouvelle France*, 1643.—H. J.

2 *Relation* of 1643.—H. J.

3 *Relation* of 1643.—H. J.

During this long residence among the Nipissings, did Nicolet 10 appear at all at Quebec? We cannot say, but it is more than probable that he did not leave the Indians while the English continued to occupy this city, from 1629 to 1632; and more than probable, also, that he with some other Frenchmen who were in the same situation, left not a stone unturned in order to harm the invaders in the minds of the savages.¹

1 Benjamin Sulte, *Mélanges d'Histoire et de Littérature*, Ottawa, 1876.—H. J.

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On the return of the French to Quebec, Nicolet was recalled there to be employed as clerk and interpreter of the Company of the Hundred Associates. It seems however that he may have requested his recall, alarmed for the safety of his soul,—I have stated that he had very pronounced religious views,—in a remote region where there were no missionaries.² Without doubt, also, Champlain, who had resumed the government of the colony after the departure of the English, was delighted to see him again and to consul him concerning a project that he was meditating, and one which Nicolet more than any other seemed to him capable of carrying out, owing to his intercourse with the Indians and the influence that he very quickly exercised over them.³

2 “He (Nicolet) withdrew only in order to secure his salvation in the use of the sacraments, for want of which there is great peril for the soul among the savages.” *Relation* of 1643.—H. J.

3 “...whom (the savages) he was able to control and to direct whither he wished with a skill that will hardly find its equal.” *Relation* of 1643. —H. J.

Champlain had ascended a part of the Ottawa river and visited the shore of the Georgian bay, in the northeast angle of Lake Huron, but his ideas on the region of the great lakes were still very vague, hardly defined at all in fact, in 1634.⁴ Lakes Erie, Michigan, and Superior were unknown to him; he had heard the falls of Niagara spoken of but to him they were no more than ordinary rapids. Still he had heard it said that toward the west, four hundred leagues away, there

4 Champlain's map of 1632 gives a fair outline of Lakes Huron and Superior and the Sault Ste. Marie; while the general features of the Fox-Wisconsin water-course are also given, although of course from hearsay, and placed north of Lake Superior instead of south of it. — Ed.

11 was a people that had formerly lived in the neighborhood of a distant sea, and called on that account by the Algonquins the “Tribe of the Men of the Sea.” It was told furthermore

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that this "Tribe of the Sea" held intercourse with people living still farther west who reached them by crossing a vast extent of water in large canoes made of wood, and not of bark, and who because of their lack of beards, their shaved heads, costumes, etc., seemed to resemble greatly the Tartars or the Chinese.¹ With the aid of a little imagination and with no lack of willingness—one is always inclined to believe what one desires!—it was easy to discern this vast extent of water, the sea that separates America from Asia, the north Pacific; and in the voyagers, the Chinese or Japanese. It was the opinion of Champlain, of the missionaries, and of the better informed colonists, that in pushing westward it would be comparatively easy to find a shorter road to China by crossing America, than that usually followed in rounding the cape of Good Hope. Ever since the time of James Cartier this idea had haunted the minds of men and they deceived themselves as to the real width of the American continent. They believed that it would be sufficient to penetrate two or three hundred leagues inland, in order to find, if not the Pacific ocean, at least a bay or some great river, leading there.

1 The first mentioned tribe were the Winnebagoes and the second the Sioux.— Ed.

Nicolet, during his long sojourn at Lake Nipissing, must have heard the same tales, as the Nipissiriniens went every year, it appears, to trade with a tribe removed from them by a five or six weeks' journey; and this tribe was supposed to trade with people living still farther who came by water in large wooden canoes.² His curiosity must have been as much excited as Champlain's and we may suppose that they had spoken together of the problem to be solved—the discovery of a direct route to China,—and no one appeared more capable than Nicolet of clearing up the matter.

2 Benjamin Sulte (after F. Sagard, 1625), *Mélanges d'Histoire et de Littérature*, 1876.—H. J.

The 1st of July, 1634, two fleets of canoes left Quebec and 12 ascended the St. Lawrence river; one to build a fort in the place where to-day stands the city of Three Rivers; the

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other, under the direction of Father Brebeuf, to explore “the upper country”—to-day the Canadian province of Ontario—by ascending the Ottawa river. Nicolet was in the second fleet, and when the two expeditions met at Three Rivers, he, putting the stakes in place with his own hands,¹ helped in the foundation of the city where he was to pass the last years of his life. Allumette island was reached after a thousand sufferings had been endured by these travelers who were unaccustomed to the life of the woods and who were moreover hostilely received on the road by the natives; but this was no obstacle to a *coureur des bois*, a demi-savage such as Nicolet.² Leaving Brébeuf at Allumette island he went first among his old friends of Lake Nipissing to make preparations for his voyage. Then, descending the French river which issues from Lake Nipissing and empties into the Georgian bay (northeastern part of Lake Huron), he visits the Hurons who inhabit this region and with whom in all probability he came to execute some commission given him by Champlain. From this time he sets out for unknown lands in a birch-bark canoe—a forerunner of the many steamers and ships that now plow the great lakes in all directions—with only seven savages, Hurons, for his entire crew and escort into a region where now arise agricultural and industrial settlements and populous cities, but which were then the exclusive domain of tribes of redskins whose number or names no one knew, and where the traveler could depend only upon the hunting and fishing for his daily subsistence. He begins by coasting along the north shore of Lake Huron, then, following the strait that leads into Lake Superior, he pushes to the place since called Sault Sainte Marie, where he remains for some time to let his men rest; then, crossing the straits of Mackinaw³ he enters

1 C. W. Butterfield, *loc. cit.*—H. J.

2 “Jean Nicolet in the journey which he made with us to the island, sustained all the hard work of one of the most robust savages.” *Relation* of 1635.—H. J.

3 Not crossing, but ascending.—Ed.

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13 Lake Michigan: sailing¹ up the large recess in its northeastern portion, Green bay,² he arrives among the Menomonies at the mouth of the river of the same name,³ not faraway from the “Men of the Sea,” better known afterwards under the name of “Winnebagoes.”⁴

1 Paddling; sails were not used on canoes, in those days.— Ed.

2 Northwestern portion of Lake Michigan, not northeastern. The author's knowledge of local geography is faulty.— Ed.

3 Not known as the Menomonee river until long after.— Ed.

4 More correctly “Ouinipigou” from the word “Ouinipeg” by which the Algonquins meant “bad smelling water,” as salt-water was by them designated. “Ouinipigou” signified to the Algonquins, “Men of the Salt-water,” “Men of the Sea.” In the *Relations* and elsewhere the Winnebagoes are frequently called “the Nation of Stinkards” [*Nation des Puans*]; and Green Bay at the head of which they lived “la Bale des Puans:” this arose from the fact that the French, not taking into consideration the extension of the word “Ouinipeg,” translated “Ouinipigou” by the “Nation of Bad Smelling Water.” The writer of the *Relation* of 1640 protests against this interpretation: according to him this tribe should not be called otherwise than the “Men of the Sea.” (C. W. Butterfield, *loc. cit.*)—H. J.

They were the chief object of his expedition and he went into their midst while ascending the Fox river. But here I will let the *Relation* of 1643 speak for me; I think the explorer will be better understood as thus described by a contemporary:

“While he was occupying this office (clerk and interpreter) he was chosen to make a journey to the tribe called ‘The People of the Sea’ to conclude peace with them, and with the Hurons who are about 300 leagues farther west [east] than they. He embarked for [from] the territory of the Hurons with seven savages; they encountered a number of small tribes in coming and going; when they arrived there⁵ they drove two sticks into the ground and hung presents upon them to prevent the people from taking them for enemies

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and murdering them. At a distance of two days' journey from this tribe he sent one of his savages to carry them the news of peace which was well received especially when they heard that it was a European who brought the message. They despatched several young men to go to meet

5 The country of the Winnebagoes.— Ed.

14 the manitou, that is, the wonderful man; they come, they escort him, they carry all his baggage, Pie was clothed in a large garment of China damask strewn with flowers and birds of various colors. As soon as he came in sight all the women and children fled, seeing a man carry thunder in both hands. They called thus the two pistols he was holding. The news of his coming spread immediately to the surrounding places; four or five thousand men assembled. Each of the chiefs gave him a banquet and at one of them at least one hundred and twenty beavers were served. Peace was concluded...”

The Chinese costume that Nicolet wore in his first interview with the “People of the Sea” indicates that he expected to see some mandarin come to meet him, to whom rumor might have announced his arrival. As was ascertained later, the so-claimed Asiatics were no other than the redskins since known as the Dakotas and the Sioux.¹

1 The Sioux are a branch of the Dacotah family.— Ed.

Nicolet had arrived at something like 400 leagues from Quebec; it was then that he became acquainted with the Mississippi, if not *de visu* at least by hearsay. Crossing the portage which separates the Fox from the Wisconsin river and descending the latter, he proceeded as far as its confluence with the Mississippi, being thus the first Frenchman to greet the “Great Water.”² Or indeed, when, having returned to Quebec, he asserted that if he had sailed three days longer upon a great river, he would have found the sea.³ Was this great river of which he spoke the Mississippi or merely the Wisconsin river whose course would have conducted him to the Mississippi?⁴ Under the influence of preconceived ideas,

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2 The traditional translation of “Mississippi” by “Father of Waters” is erroneous; the true meaning is the “Great Water,” the “Great River,” from the Algonquin words *Missi* “great,” *Sepe* “water”, “river.” (C. W. Butterfield, *loc. cit.*)—H. J.

3 Relation of 1640.—H. J.

4 It is abundantly proven in Butterfield's *Discovery of the Northwest*, p. 67, et seq., that Nicolet did not discover the Wisconsin river, but only proceeded as far up the Fox as the village of the Mascoutins,—probably in what is now Green Lake county, Wis.—and then departed southward, for the Illinois country.—Ed.

15 did he not take what was designated to him by the name of “Great Water” for the Pacific ocean or at least for a great water-course that emptied into it.¹ The Winnebagoes spoke a language that differed radically from that of the Hurons and Algonquins; is it certain that he fully understood his interlocutors? These are doubtful points the discussion of which would carry me too far beyond the limits that I have drawn for myself;² still one may ask why it was that Nicolet, believing himself only three days' journey from the sea, should not have gone and verified the fact; was it because he was so far convinced that he deemed this verification needless?

1 For a long while it was believed that the Mississippi emptied into the Pacific ocean; the contrary was made known only in 1689 by the explorations of the chevalier La Salle, and indeed it was necessary to wait seventeen years for the question to be fully decided by Lemoyne d'Iberville finding the mouth of the river by water. (Benj. Sulte, *loc. cit.*)—H. J.

2 See Benj. Sulte, *Mélanges d'Histoire et de Littérature*, 1876, and C. W. Butterfield, *loc. cit.*—H. J.

It appears quite certain however that he did not limit his journey to the Fox and Wisconsin rivers but that he proceeded southward into the territory inhabited by the Illinois. The *Relations* written after 1636 by Fathers Le Jeune and Vincent, contain indeed much

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information given by Nicolet upon the country and the people southwest of Lake Michigan.³ He was the first Frenchman to penetrate so far in that direction.⁴

³ This conveys a wrong impression. The author should say “southwest of Green bay,” or “west of Lake Michigan.”— Ed.

⁴ Benj. Suite; *Mélanges d'Hist. et de Litt.*, 1876.—H. J.

Retracing his steps he re-entered Quebec at the beginning of autumn 1635 with a rich store of observations of every sort, having acquired for French influence and by peaceful means only, large populations until then unknown. It is probable that he would not have ceased his adventurous travels had not the death of Champlain, which occurred soon after his return, suspended for a time this kind of undertaking. Nicolet was then stationed, in his office of clerk and interpreter, at the post of Three Rivers, the most turbulent and uncertain in the whole country. He performed his duties here “to the great satisfaction of the French and Indians by whom he was equally and above all others loved.”¹ Two years later, in October, 1637, he married at Quebec, a god-daughter of Champlain, Margaret, daughter of William Couillart, who arrived there in 1613 as carpenter and calker and later became a farmer.² This name, Couillard, common in the department of La Manche, would lead one to believe that he was from our province.

¹ *Relation* of 1643.—H. J.

² Margaret must have been very young as her father was married in 1621. William Couillard (or Couillart, the name is written in both ways) was the second Canadian ploughman by order of date. He was one of the Frenchmen who remained in Canada during the occupation of Quebec by the English from 1629 to 1633. His posterity, as a general thing prosperous, is sufficiently numerous to-day to make it possible to form a battalion of 500 men composed of Couillards able to carry arms,— Benj. Sulte.

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Nicolet owned in common with his brother-in-law Olivier le Tardif, general agent of the company, an estate which the brook of Belleborne ran through, hence the title of "Sieur de Belleborne" given to him in some documents of that time.

In October, 1642, while he was at Quebec, where for a month or two he had been taking the place of his brother-in-law who was spending some time in France, the Algonquins of Three Rivers took prisoner an Indian of New England, whose nation was allied to the Iroquois, our enemies. The unfortunate creature was to be put to death, not immediately, but after he had first suffered all the refinements of torture in use among the redskins; in vain the French agents and their missionaries interceded in his favor; their interference only redoubled the fury of the tormentors. It was then that Nicolet was sent for in the hope that his influence over the savages might save the prisoner. Nicolet did not hesitate a moment; his devotion was appealed to, and this devotion was to cost him his life;—but again let us hear the author of the *Relation* of 1643:

"I will add here a word about the life and death of M. Nicolet, interpreter and clerk of the gentlemen of the Company 17 of New France; he died ten days after Father Charles Raymbault, deceased Oct. 22, 1642.

* * * * *

"M. Ollivier, general agent of the Company, having gone the year before to France, the said M. Nicolet went down to Quebec in his place, with great gladness and comfort that he could see the peace and devotion of Quebec; but he did not long enjoy it, for a month or two after his arrival, while making a journey to Three Rivers in order to deliver an Indian prisoner, his zeal cost him his life and he was shipwrecked. He embarked at Quebec at seven o'clock in the evening in the launch of M. de Savigny, which was going to Three Rivers. They had not yet arrived at Sillery when a gust of the northeast wind that had raised a terrible storm on the great river caused the launch to fill, and it sank to the bottom, having turned a couple of times in the water. Those on board did not sink at once but

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clung for some time to the launch. M. Nicolet had time to say to M. de Savigny: ' Save yourself sir, you can swim, I can not, I go to my God. I intrust to you my wife and daughter.' The waves tore them, one after another, from the boat which, capsized, swung back and forth upon a rock. M. de Savigny alone threw himself into the water and swam amidst the waves that seemed like little mountains. The launch was not very far from shore but it was an intensely dark night, and it was so bitter cold that the edges of the river were already frozen. The said M. de Savigny, feeling his strength and courage failing him, made a prayer to God and soon after he felt the ground beneath his feet, and drawing himself out of the water he came to our house at Sillery half-dead. He remained a long time unable to speak, then at last related to us the fatal accident which, besides the death of M. Nicolet, a loss to the whole country, had cost him three of his best men and a large part of his goods and provisions. Both he and his wife bore this great loss in a barbarous country with great patience and resignation to the will of God, and with undiminished courage. The savages of Sillery, when they learned of the shipwreck of M. Nicolet, hastened to the 2 18 spot, and seeing him no more showed signs of unspeakable regret. It was not the first time that this man had exposed himself to death for the good and safety of the savages. He had done it often and he has left us an example of the life of a married man which partakes of the apostolic life and which leaves to the most fervently religious man a desire to imitate him."

* * * * *

Some days later the prisoner was ransomed by the governor of Three Rivers and once cured of the injuries that the Algonquins had inflicted upon him, he was sent back to his country under the safe conduct of two christian savages. It is quite possible that the devotion of which Nicolet had given abundant proof and which had cost him so dearly, may have contributed to his deliverance.

Thus this good man died, in the prime of life, victim of a common accident, after having escaped a thousand dangers during seventeen years of his life in the woods. One cannot

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help comparing this fate to that of Dumont d'Urville, perishing miserably at the gates of Paris in a railroad accident!

Two brothers of Jean Nicolet had come from Cherbourg to join him in the colony; one, Gilles, born at Cherbourg,¹ a secular priest, arrived in 1635 and left in 1647; the other, Peter, who was a sailor, left a short time after Jean's death. I have found no more trace of these two persons than of their brother, in the old deeds that I consulted at Cherbourg.

¹ C. W. Butterfield, *loc. cit.*—H. J.

Nicolet has left no descendants of his name in Canada. His widow married again at Quebec in 1646 a man named Macard. She had given him but one daughter, and she married Jean Baptiste le Gardeur de Repentigny;² several of their descendants occupy prominent places in the history of Canada. Jean Nicolet indeed was somewhat forgotten for

² Ever since the beginning of the colony there have been certain ones in Canada bearing the name of Le Gardeur, distinguished from one another by a manorial name added to their patronymic. Did these belong to the family Le Gardeur de Croisilles who lived at Brillevast (canton of Saint Pierre Eglise)? There is every reason to believe so.—H. J.

¹⁹ a time. The death of Champlain, as I said, caused all the long journeys of the kind which he had accomplished to be abandoned, and later when these expeditions were resumed, attention was bestowed only upon those who had made them and their forerunner was no longer remembered. But this injustice has been fully repaired; to-day Jean Nicolet is openly recognized as the one who disclosed the way to the great lakes and the Western territory; neither is it in Canada only that the place due him has been given; the Historical Society of Wisconsin considers him the “Jacques Cartier” of that region.¹

¹ Benjamin Suite, *Les Interprètes du temps de Champlain.*—H. J.

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Cherbourg may again claim as her own a man who has shone most brightly in the history of Canada. The chevalier "Louis Hector de Callières," son of "James de Callières seignior of Rochechellay and Saint-Romald, marechal of the armies of the king and of Madeleine Pottier," daughter of Pottier, seignior of Courcy near Courances. Biographers place his birth at Cherbourg. At first captain of the regiment of Navarre, then captain of the king's vessels, he was intrusted with several commissions to Canada which did him much honor and procured for him in 1684 the government of Montreal and later in 1699 the general government of all the French settlements in North America. During the entire time that he filled these two offices he was obliged to struggle to the utmost against the English and their allies the Iroquois. He died at Quebec in 1703 in the prime of life, "as much regretted," says Father Charlevoix, "as the most perfect general that this colony had yet had, and the man from whom it had received most important services, deserved."²

2 James de Caillières (some biographers write "Caillères," "Callières"), father of the chevalier, governor of the city and the castle of Cherbourg, may have been born in that city according to the abbé Demons (*Histoire de Cherbourg*, manuscript in the city library), and have died there in 1659 or 1662; according to others he was born and died at Torigny. He cultivated belleslettres and left several works. He was one of the founders of the Academy of Carn. Besides the chevalier Louis Hector, there was another son, François de Callières, seignior of Rochechellay and Gigny, born in 1645; but the same uncertainty exists as to the place of his birth; it is Torigny according to some, Cherbourg according to others. He has affixed his name to the treaty of Ryswick (1697) the negotiation of which did him much honor. He died in Paris in 1717 leaving several works in prose and poetry. He entered the French Academy in 1689.

Was the governor of Canada, Louis Hector de Callières, really born at Cherbourg? It would not be impossible in case his father, James, went in 1644, as the abbé Demons says (*loc. cit.*), to reside in the city of which he became governor a few years later. At all events there

is little doubt that these three persons were originally from the department of La Manche.
—H. J.

20

AUTHOR'S NOTE.

October 22, 1637.—Marriage-contract between Jean Nicollet and Marg te Couillart.¹
Present in person honorable Jean Nicollet, Clerk and Interpreter for Messrs. of the
Company of New France, son of the late Thomas Nicollet mail-carrier between Cherbourg
and Paris and Marguerite Delamer, his father and mother, the said sieur Nicollet now of
Quebec,² district of New France, attended by honorable François Derré, sieur de Gan,³
General Agent for the company, and associated with honorable Ollivier Le Tardif, Nicolas
Marsollet, Noël Juchareau, and Pierre de la porte, all of the said Quebec, party of the first
part.

1 The official copy of these marriage articles was very kindly and gratuitously sent me from
Quebec without my requesting it, by M. J. Langelier, archivist of the province of Quebec,
through the influence of M. B. Suite. —H. J.

2 Nicolet lived at Three Rivers, but as there was no notary in that place and as his future
wife resided at Quebec, this city has been regarded in the deed as the domicile of the
husband.— Benj. Sulte.

3 François de Ré (he signed Derré) called “Monsieur Grand” in several letters of that
period.— Benj. Sulte.

And Marguerite Couillart daughter of honorable Guillaume Couillart and Guillemette Hébert
her father and mother also of the said Quebec, also attended by honorable Guillaume
hubout, Guillaume Hebert and Marie Rollet, grandmother of the said Marguerite Couillart,
her parents and friends, party of the second part.

Which parties have promised and do promise respectively and with mutual consent and of their own free will, to take 21 each other with faith in the Sacrament of Marriage according to the Ecclesiastical forms made whenever it shall please the said parties and at their earliest convenience; and by this deed the said future husband has given and gives to, the said future wife for marriage portion the sum of two thousand pounds to be taken from his property real and personal, present and future, and wherever it may be both in old and New France, and from the most accessible [*apparens*] of his goods in case there shall be no children, issue of their body; and after his death likewise he has given and gives besides, for her prefixed dower in case there be such dower, all and each of the annual revenue from his property, movable and immovable, and from that which may remain after the said sum of two thousand pounds taken as preference legacy by the said future wife in case she survives, wherever the said property be situated as was before stated, and provided always that the customary law shall not affect prejudicially the aforesaid prefixed dower to which the said future wife shall be from now on limited. In consideration and in view of this marriage, the said Couillart and Hebert father and mother of the said future wife have bound themselves jointly and severally to give to the said future husband whenever it shall please him the sum of nine hundred pounds by way of advancement, which sum shall be presented to him by the right of inheritance which she may have from the said parents after their death; and in case that the said future wife predecease the said future husband without heirs, issue of their body, he is bound to return such sum of nine hundred pounds to the heirs and assigns of the said future wife who shall be reimbursed by the said Couillart and Hebert as pertains to her condition and according to their power and convenience. And to the fulfillment of this and the foregoing the said parties have respectively bound themselves by the clauses and conditions contained in the present contract under pledge of all and each of their goods real and personal, present and future.

Done in presence of Claude Estienne and Etienne Racine Witnesses residing at Quebec, who have signed the first draught of these presents with the parties, parents and 22

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friends as aforementioned, the 22nd of October, one thousand six hundred, and thirty-seven.

Nicollet (scroll).

Mark of the said Couillart.

Marguerite Couillart.

Guillemette hebert.

Mark of the said Hubout.

Guillaume hebert.

Marié Rollet.

Derre (scroll).

Marsolet.

Le Tardif (scroll).

Juchereau (scroll).

De Laporte (scroll) claude Estienne.

Racine (scroll).

Paraphé ne varietur.

Verrier, Vicar-general.

Du Laurent, Clerk.

Indorsed: "Copy conformable to the first draught found in the office of the late J. Gutter,¹ notary for this part of New France now called Province of Quebec, deposited in the archives of this District, compared and collated by us the undersigned, Keepers of the same, and Prothonotaries of the Superior Court at Quebec, the eighteenth day of June, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-five.

¹ The notary Jean Guitet, or Guitet, signed deeds at Quebec in 1637 and 1638. In one of them he entitles himself "notaire et commis greffier." Nicolet's marriage-contract does not bear the name of Guitet, but the document was found in his office and recognized as being by him by DuLaurent, notary and clerk at Quebec from 1734 to 1759, and by the Vicar-general Verrier.— Benjamin Sulte.

" Burroughs & Campbell ."

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF JEAN NICOLET. BY CONSUL WILLSHIRE BUTTERFIELD.

Before giving a list of the different works which, to a greater or less extent, make mention of the first white man who, in 1634, visited the territory now constituting the State of Wisconsin, it is proper to state that some knowledge had been gained of the country. What the extent of this information was, and how it came to the ears of civilized men, will be briefly mentioned as preliminary to naming the sources from which material can be drawn concerning John Nicolet, the explorer, to whom reference has just been made.

Early in the seventeenth century, French settlements were scattered along the wooded shores of the river St. Lawrence, in Canada. To the westward of these, upon the Ottawa river, Lake Huron and Georgian bay, were living several Indian nations. Between them and the French settlers, there soon sprang up commercial relations; besides, it was not long before missionaries of the Roman Catholic church began to labor with some of them. Travelers, too, made extended journeys into their country.

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These settlers, missionaries and travelers gathered from the savages not only accounts of countries adjacent to their own, but of regions more remote. They heard from them of a great lake beyond Lake Huron, at the outlet of which was a considerable rapid this vast body of fresh water was Lake Superior. And they also got reports of a much smaller lake called by the Indians who spoke of it, "Winnipegou": this was Winnebago lake. A river ran through this lake—the present Fox river; but the stream was known to the Indians east by the same name as the lake.

As early as 1615, a nation of Indians had been heard of, called the Mascoutins. These savages were frequently at war with the tribes near the head of Georgian bay, and with some further eastward. Now, the homes of the Mascoutins were upon the Fox river, above Winnebago lake, their territory extending southeastwardly, as far, possibly, as the site of the present city of Chicago, if not beyond. A brief reference to certain individuals of this nation has been preserved ante-dating the year 1634.

A knowledge of the Winnebagoes was early obtained—at least before the year 1632. They were spoken of by the Indians who gave the French an account of them, as the "Winnipegou." More was learned of this nation than of the Mascoutins. They were known as a people who had originally migrated from the shore of a distant sea; and their name had reference to this fact. The settlers upon the St. Lawrence had, however, very erroneous ideas of the location of these savages. Winnebago lake was supposed to be to the northward of Lake Huron, and the Fox river flowed southward into it; while the Winnebagoes were known to dwell not far from the last-mentioned lake. Lake Michigan and Green bay had not as yet been heard of. Such was the information that the French had gathered of the present Wisconsin, before any part of it had been explored by civilized man; extending, as we have seen, to two of its lakes and one of its rivers; also to two of the savage tribes having their homes and hunting-grounds, whole or in part, within its present boundaries.

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(2.) Le Jeune, 1636, pp. 8, 10, 12, 39, 58, 75.

(3.) Le Jeune, 1637, pp. 24, 75, 78, 81, 84, 89.

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(6.) Vimont, 1643, pp. 2, 3, 4, 5.

(II.) Du Creux' History of Canada—"Historia Canadensis"—(Paris, 1664), p. 358, et seq.
25

(III.) Shea's Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley, 1853, pp. 20, 21.

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(V.) Margry, in Journal Général de l'Instruction Publique, Paris, 1862.

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(VII.) Sulte, in L'Opinion Publique, Montreal, 1873.

(VIII.) Sulte's Mélanges d'Histoire et de Littérature, 1876, p. 426, et seq.

(IX.) Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1879, Vol. VIII., pp. 188–194.

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Library of Congress

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(XII.) Sulte's *Chronique Trifluvienne* (1880), pp. 5, 10, 232.

(XIII.) Butterfield's *History of the Discovery of the Northwest by John Nicolet*, in 1634, Cincinnati, 1881.

(XIV.) Jouan's *Jean Nicolet*, Cherbourg, France, 1885. (See Grace Clark's translation immediately preceding this Bibliography.)

(XV.) Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin (1888), Vol. X., pp. 41–46.

IMPORTANT WESTERN STATE PAPERS.

The following important state papers, having an immediate bearing on the early history of the West, are selected for publication—in full or in part—in this volume, for the reason that much difficulty is ordinarily experienced by historical writers in finding them; few American reference libraries, indeed, have all of them. In the case of the first three French documents, the reader is referred to the pages of Margry's *Découvertes et Établissements des Français dans L'Amerique*, where careful reprints of the originals can be consulted; while the sources of the translations are also acknowledged. In all cases, the copy is cited which the present publication follows. Of most of the selected papers promulgated during the domination of the English and Americans, only such portions are here published as are of immediate interest to the West.

I. FRENCH DOMINATION.

SAINT-LUSSON'S PROCÈS-VERBAL, JUNE 14, 1671.¹

¹ Original in *Margry*, i., pp. 96–99; translation from *New York Colonial Docs.*, ix., pp. 803–4, with some errors of nomenclature corrected.— Ed.

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Simon François Daumont, Esquire, Sieur de S t Lusson, Commissioner subdelegate of my Lord the Intendant of New France, to search for the Copper mine in the countries of the Outaouacs, Nespercez, Illinois and other Indian Nations discovered and to be discovered in North America near Lake Superior or the Fresh Sea.

On the orders by us received on the third of September last from My lord the Intendant of New France, signed and paraphed Talon , and underneath By My lord Varnier , with paraph, to proceed forthwith to the countries of the Outaouacs, Nespercez, Illinois and other nations discovered 27 and to be discovered in North America near Lake Superior or the Fresh Sea, to make search and discovery there for all sorts of Mines particularly that of Copper; commanding us moreover, to take possession, in the King's name, of all the country inhabited and uninhabited wherever we should pass, planting in the first village at which we land, the Cross in order to produce there the fruits of Christianity, and the escutcheon (*éscu*) of France to confirm his Majesty's authority and the French dominion over it.

We having made, in virtue of our commission, our first landing at the village or hamlet of S te Mary of the Falls, the place where the Reverend Jesuit fathers are making their mission and the Indian nations called Achipoés, Malamechs, Noquets and others do actually reside; we caused the greatest portion possible of the other neighboring Tribes to be assembled there, who attended to the number of fourteen Nations.

To wit; the Achipoés, the Malamechs and the Noquets, inhabiting the said place of S te Mary of the Sault; and the Banabeouiks and Makomiteks; the Poulx teattemis, Oumalominis¹ Sassassaoua Cottons, inhabiting the bay called *des Puants* , and who have undertaken to make it known to their neighbors who are the Illinois, Mascouttins, Outtougamis and other Tribes; the Christinos, Assinipoals, Aumoussennires, Outaouois, Bouscouttons. Niscaks and Masquikoukioeks, all inhabitants of the Northern Country and near neighbors of the Sea, who undertook to tell and communicate it to their neighbors who are said to be very numerous, inhabiting even the sea coast; To whom in presence of

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the Reverend Fathers of the Company of Jesus and of all the French hereafter mentioned, we have caused to be read our said Commission and had it interpreted in their language by Sieur Nicolas Perrot, his Majesty's interpreter in that part, so that they may not be ignorant of it; afterwards causing a Cross to be prepared in order that the fruits of Christianity be produced there, and near it a Cedar pole to which we have affixed the arms of France, saying three times in a loud

1 Qu? Oumalomins, i.e., Menominies.— Ed. N. Y. Col. Docs.

28 voice and with public outcry, that In the name of the Most High, Most Mighty and Most Redoubtable Monarch Louis, the xivth of the name, Most Christian King of France and Navarre , we take possession of the said place of S te Mary of the Falls as well as of Lakes Huron and Supérieur, the Island of Caientoton¹ and of all other Countries, rivers, lakes and tributaries, contiguous and adjacent thereunto, as well discovered as to be discovered, which are bounded on the one side by the Northern and Western Seas and on the other side by the South Sea including all its length or breadth; Raising at each of the said three times a sod of earth whilst crying *Vive le Roy* , and making the whole of the assembly as well French as Indians repeat the same; declaring to the aforesaid Nations that henceforeward as from this moment they were dependent on his Majesty, subject to be controlled by his laws and to follow his customs, promising them all protection and succor on his part against the incursion or invasion of their enemies, declaring unto all other Potentates, Princes and Sovereigns, States and Republics, to them and their subjects, that they cannot or ought not seize on, or settle in, any places in said Country, except with the good pleasure of his said most Christian Majesty and of him who will govern the Country in his behalf, on pain of incurring his hatred and the effects of his arms; and in order that no one plead cause of ignorance, we have attached to the back the Arms of France thus much of the present our Minute of the taking possession, Signed by us and the under named persons who were all present.

1 Manitoualin.— Ibid.

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Done at S te Mary of the Falls on the 14 th June in the year of Grace 1671, in the presence of the Reverend fathers; the Reverend Father Claude Dablon, Superior of the missions in this Country, the Rev. Father Gabriel Dreuilletes, the Rev. Father Claude Allouwéz, the Rev. Father André, all of the Company of Jesus; and of Sieur N as Perrot, his Majesty's Interpreter in these parts; Sieur Jollier, J ques Mográs, an inhabitant of Three Rivers; Pierre Moreau, S r de la 29 Touppine, a Soldier belonging to the garrison of the Castle of Quebec. Denis Masse, F çois de Chavigny, S r de la Chevriottiere, J ques Lagillier, Jeanne Maysere, N as Dupuis, F çois Bidaud, J ques Joviel, P rer Porteret, Robert Duprat, Vital Driol, Guillaume Bonhomme and other witnesses.

(Signed) Daumont de Saint Luson , with paraph.

LA SALLE'S PROCÈS-VERBAL, MARCH 14, 1682.1

1 Original in *Margry*, ii., pp. 181–185; translated by Grace Clark.— Ed.

The Taking Possession of the Country Situated along the Ohio er St. Louis River, and the Mississippi or Colbert River.

Official report of this taking possession in the country of the Akansas.

13 th and 14 th March, 1682.

Jaques de la Métairie, notary of the seigniory of Fort Frontenac in New France, commissioned to exercise the said function during the journey which was undertaken to make the discovery of Louisiana by M. de la Salle, Governor of the said Fort Frontenac for the King, and commandant in the said discovery by virtue of his Majesty's commission of which M. de la Salle is the bearer, given at St. Germain-en-Laye on the 12 th of May, 1678.

To all whom these presents shall come, greeting: Know that having been requested by the said Sieur de la Salle to deliver to him an act signed by us and the witnesses therein named, of that which took place on the occasion of his taking possession of the country of Louisiana at the village of Kapaha, one of those which belong to the nation of the Akansas assembled at the said village of Kapaha on the 14th of March, 1682.

In the name of the most high, mighty, invincible, and victorious Prince, Louis le Grand, fourteenth of that name, by the grace of God King of France and of Navarre, and of his heirs, successors, and inheritors of his crown, we, the aforesaid notary, have delivered the said act to the Sieur de la Salle, the tenor whereof follows:

30

On the 12th of March, M. de la Salle having come in sight of Kapaha about ten o'clock in the morning with two of his canoes, and having landed on an island opposite the said village to await the rest of his company, judged by the cries and noise and the war-songs that he heard in the village that the savages were preparing to fight, and therefore caused a fort to be built on the said island, where, after some conferences, Kapaha, chief of the village came to him bearing the pipe of peace and accompanied by six of his principal savages. Peace being concluded, M. de la Salle went with all his men and the said savages to the said village, where he was received with all possible demonstrations of joy and affection both public and individual, in the midst of which the Akansas having asked aid from him against their enemies, he answered them, both of himself in the language of the Islinois which was understood by some of them, and also by one of the interpreters who accompanied him, that it was not from him that they should expect protection but from the greatest prince in the world, on the part of whom he had come to them and to all the other nations that live along their river and in its neighborhood; he had come to offer to all who would obey him all the advantages which so many people enjoy who have had recourse to his power and many of whom were not unknown to them; and after explaining to them what they were to expect and the duties to which this obedience pledged them, all

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having received his speech with acclamation, the said Sieur declared to them besides that in order to give an external sign of the sincerity of their promises it was necessary to erect a column where should be painted the arms of his Majesty and their express consent to recognize him as the master of their land; that in return they would be under the protection of his Majesty and in the shadow of this column which bore the signs of his dominion, and that all who should attack them would have to combat his great might and his subjects the French, who would avenge any injury which might be done them in the persons of their brothers.

This proposition being received by all, while the ceremonies were being continued with which these nations are accustomed to confirm their alliances, the said Sieur de la Salle sent M. de Tonty commander of a brigade, to prepare this column—which was done in a short time. The cross was painted with the arms of France and this inscription: “Louis le Grand, roy de France et de Navarre, règne le 13 Mars 1682.” M. de la Tonty with all the Frenchmen carrying arms and the Savages of the suite of M. de la Salle, bore it from the camp to the public place of the village; here the Reverend Father Zénobe Membré a Recollect missionary, intoned the *O crux, ave, spes unica* , and walked three times around the place each time singing the *Exaudit te Dominus* , and crying three times “ *Vive le Roy!* ” after which at the discharge of musketry they erected the column in repeating the cries of “ *Vive le Roy!* ” and near it the said Sieur de la Salle took his stand and pronounced in a loud voice in French, holding in his hand his commission:

“In the name of the most high, mighty, invincible, and victorious Prince, Louis the Great, by the grace of God, King of France and of Navarre, fourteenth of that name, this thirteenth day of March, one thousand six hundred, and eighty-two, with the consent of the nation of the Akansas, assembled at the village of Kapaha and present in that place, both in their name and in that of their allies, I, in virtue of his Majesty's commission of which I am the bearer and which I hold in my hand, ready to show it to all whom it may concern, have taken and do now take possession, in the name of his Majesty, his heirs and successors to his crown, of the country of Louisiana and all the lands, provinces, countries, peoples,

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nations, mines, ores, ports, harbors, seas, straits, and roadsteads, and of each of these comprised in the region from the mouth of the river St. Louis called Ohio, Olighinsipou and Chukagoua, along the banks of it and of all and each of the rivers which empty into it from the east to the mouth of the Rivière des Palmes from the west, along the river Colbert, called Mississipi, and all the rivers which empty into it from the east; hereby protesting against all those who may in future undertake to gain possession to the prejudice of the right which his Majesty to-day acquires to all the said nations, lands, provinces, peoples, countries, mountains, mines, roadsteads, harbors, ports, and seas, and all that they comprise, of which I take to witness to these presents all the French and Savages and demand such act to be delivered to me by M. Jacques de la Metairie, commissioned to perform the duties of notary on this discovery, to serve according to law.”

Immediately the said Sieur de la Salle caused the same to be read to the said Akansas in their language and they consented to it; and after cries of “ *Vive le Roy!* ” and salute of fire-arms M. de la Salle had the merchandise which was most highly esteemed by these people brought in and laid at the foot of the column, telling them that this was a pledge of the good things they might expect for the faithfulness with which they kept the promises they had just made him; that they should receive them in abundance provided they were as steadfast in the future as they were now zealous. They received all with many thanks. At the end of the ceremony which lasted all night and during the 14th, we saw the Akansas press their hands against this column and then rub their bodies with them to show the joy and confidence they felt to see it erected in their village.

Of which and all of the above the said Sieur de la Salle having required of us an act, we have delivered to him the same signed by us, the aforesaid notary; by M. de Tonty, captain of a brigade; by the Reverend Father Zénobe Membré, Recollect, and by the undersigned witnesses, present at the said taking possession. Made at the said Kapaha village of the Akansas, the 13th and 14th of March 1682. De la Salle; Henry de Tonty; Fr. Zénobe Membré, Recollect missionary; François de Boisrondet; Jean Bourdon, sieur d'Autray;

Jacques Cauchois; Gilles Meneret; Jean Dulignon; Pierre You; Jean Michel, surgeon; Jean Mas; Antoine Brassar; Nicolas de La Salle; La Meterie, notary.

33

LA SALLE'S PROCÈS-VERBAL, APRIL 9, 1682.1

1 Original in *Margry*, ii., pp. 191–193; translation from French's *Louisiana Hist. Coll.*, Second series, pp. 24–27, with changes in nomenclature to accord with *Margry*.— Ed.

“In the name of the most high, mighty, invincible, and victorious Prince, Louis the Great , by the grace of God, King of France and Navarre, fourteenth of that name, this ninth day of April, one thousand six hundred and eighty-two, I, in virtue of the commission of his Majesty (Louis XIV.) which I hold in my hand, and which may be seen by all whom it may concern, have taken, and do now take in the name of his Majesty and of his successors to the crown, possession of this country of Louisiana, the seas, harbors, ports, bays, adjacent straits; and all the nations, people, provinces, cities, towns, villages, mines, minerals, fisheries, streams, and rivers comprised in the extent of Louisiana, from the mouth of the great River St. Louis on the eastern side, otherwise called Ohio, Olighinsipou (Alleghany), or Chukagoua, and this with the consent of the Chaouesnons (Shawances),² Chicachas (Chickasaws), and other people dwelling therein, with whom we have made alliance; as also along the River Colbert or Mississippi, and rivers which discharge themselves therein, from its source; beyond the country of the Kious (Sioux) or Nadouessions, and this with their consent, and with the consent of the Ototantas, Islinois, Matsigamea (Metchigamias), Akansas, Natchez, and Koroas, which are the most considerable nations³ dwelling therein, with whom ³

² The Shawances were a wandering nation, and as early as 1680 occupied the country on the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers, and after that emigrated to the Wabash river country. The Chickasaws were a powerful, warlike nation, and occupied the country within the present States of Kentucky and Tennessee.— French.

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3 “These tribes,” says Father Zénobé Membré, “though savage, seem generally of very good disposition, affable, obliging, and docile. They are very different from our Canada Indians in their houses, dress, manners and customs, and even in the form of their head, for theirs is very flat. They have large public squares, games and assemblies. They seem very lively and active, and their chiefs possess all the authority. They have their valets and officers, who follow and serve them everywhere. They have also axes and guns, which they procure from the Spaniards sixty-five or more leagues off.”— French.

34 also we have made alliance either by ourselves or by others in our behalf; as far as the mouth at the sea or Gulf of Mexico, about the 27th degree of the elevation of the north pole, and also to the mouth of the river of Palms (Rio de Palmas¹); upon the assurance which we have received from all these nations that we are the first Europeans who have descended or ascended the River Colbert, hereby protesting against all those who may in future undertake to invade any or all of these countries, people, or lands above described to the prejudice of the right of his Majesty acquired by the consent of the nations herein named, of which and all that can be needed, I hereby take to witness those who hear me, and demand an act of the notary as required by law.”

To which the whole assembly responded with shouts of “ *Vive le Roy!* ” and with salutes of fire-arms. Moreover, the said Sieur de la Salle caused to be buried at the foot of the tree to which the cross was attached a leaden plate, on one side of which were engraved the arms of France and the following inscription:

Lvdovicvs Magnvs regnat. Nono Aprilis Cic lcc lxxxii.

Robertvs Cavelier, cvm Domino de Tonty legato, R. P. ZéNobio Membre, recollecto, et viginti gallis, Primvs hoc flvmen, inde ab llineorvm pago enavigavit, Ejvsqve ostivm fecit Pervivm Nono Aprilis Anni

Cic lcc lxxxii .

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After which the Sieur de la Salle said that his Majesty, as eldest Son of the Church, would annex no country to his crown without making it his chief care to establish the Christian religion therein, and that its symbol must now be planted, which was accordingly done at once by erecting a cross, before which the *Vexilla* and the *Domine, salvum fac regem* were sung, whereupon the ceremony was concluded with cries of “ *Vive le Roy!*” Of all and every of the above

1 The Rio de Palmas is about one hundred leagues from the River Panuco (Tampico), Mexico.—French.

35 the said Sieur de la Salle having required of us an instrument, we have delivered to him the same signed by us, and by the undersigned witnesses, this ninth day of April, one thousand six hundred and eight-two.

La Métairie, notary.

De La Salle; P. Zénobé, Recollect missionary; Henry de Tonty; François de Boisrondet; Jean Bourdon; sieur d'Autray; Jacques Cauchois; Pierre You; Gilles Meneret; Jean michel, surgeon; Jean Mas; Jean du Lignon; Nicolas de La Salle.

PERROT'S MINUTE OF TAKING POSSESSION, MAY 8, 1689.1

1 Republished from *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, ix., p. 418.— Ed.

Minute of the taking possession of the country on the Upper Mississippi.

Canada, Bay des Puants.

Record of the taking possession, in his Majesty's name, of the Bay des Puants,² of the lake and rivers of the Outagamis,³ and Maskoutins,⁴ of the river 8iskonche,⁵ and that of the Missiscipi, the country of the Nadouesioux, the rivers S te Croix and S t Peter, and other places more remote. 8 th May, 1689.

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2 Green Bay.— Ed. N. Y. Col. Docs.

3 Fox river.— Ibid.

4 Lake Winnebago.— Ibid.

5 Wisconsin.— Ibid.

1689. N o 6.

Nicholas Perrot, commanding for the King at the post of the Nadouesioux, commissioned by the Marquis de Denonville Governor and Lieutenant General of all New France, to manage the interests of Commerce among all the Indian tribes and peoples of the Bay des Puants, Nadouesioux, Mascoutins and other Western Nations of the Upper Mississippi and to take possession in the King's name, of all the places where he has heretofore been, and whither he will go.

We this day, the eighth of May one thousand six hundred and eighty⁶ do, in presence of the Reverend Father Marest

6 Sic.—Ibid.

36 of the Society of Jesus, Missionary among the Nadouesioux; of Monsr de Borie-Guillot commanding the French in the neighborhood of Ouiskonche on the Mississippi; Augustin Legardeur Esquire, Sieur de Caumont, and of Messieurs Le Sueur, Hebert, Letoire and Blein;

Declare to all whom it may Concern, that having come from the Bay des Puants and to the lake of the Ouiskonches and to the river Mississippi, we did transport ourselves to the Country of the Nadouësioux on the border of the River Saint Croix and at the mouth of the River Saint Peter, on the bank of which were the Mantantans, and father up into the interior to the North east of the Mississippi as far as the Menchokatonx with whom dwell

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the majority of the Songeskitons and other Nadouëssioux, who are to the North east of the Mississippi, to take possession for, and in the name of the King, of the countries and rivers inhabited by the said Tribes and of which they are proprietors. The present Act done in our presence, Signed with our hand, and subscribed by the Reverend Father Marest Messrs de Borie guillot and Caumont, and the Sieurs Le Sueur, Hèbert, Lemire and Blein.

Done at the Post St. Anthony, the day and year aforesaid. These presents are in duplicate; Signed to the Original—Joseph Jean Marest of the Society of Jesus; N. Pérot, Legardeur de Caumont Le Sueur; Jean Hébert, Joseph Lemire and F. Blein.

II. ENGLISH DOMINATION.

PRELIMINARY ARTICLES OF PEACE, NOV. 3, 1762.¹

¹ Given in full in *Gent. Mag.*, xxxii., pp. 569–573, from which those articles having a direct bearing upon the West are selected for the present publication.— Ed.

Preliminary Articles of Peace between his Britannick Majesty [England], the Most Christian King [France], and the Catholic King [Spain], signed at Fontainebleau, November 3, 1762.

[Preamble.]

37

Article I. As soon as the preliminaries shall be signed and ratified, sincere friendship shall be re-established between his Britannick majesty and his Most Christian majesty and between his Britannick majesty and his Catholic majesty, their kingdoms, states, and subjects, by sea, and by land, in all parts of the world. Orders shall be sent to the armies and squadrons, as well as to the subjects of the three powers, to stop all hostilities, and to live in the most perfect union, forgetting what has passed, of which their sovereigns give them the order and example: And, for the execution of this article, sea passes shall be

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given, on each side, for the ships, which shall be dispatched to carry the news of it to the respective possessions of the three powers.

II. His Most Christian majesty renounces all pretensions which he has heretofore formed, or might have formed in Nova Scotia, or Acadia, in all its parts, and guaranties the whole of it, with all its dependencies, to the king of Great Britain: Moreover, his Most Christian majesty cedes, and guaranties, to his said Britannick majesty, in full right, Canada, with all its dependencies, as well as the island of Cape Breton, and all the other islands in the Gulf and River of St. Laurence, without restriction, and without any liberty to depart from this cession and guaranty, under any pretence, or to trouble Great Britain in the possessions above mentioned. His Britannick majesty, on his side, agrees to grant to the inhabitants of Canada, the liberty of the Catholick religion: he will, in consequence, give the most exact and the most effectual orders, that his new Roman Catholic subjects may profess the worship of their religion, according to the rites of the Roman church, as far as the laws of Great Britain permit. His Britannick majesty further agrees that the French inhabitants, or others who would have been subjects of the Most Christian king in Canada, may retire, in all safety and freedom, wherever they please; and may sell their estates, provided it be to his Britannick majesty's subjects, and transport their effects, as well as their persons, without being restrained in their emigration, under any pretence whatsoever, except debts, or criminal prosecutions: the term limited for this emigration being 38 fixed to the space of 18 months, to be computed from the day of the ratification of the definitive treaty.

VI. In order to re-establish peace on the most solids and lasting foundations, and to remove for ever every subject of dispute With regard to the limits of the British and French territories on the continent of America; it is agreed, that, for the future, the confines between the dominions of his Britannick majesty, and those of his Most Christian majesty, in that part of the world, shall be irrecoverably fixed by a line drawn along the middle of the river Mississippi, from its source, as far as the river Iberville, and from thence, by a line drawn along the middle of this river, and of the Lakes Maurepas and Pontchatrain, to the sea; and to this purpose, the Most Christian king cedes in full right, and guaranties

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to his Britannick majesty, the river and port of Mobile, and everything that he possesses, or ought to have possessed, on the left side of the river Mississippi, except the town of New Orleans, and the island in which it is situated, which shall remain to France; provided that the navigation of the river Mississippi shall be equally free, as well to the subjects of Great Britain, as to those of France, in its whole breadth and length, from its source to the sea, and that part expressly, which is between the said island of New Orleans, and the right bank of that river, as well as the passage both in and out of its mouth. It is further stipulated, that the vessels belonging to the subjects of either nation, shall not be stopped, visited, or subjected to the payment of any duty whatsoever. The stipulations, in favour of the inhabitants of Canada, inserted in the second article, shall also take place, with regard to the inhabitants of the countries ceded by this article.

XIX. In consequence of the restitution stipulated in the preceding article,¹

1 "The king of Great Britain shall restore to Spain all that he has conquered in the island of Cuba, with the fortress of the Havannah," etc.— Ed.

his Catholic majesty cedes and guaranties, in full right, to his Britannick majesty, all that Spain possesses on the continent of North America, to the E. or to the S. E. of the river Mississippi. And his Britannick majesty agrees to grant to the inhabitants of this country, above ceded, the liberty of the Catholic religion: He will, in consequence, give the most exact and most effectual orders, that his new Roman Catholic subjects may profess the worship of their religion according to the rites of the Roman church, as far as the laws of Great Britain permit. His Britannick majesty farther agrees, that the Spanish inhabitants, or others who would have been subjects of the Catholic king in the said countries, may retire, in all safety and freedom, wherever they please; and may sell their estates, provided it be to his Britannick majesty's subjects, and transport their effects, as well as their persons, without being restrained in their emigration, under any pretence whatsoever, except debts, and criminal prosecutions: The term limited for this emigration, being fixed to the space of 18 months, to be computed from the day of the ratification of the definitive treaty. It is

Library of Congress

further stipulated, that his Catholic majesty shall have power to cause all the effects, that belong to him, either artillery, or others, to be carried away.

DEFINITIVE TREATY OF PEACE, FEB. 10, 1763.¹

¹ Articles bearing on the West, selected from *Gent. Mag.*, xxxiii., pp. 121–126, where the treaty is given in full.—Ed.

The Definitive Treaty of Friendship and Peace between his Britannick Majesty, the Most Christian King, and the King of Spain. Concluded at Paris, the 10th day of February 1763; to which the King of Portugal acceded on the same day.

[Preamble.]

Article I. There shall be a christian, universal, and perpetual peace, as well by sea as by land, and a sincere and constant friendship shall be re-established between their Britannick, Most Christian, Catholic and Most Faithful majesties, and between their heirs and successors, kingdoms, dominions, provinces, countries, subjects, and vassals, of what quality or condition soever they be, without exception of places, or of persons: So that the high contracting parties shall give the greatest attention to maintain between themselves and their said dominions and subjects, this reciprocal friendship and correspondence, without permitting, on either side, any kind of hostilities by sea or by land, to be committed, from henceforth, for any cause, or under any pretence whatsoever, and every thing shall be carefully avoided which might hereafter prejudice the union happily re-established, applying themselves, on the contrary, on every occasion, to procure for each other whatever may contribute to their mutual glory, interests, and advantages, without giving any assistance or protection, directly or indirectly, to those who would cause any prejudice to either of the high contracting parties: There shall be a general oblivion of every thing that may have been done or committed before, or since the commencement of the war, which is just ended.

II. The treaties of Westphalia of 1648; those of Madrid between the crowns of Great Britain and Spain of 1667, and 1670; the treaties of peace of Nimeguen of 1678, and 1679; of Ryswick of 1697; those of peace and of commerce of Utrecht of 1713; that of Baden of 1714; the treaty of the triple alliance of the Hague of 1717; that of the quadruple alliance of London of 1718; the treaty of peace of Vienna of 1738; the definitive treaty of Aix la Chapelle of 1748; and that of Madrid, between the crowns of Great Britain and Spain, of 1750; as well as the treaties between the crowns of Spain and Portugal, of the 13th of February 1668; of the 6th of February 1715; and of the 12th of February 1761; and that of the 11th of April 1713; between France and Portugal, with the guaranties of Great Britain; serve as a basis and foundation to the peace, & to the present treaty; and for this purpose they are all renewed and confirmed in the best form, as well as all the treaties in general, which subsisted between the high contracting parties before the war, as if they were inserted here word for word, so that they are to be exactly observed for the future in their whole tenor, and religiously executed on all sides, in all their points, which shall not be derogated from by the 41 present treaty, notwithstanding all that may have been stipulated to the contrary by any of the high contracting parties: and all the said parties declare, that they will not suffer any privilege, favour, or indulgence, to subsist, contrary to the treaties above confirmed, except what shall have been agreed and stipulated by the present treaty.

III. All the prisoners made, on all sides, as well by land as by sea, and the hostages carried away, or given during the war, and to this day, shall be restored, without ransom, six weeks, at latest, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, each crown respectively paying the advances, which shall have made for the subsistence and maintainance of their prisoners, by the sovereign of the country where they shall have been detained, according to the attested receipts and estimates, and other authentick vouchers, which shall be furnished on one side and the other: and securities shall be reciprocally given for the payment of the debts which the prisoners shall have contracted in the countries where they have been detained, until their entire liberty.

Library of Congress

And all the ships of war and merchant vessels, which shall have been taken since the expiration of the terms agreed upon for the cessation of hostilities by sea, shall be likewise restored *bona fide* , with all their crews and cargoes: and the execution of this article shall be proceeded upon immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty.

IV. His most Christian majesty renounces all the pretensions which he has heretofore formed, or might form to Nova Scotia, or Acadia, in all its parts; and guaranties the whole of it, and with all its dependencies to the King of Great Britain. Moreover, his Most Christian majesty cedes, and guaranties to his said Britannick majesty, in full right, Canada, with all its dependencies, as well as the island of Cape Breton, and all the other islands and coasts in the gulph and river of St. Laurence, and in general every thing that depends on the said countries, lands, islands, coasts, with the sovereignty, property, possession, and all rights acquired by treaty or otherwise, which the most Christian king, and the crown of France, have had, till now, over the said 42 countries, islands, lands, places, coasts, and their inhabitants, so that the most Christian king cedes and makes over the whole to the said king, and to the crown of Great Britain, and that in the most ample manner and form, without restriction, and without any liberty to depart from the said cession and guaranty, under any pretence, or to disturb Great Britain in the possessions above mentioned. His Britannick majesty, on his side, agrees to grant the liberty of the Catholic religion to the inhabitants of Canada: He will consequently, give the most precise and most effectual orders, that his new Roman Catholic subjects may profess the worship of their religion, according to the rites of the Romish church, as far as the laws of Great Britain permit. His Britannick majesty farther agrees that the French inhabitants, or others who had been subjects of the most Christian king in Canada, may retire with all safety and freedom, wherever they shall think proper, and may sell their estates, provided it be to the subjects of his Britannick majesty, and bring away their effects, as well as their persons, without being restrained in their emigration, under any pretense whatsoever, except that of debts, or of criminal prosecutions; the term limited for this emigration, shall be fixed to

Library of Congress

the space of 18 months, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty.

V. The subjects of France shall have the liberty of fishing and drying on a part of the coasts of the island of Newfoundland, such as is specified in the 13th article of the treaty of Utrecht; which article is renewed and confirmed by the present treaty, (except what relates to the island of Cape Breton as well as to the other islands and coasts in the mouth and in the gulph of St. Laurence) and his Britannic majesty consents to leave the subjects of the most Christian king, the liberty of fishing in the gulph of St. Laurence, on condition that the subjects of France do not exercise the said fishery, but at the distance of three leagues from all the coasts belonging to Great Britain, as well those of the continent, as those of the islands situated in the said gulph of St. Laurence. And as to what relates to the fishery on 43 the coast of the island of Cape Breton out of the said gulph, the subjects of the most Christian king shall not be permitted to exercise the said fishery, but at the distance of 15 leagues from the coasts of the island of Cape Breton; and the fishery on the coasts of Nova Scotia or Acadia, and every where else out of the said gulph, shall remain on the foot of former treaties.

VII. In order to re-establish peace on solid and durable foundations, and to remove forever all subjects of dispute with regard to the limits of the British and French territories on the continent of America; it is agreed that for the future, the confines between the dominions of his Britannick majesty, and those of his most Christian majesty in that part of the world, shall be fixed irrevocably by a line drawn along the middle of the river Mississippi, from its source to the river Iberville, and from thence, by a line drawn along the middle of this river, and the Lake Maurepas and Pontchartrain, to the sea; and for this purpose, the most Christian king cedes, in full right, and guaranties to his Britannick majesty, the river and port of the Mobile, and every thing which he possesses, or ought to possess, on the left side the river Mississippi, except the town of New Orleans, and the island in which it is situated, which shall remain to France; provided that the navigation of the river Mississippi shall be equally free as well to the subjects of Great Britain, as to those of France, in its

Library of Congress

whole breadth and length, from its source to the sea, and expressly that part which is between the said island of New Orleans, and the right bank of that river, as well as the passage both in and out of its mouth. It is further stipulated, that the vessels belonging to the subjects of either nation, shall not be stopped, visited or subjected to the payment of any duty whatsoever. The stipulations, inserted in the 4th article, in favour of the inhabitants of Canada, shall also take place, with regard to the inhabitants of the countries ceded by this article.

XX. In consequence of the restitution stipulated in the preceding article,¹

¹ See *ante*, p. 38, note. — Ed.

his Catholick Majesty cedes and 44 guaranties, in full right, to his Britannick Majesty, Florida, with Fort St. Augustin, & the Bay of Pensacola, as well as all that Spain possesses on the continent of North America, to the east, or to the south east of the river Mississippi; and in general, every thing that depends on the said countries and lands, with the sovereignty, property, possession, and all rights; acquired by treaties and otherwise, which the Catholick King and the crown of Spain have had, till now, over the said countries, lands, places, and their inhabitants; so that the Catholick King cedes and makes over the whole to the said king, and to the crown of Great Britain, and that in the most ample manner and form. His Britannick Majesty agrees, on his side, to grant to the inhabitants of the countries above ceded, the liberty of the Catholick religion: He will consequently give the most express and the most effectual orders that his new Roman Catholick subjects may profess the worship of their religion, according to the rites of the Romish church, as far as the laws of Great Britain permit: His Britannick Majesty further agrees, that the Spanish inhabitants, or others, who had been subjects of the Catholick King in the said countries, may retire, with all safety and freedom, wherever they think proper; and may sell their estates, provided it be to his Britannick majesty's subjects, and bring away their effects, as well as their persons, without being restrained in their emigrations, under any pretence whatsoever, except that of debts, or of criminal prosecutions: The term limited for this emigration, being fixed to the space of 18 months, to be computed from the day

Library of Congress

of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty. It is moreover stipulated, that his Catholic majesty shall have power to cause all the effects that may belong to him, to be brought away, whether it be artillery or other things.

XXII. All the letters, papers, documents, and archives which were found in the countries, territories, towns, and places, that are restored, and those belonging to the countries ceded, shall be respectively and bona fide, delivered, or furnished at the same time, if possible, that possession is taken, or, at latest four months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, in whatever places the said papers or documents may be found.

XXIV. As it is necessary to assign a fixed epoch for the restitutions, and the evacuations to be made by each of the high contracting parties; it is agreed, that the British & French troops shall complete, before the 15th of March next, all that shall remain to be executed of the 12th and 13th articles of the preliminaries, signed the 3d day of November last, with regard to the evacuation to be made in the Empire, or elsewhere. The island of Belleisle shall be evacuated six weeks after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner if it can be done. Guadalupe, Desirade, Marie Galante, Martinico, and St. Lucia three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner if it can be done. Great Britain shall likewise, at the end of 3 months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner if it can be done, enter into possession of the river and port of the Mobile, and of all that is to form the limits of the territory of Great Britain, on the side of the river Mississippi, as they are specified in the 7th article. The island of Gorée shall be evacuated by Great Britain, three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty: And the island of Minorca, by France, at the same epoch, or sooner if it can be done: And, according to the conditions of the 6th article, France shall likewise enter into possession of the islands of St. Peter, and Miquelon, at the end of three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty. The factories in the East Indies shall be restored six months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner if it can be done. The fortresses of the Havannah, with all that

has been conquered in the island of Cuba, shall be restored 3 months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner if it can be done: And, at the same time, Great Britain shall enter into possession of the country ceded by Spain, according to the 20th article. All the places and countries of his most Faithful majesty in Europe, shall be restored immediately after 46 the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty: And the Portuguese colonies, which may have been conquered, shall be restored in the space of three months in the West Indies, and of six months in the East Indies, after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner if can be done. All the fortresses, the restitution whereof is stipulated above, shall be restored with the artillery and ammunition which were found there at the time of the conquest. In consequence whereof, the necessary orders shall be sent by each of the high contracting parties, with reciprocal passports for the ships that shall carry them, immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty.

PROCLAMATION OF KING GEORGE, OCT. 7, 1763.¹

¹ In full, from *Gent. Mag.*, xxxiii., pp. 477–479.—Ed.

By the King, a Proclamation. George R.

Whereas we have taken into our royal consideration the extensive and valuable acquisitions in America, secured to our crown by the late definitive treaty of peace concluded at Paris the 10th day of February last; and being desirous that all our loving subjects, as well of our kingdoms as of our colonies in America, may avail themselves, with all convenient speed, of the great benefits and advantages which must accrue therefrom to their commerce, manufactures, and navigation; we have thought fit, with the advice of our privy council, to issue this, our royal proclamation, hereby to publish and declare to all our loving subjects, that we have, with the advice of our said privy council, granted our letters patent under our great seal of Great Britain, to erect within the countries and islands, ceded and confirmed to us by the said treaty, four distinct and separate

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governments, stiled and called by the names of Quebec, East Florida, West Florida, and Grenada, and limited and bounded as follows, viz.:

First the government of Quebec, bounded on the Labrador coast by the river St. John, and from thence, by a line drawn from the head of that river, through the lake St. 47 John, to the South end of the lake Nipissim; from whence the said line, crossing the river St. Lawrence and the lake Champlain in 45 degrees of North latitude, passes along the High Lands, which divide the rivers that empty themselves into the said river St. Lawrence, from those which fall into the sea; and also along the North coast of the Baye des Chaleur, and the coast of the Gulph of St. Lawrence to Cape Rosieres, and from thence crossing the mouth of the river St. Lawrence, by the West end of the island of Anticosti, terminates at the aforesaid river St. John.

Secondly, The government of East Florida, bounded to the Westward by the Gulph of Mexico and the Apalachicola river; to the Northward, by a line drawn from that part of the said river where the Catahouchee and Flint Rivers meet, to the source of St. Mary's river, and by the course of the said river to the Atlantic Ocean; and to the East & South by the Atlantic Ocean and the Gulph of Florida, including all islands within six leagues of the sea coast.

Thirdly, The government of West Florida, bounded to the Southward by the Gulph of Mexico, including all islands within six leagues of the coast from the river Apalachicola to Lake Pontchartrain; to the Westward by the said lake, the Lake Maurepas, and the river Mississippi; to the Northward, by a line drawn due East from that part of the river Mississippi which lies in 31 degrees North latitude, to the river Apalachicola, or Catahouchee; and to the Eastward by the said river.

Fourthly, The government of Grenada, comprehending the island of that name, together with the Grenadines, and the islands of Dominico, St. Vincent, and Tobago.

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And to the end that the open and free fishery of our subjects may be extended to, and carried on upon the coast of Labrador and the adjacent islands, we have thought fit, with the advice of our said privy council, to put all that coast from the river St. John's to Hudson's Streights, together with the islands of Anticosti and Madelaine, and all other smaller islands lying upon the said coast, under the care and inspection of our governor of Newfoundland.

We have also, with the advice of our privy council, thought fit to annex the islands of St. John's and Cape Breton, or Isle Royale, with the lesser islands adjacent thereto, to our government of Nova Scotia.

We have also, with the advice of our privy council, aforesaid, annexed to our province of Georgia all the lands lying between the rivers Altamaha and St. Mary's.

And whereas it will greatly contribute to the speedy settling our said new governments, that our loving subjects should be informed of our paternal care for the security of the liberties and properties of those who are, and shall become, inhabitants thereof; we have thought fit to publish and declare, by this our proclamation, that we have, in the letters patent under our great seal of Great Britain, by which the said governments are constituted, given express power and direction to our governors of our said colonies respectively, that so soon as the state and circumstances of the said colonies will admit thereof, they shall, with the advice and consent of the members of our council, summon and call general assemblies within the said governments respectively, in such manner and form as is used and directed in those colonies and provinces in America, which are under our immediate government; and we have also given power to the said governors, with the consent of our said councils, and the representatives of the people, so to be summoned as aforesaid, to make, constitute, and ordain laws, statutes, and ordinances for the publick peace, welfare, and good government of our said colonies, and of the people and inhabitants thereof, as near as may be agreeable to the laws of England, and under such regulations and restrictions as are used in other colonies; and in the mean time, and

Library of Congress

untill such assemblies can be called as aforesaid, all persons inhabiting in, or resorting to, our said colonies, may confide in our royal protection for the enjoyment of the benefit of the laws, of our realm of England; for which purpose we have given power under our great seal to the governors of our said colonies respectively, to erect and constitute, with the advice of our said councils respectively, courts of judicature and publick justice within our said colonies, for the hearing and determining all causes, as well criminal as 49 civil, according to law and equity, and, as near as may be, agreeable to the laws of England, with liberty to all persons who may think themselves aggrieved by the sentence of such courts, in all civil cases to appeal under the usual limitations and restrictions to us, in our privy council.

We have also thought fit, with the advice of our privy council as aforesaid, to give unto the governors and councils of our said three new colonies upon the continent, full power and authority to settle and agree with the inhabitants of our said new colonies, or with any other persons who shall resort thereto for such lands, tenements, and hereditaments as are now, or hereafter shall be in our power to dispose of, and them to grant to any such person or persons, upon such terms, and under such moderate quit-rents, services and acknowledgments, as have been appointed and settled in our other colonies, and under such other conditions as shall appear to us to be necessary and expedient for the advantage of the Grantees, and the improvement and settlement of our said colonies.

And whereas we are desirous, upon all occasions, to testify our royal sense and approbation of the conduct and bravery of the officers and soldiers of our armies, and to reward the same, we do hereby command and empower our governors of our said three new colonies, and all other our governors of our several provinces on the continent of North America to grant, without fee or reward, to such reduced officers as have served in North America during the late war, and to such private soldiers as have been or shall be disbanded in America, and are actually residing there, and shall personally apply for the same, the following quantities of lands, subject at the expiration of ten years to the same

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quit rents as other lands are subject to in the province within which they are granted, as also subject to the same conditions of cultivation and improvement, viz.

To every person having the rank of a field officer, 5,000 acres.

To every captain 3,000 acres.

To every subaltern or staff officer 2,000 acres.

To every non-commission officer, 200 acres. 4

50

To every private man 50 acres.

We do likewise authorize and require the governors and commanders in chief of all our said colonies upon the continent of North America to grant the like quantities of land, and upon the same conditions, to such reduced officers of our navy of like rank, as served on board our ships of war in North America at the times of the reduction of Louisbourg and Quebec in the late war, and who shall personally apply to our respective governors for such grants.

And whereas it is just and reasonable, and essential to our interest and the security of our colonies, that the several nations or tribes of Indians, with whom we are connected, and who live under our protection, should not be molested or disturbed in the possession of such parts of our dominions and territories as, not having been ceded to, or purchased by us, are reserved to them, or any of them, as their hunting grounds, we do therefore, with the advice of our privy council, declare it to be our royal will and pleasure, that no governor, or commander in chief, in any of our colonies of Quebec, East Florida, or West Florida, do presume, upon any pretence whatever, to grant warrants of survey, or pass any patents for lands beyond the bounds of their respective governments, as described in their commissions; as also that no governor or commander in chief of any of our other

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colonies or plantations in America, do presume for the present, and until our further pleasure be known, to grant warrant of survey, or pass patents for any lands beyond the heads or sources of any of the rivers which fall into the Atlantic Ocean from the West or NorthWest; or upon any lands whatever, which not having been ceded to, or purchased by us, as aforesaid, are reserved to the said Indians, or any of them.

And we do further declare it to be our royal will and pleasure, for the present as aforesaid, to reserve under our sovereignty, protection and dominion, for the use of the said Indians, all the lands and territories not included within the limits of our said three new governments, or within the limits of the territory granted to the Hudson's Bay company; as also all the lands and territories lying to the westward 51 of the sources of the rivers which fall into the sea from the West and North West as aforesaid; and we do hereby strictly forbid, on pain of our displeasure, all our loving subjects from making any purchases or settlements whatever, or taking possession of any of the lands above reserved, without our especial leave and licence for that purpose first obtained.

And we do further strictly enjoin and require all persons whatever, who have either wilfully or inadvertently seated themselves upon any lands within the countries above described, or upon any other lands, which not having been ceded to, or purchased by us, are still reserved to the said Indians as aforesaid, forthwith to remove themselves from such settlements.

And whereas great frauds and abuses have been committed in the purchasing lands of the Indians, to the great prejudice of our interests, and to the great dissatisfaction of the said Indians; in order therefore to prevent such irregularities for the future, and to the end that the Indians may be convinced of our justice and determined resolution to remove all reasonable cause of discontent, we do, with the advice of our privy council, strictly enjoin and require, that no private person do presume to make any purchase from the said Indians of any lands reserved to the said Indians within those parts of our colonies where we have thought proper to allow settlement; but that if at any time

Library of Congress

any of the said Indians should be inclined to dispose of the said lands, the same shall be purchased only for us, in our name, at some public meeting or assembly of the said Indians, to be held for that purpose by the governor or commander in chief of our colony respectively within which they shall lie: And in case they shall lie within the limits of any proprietary government, they shall be purchased only for the use, and in the name of such proprietaries, conformable to such directions and instructions as we or they shall think proper to give for that purpose: And we do, by the advice of our privy council, declare and enjoin, that the trade with the said Indians shall be free and open to all our subjects whatever, provided that every person who may incline 52 to trade with the said Indians, do take out a licence for carrying on such trade, from the governor or commander in chief of any of our colonies respectively, where such person shall reside, and also give security to observe such regulations as we shall at any time think fit, by ourselves or by our commissaries, to be appointed for this purpose, to direct and appoint for the benefit of the said trade: And we do hereby authorize, enjoin, and require the governors and commanders in chief of all our colonies respectively, as well those under our immediate government, as those under the government and direction of proprietaries, to grant such licences without fee or reward, taking especial care to insert therein a condition that such licence shall be void, and the security forfeited, in case the person to whom the same is granted, shall refuse or neglect to observe such regulations as we shall think proper to prescribe as aforesaid.

And we do further expressly enjoin and require all officers whatever, as well military as those employed in the management and direction of Indian affairs within the territories reserved, as aforesaid, for the use of the said Indians, to seize and apprehend all persons whatever, who standing chargen with treasons, misprisions of treason, murders, or other felonies, or misdemeanours, shall fly from justice and take refuge in the said territory, and to send them under a proper guard to the colony where the crime was committed of which they shall stand accused, in order to take their trial for the same.

Given at our court at St. James's, the 7th day of October, 1763, in the third year of our reign.

GOD save the KING.

53

THE QUEBEC ACT.¹

¹ In full from British *Statutes at Large* (London, 1776), xii., pp. 184–187.— Ed.

14 Geo. III., cap. 83.

An act for making more effectual provision for the government of the province of Quebec in North America.

Whereas his Majesty, by his Royal Proclamation, bearing date the seventh Day of October, in the third Year of his Reign, thought fit to declare the Provisions which had been made in respect to certain Countries, Territories and Islands in America, ceded to his Majesty by the definitive Treaty of Peace, concluded at Paris on the tenth Day of February, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-three: And whereas, by the Arrangements made by the said Royal Proclamation, a very large Extent of Country, within which there were several Colonies and Settlements of the Subjects of France, who claimed to remain therein under the Faith of the said Treaty, was left, without any Provision being made for the Administration of Civil Government therein; and certain Parts of the Territory of Canada, where sedentary Fisheries had been established and carried on by the Subjects of France, Inhabitants of the said Province of Canada, under Grants and Concessions from the Government thereof, were annexed to the Government of Newfoundland, and thereby subjected to regulations inconsistent with the Nature of such Fisheries: May it therefore please your most Excellent Majesty that it may be enacted; and be it enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the

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Authority of the same, That all the Territories, Islands, and Countries in North America, belonging to the Crown of Great Britain, bounded on the South by a Line from the Bay of Chaleurs, along the High Lands which divide the Rivers that empty themselves into the River Saint Lawrence, from those which fall into the Sea, to a point in forty-five Degrees of Northern Latitude, on the Eastern 54 bank of the River Connecticut, keeping the same Latitude directly West, through the Lake Champlain, until, in the same Latitude, it meets the River Saint Lawrence; from thence up the Eastern Bank of the said River to the Lake Ontario; thence through the Lake Ontario, and the River commonly called Niagara; and thence along by the Eastern and the South-eastern Bank of Lake Erie, following the said Bank, until the same shall be intersected by the Northern Boundary, granted by the Charter of the Province of Pensylvania, in case the same shall be so intersected; and from thence along the said Northern and Western Boundaries of the said Province, until the said Western Boundary strike the Ohio: But in case the said Bank of the said Lake shah not be found to be so intersected, then following the said Bank until it shall arrive at that Point of the said Bank which shall be nearest to the North-western Angle of the said Province of Pensylvania, and thence by a right line, to the said North-western Angle of the said Province; and thence along the Western Boundary of the said Province, until it strike the River Ohio; and along the Bank of the said River, Westward, to the Banks of the Mississippi, and Northward to the Southern Boundary of the Territory granted to the Merchants Adventurers of England, trading to Hudson's Bay; and also all such Territories, Islands, and Countries, which have, since the tenth of February, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-three, been made Part of the Government of Newfoundland, be, and they are hereby, during his Majesty's Pleasure, annexed to, and made Part and Parcel of, the Province of Quebec, as created and established by the said Royal Proclamation of the seventh of October, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-three.

II. Provided always, That nothing herein contained, relative to the Boundary of the Province of Quebec, shall in anywise affect the Boundaries of any other Colony.

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III. Provided always, and be it enacted, That nothing in this Act contained Shall extend, or be construed to extend, to make void, or to vary or alter any Right, Title, or Possession, derived under any Grant, Conveyance, or otherwise howsoever, of or to any Lands within the said Province, or 55 the Provinces thereto adjoining; but that the same shall remain and be in Force, and have Effect, as if this Act had never been made.

IV. And whereas the Provisions, made by the said Proclamation, in respect to the Civil Government of the said Province of Quebec, and the Powers and Authorities given to the Governor and other Civil Officers of the said Province, by the Grants and Commissions issued in consequence thereof, have been found, upon Experience, to be inapplicable to the State and Circumstances of the said Province, the Inhabitants whereof amounted, at the Conquest, to above sixty-five thousand Persons professing the Religion of the Church of Rome, and enjoying an established Form of Constitution and System of Laws, by which their Persons and Property had been protected, governed, and ordered, for a long Series of Years, from the first Establishment of the said Province of Canada; be it therefore further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That the said Proclamation, so far as the same relates to the said Province of Quebec, and the Commission under the Authority whereof the Government of the said Province is at present administered, and all and every the Ordinance and Ordinances made by the Governor and Council of Quebec for the Time being, relative to the Civil Government and Administration of Justice in the said Province, and all Commissions to Judges and other Officers thereof, be, and the same are hereby revoked, annulled, and made void, from and after the first Day of May, one thousand seven hundred and seventy five.

V. And, for the more perfect Security and Ease of the Minds of the inhabitants of the said Province, it is hereby declared, That his Majesty's Subjects, professing the Religion of the Church of Rome of and in the said Province of Quebec, may have, held, and enjoy, the free Exercise of the Religion of the Church of Rome, subject to the King's Supremacy, declared and established by an Act, made in the first year of the Reign of

Library of Congress

Queen Elizabeth, over all the Dominions and Countries which then did, or thereafter should belong, to the Imperial Crown of this Realm; and that the Clergy of the said Church may hold, receive, and 56 enjoy, their accustomed Dues and Rights, with respect to profess the said Religion.

VI. Provided nevertheless, That it shall be lawful for his Majesty, his Heirs or Successors, to make such Provision out of the rest of the said accustomed Dues and Rights, for the Encouragement of the Protestant Religion, and for the Maintenance and Support of a Protestant Clergy within the said Province, as he or they shall, from Time to Time, think necessary and expedient.

VII. Provided always, and be it enacted, That no Person, professing the Religion of the Church of Rome, and residing in the said Province, shall be obliged to take the Oath required by the said Statute passed in the first Year of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, or any other Oaths substituted by any other Act in the place thereof; but that every such Person who, by the said Statute, is required to take the Oath therein mentioned, shall be obliged, and is hereby required, to take and subscribe the following Oath before the Governor, or such other Person in such Court of Record as his Majesty shall appoint, who are hereby authorized to administer the same; *videlicet* ,

I A.B. do sincerely promise and swear, That I will be faithful, and bear true Allegiance to his Majesty King George, and him will defend to the utmost of my Power, against all traitorous Conspiracies, and Attempts whatsoever, which shall be made against his Person, Crown, and Dignity; and I will do my utmost Endeavour to disclose and make known to his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, all Treasons, and traitorous Conspiracies, and Attempts, which I shall know to be against him, or any of them; and all this I do swear without any Equivocation, mental Evasion, or secret Reservation, and renouncing all Pardons and Dispensations from any Power or Person whomsoever to the contrary. So help me God.

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And every such Person, who shall neglect or refuse to take the said Oath before mentioned, shall incur and be liable to the same Penalties, Forfeitures, Disabilities, and Incapacities, as he would have incurred and been liable to for 57 neglecting or refusing to take the Oath required by the said Statute passed in the first Year of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth.

VIII. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That all his Majesty's Canadian Subjects within the Province of Quebec, the religious Orders and Communities only excepted, may also hold and enjoy their Property and Possessions, together with all Customs and Usages relative thereto, and all other their Civil Rights, in as large, ample, and beneficial Manner, as if the said Proclamation, Commissions, Ordinances, and other Acts and Instruments, had not been made, and as may consist with their Allegiance to his Majesty, and Subjection to the Crown and Parliament of Great Britain; and that in all Matters of Controversy, relative to Property and Civil Rights, Resort shall be had to the Laws of Canada, as the Rule for the Decision of the same; and all Causes that shall hereafter be instituted in any of the Courts of Justice, to be appointed within and for the said Province by his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, shall, with respect to such Property and Rights, be determined agreeably to the said Laws and Customs of Canada, until they shall be varied or altered by any Ordinances that shall, from Time to Time, be passed in the said Province by the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, or Commander in Chief, for the Time being, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Legislative Council of the same, to be appointed in Manner herein-after mentioned.

IX. Provided always, That nothing in this Act contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to any Lands that have been granted by his Majesty, or shall hereafter be granted by his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, to be holden in free and common Soccage.

X. Provided also, That it shall and may be lawful to and for every Person that is owner of any Lands, Goods, or Credits, in the said Province, and that has a Right to alienate the said Lands, Goods, or Credits, in his or her Lifetime, by Deed of Sale, Gift, or otherwise,

Library of Congress

to devise or bequeath the same at his or her Death, by his or her last Will and Testament; any Law, Usage, or Custom, heretofore 58 or now prevailing in the Province, to the contrary hereof in any, wise notwithstanding; such will being executed either according to the Laws of Canada, or according to the Forms prescribed by the Laws of England.

XI. And whereas the Certainty and Lenity of the Criminal Law of England, and the Benefits and Advantages resulting from the Use of it, have been sensibly felt by the Inhabitants, from au Experience of more than nine years, during which it has been uniformly administered; be it therefore further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, that the same shall continue to be administered, and shall be observed as Law in the Province of Quebec, as well in the Description and Quality of the Offence as in the Method of Prosecution and Trial; and the Punishments and Forfeitures thereby inflicted to the Exclusion of every other Rule of Criminal Law, or Mode of Proceeding thereon, which did or might prevail in the said Province before the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and sixty-four; any Thing in this Act to the contrary thereof in any respect notwithstanding; subject nevertheless to such Alterations and Amendments as the Governor, Lieutenant governor, or Commander in Chief for the Time being, by and with the Advice and Consent of the legislative Council of the said Province, hereafter to be appointed; shall, from Time to Time, cause to be made therein, in Manner herein-after directed.

XII. And whereas it may be necessary to ordain many Regulations for the future Welfare and good Government of the Province of Quebec, the Occasions of which cannot now be foreseen, nor, without much Delay and Inconvenience, be provided for, without intrusting that Authority, for a certain time, and under proper Restrictions, to Persons resident there: And whereas it is at present inexpedient to call an Assembly; be it therefore enacted by the Authority aforesaid, that it shall arid may be lawful for his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, by Warrant under his or their Signet or Sign Manual, and with the Advice of the Privy Council, to constitute and appoint a Council for the Affairs of the Province of Quebec, to consist of such Persons 59 resident there, not exceeding twenty-three, nor less than seventeen, as his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, shall be pleased to appoint;

Library of Congress

and, upon the Death, Removal, or Absence of any of the Members Of the said Council, in like Manner to constitute and appoint such and so many other Person or Persons as shall be necessary to supply the Vacancy or Vacancies; which Council, so appointed and nominated, or the major Part thereof, shall have Power and Authority to make Ordinances for the Peace, Welfare, and good Government, of the said Province, with the Consent of his Majesty's Governor, or, in his Absence, of the Lieutenant-governor, or Commander in Chief for the time being.

XIII. Provided always, That nothing in this Act contained shall extend to authorize or empower the said legislative Council to lay any Taxes or Duties within the said Province, such Rates and Taxes only excepted as the Inhabitants of any Town or District within the said Province may be authorized by the said Council to assess, levy, and apply, within the said Town or District, for the purpose of making Roads, erecting and repairing publick Buildings, or for any other Purpose respecting the local Convenience and Oeconomy of such Town or District.

XIV. Provided also, and be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That every Ordinance so to be made, shall, within six months, be transmitted by the Governor, or, in his absence, by the Lieutenant governor, or Commander in Chief for the time being, and laid before his Majesty for his Royal Approbation; and if his Majesty shall think fit to to disallow thereof, the same shall cease and be void from the Time that his Majesty's Order in Council thereupon shall be promulgated at Quebec.

XV. Provided also, that no Ordinance touching Religion, or by which any Punishment may be inflicted greater than Fine or Imprisonment for three Months, shall be of any Force or Effect, until the same shall have received his Majesty's Approbation.

XVI. Provided also, That no Ordinance shall be passed at any Meeting of the Council where less than a Majority of the whole Council is present, or at any Time except between 60 the first Day of January and the first Day of May, unless upon some, urgent Occasion,

Library of Congress

in which Case every Member thereof resident at Quebec, or within fifty miles thereof, shall be personally summoned by the Governor, or, in his Absence, by the Lieutenant-governor, or Commander in Chief for the Time being, to attend the same.

XVII. And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That nothing herein contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to prevent or hinder his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, by his or their Letters Patent under the Great Seal of Great Britain, from erecting, constituting, and appointing, such Courts of Criminal, Civil, and Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction within and for the said Province of Quebec, and appointing, from Time to Time, the Judges and Officers thereof, as his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, shall think necessary and proper for the Circumstances of the said Province.

XVIII. Provided always, and it is hereby enacted, that nothing in this Act contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to repeal or make void, within the said Province of Quebec, any Act or Acts of the Parliament of Great Britain heretofore made, for prohibiting, restraining, or regulating, the Trade or Commerce of his Majesty's Colonies and Plantations in America; but that all and every the said Acts, and also all Acts of Parliament heretofore made concerning or respecting the said Colonies and Plantations, shall be, and are hereby declared to be, in Force, within the said Province of Quebec, and every Part thereof.

III. AMERICAN DOMINATION.

PROVISIONAL ARTICLES OF PEACE, NOVEMBER 30, 1782.

Can be readily found in *Treaties and Conventions concluded between the united States of America and other Powers* (Wash., 1873), pp. 309–312.

DEFINITIVE TREATY OF PEACE, SEPTEMBER 3, 1783.

See the same volume, pp. 314–318.

JAY'S TREATY, NOVEMBER 19, 1794.

Same volume, pp. 318–335.

JEFFERSON'S REPORT ON A PLAN FOR A TEMPORARY GOVERNMENT OF THE WESTERN TERRITORY, 1784.¹

¹ From *Jour. Cong.*, ix., pp. 109–10. This report, drawn by Thomas Jefferson, was adopted in congress, April 23, 1784. It may be found in its original form, with Jefferson's fanciful plan for dividing the Northwest Territory into ten states classically named, in Randall's *Jefferson*, i., p. 398.— Ed.

Resolved , That so much of the territory ceded or to be ceded by individual states to the United States, as is already purchased or shall be purchased of the Indian inhabitants, and offered for sale by Congress, shall be divided into distinct states, in the following manner, as nearly as such cessions will admit; that is to say, by parallels of latitude, so that each state shall comprehend from north to south two degrees of latitude, beginning to count from the completion of 45 degrees north of the equator; and by meridians of longitude, one of which shall pass through the lowest point of the rapids of Ohio, and the other through the western cape of the mouth of the great Kenhaway: but the territory eastward of this last meridian, between the Ohio, lake Erie and Pennsylvania, shall be one state whatsoever may be its comprehension of latitude. That which may lie beyond the completion of the 45th degree between the said meridians, shall make part of the state adjoining it on the south: and that part of the Ohio, which is between the same meridians coinciding nearly with the parallel of 39° shall be substituted so far in lieu of that parallel as a boundary line.

That the settlers on any territory so purchased, and offered for sale, shall, either on their own petition or on the order of Congress, receive authority from them, with appointments of time and place, for their free males of full age within the limits of their state to meet

Library of Congress

together, for the purpose of establishing a temporary government, to adopt the constitution 62 and laws of any one of the original states; so that such laws nevertheless shall be subject to alteration by their ordinary legislature; and to erect, subject to a like alteration, counties, townships, or other divisions, for the election of members for their legislature.

That when any such state shall have acquired 20,000 free inhabitants, on giving due proof thereof to Congress, they shall receive from them authority with appointments of time and place, to call a convention of representatives to establish a permanent constitution and government for themselves. Provided that both the temporary and permanent governments be established on these principles as their basis;

1st. That they shall for ever remain a part of this confederacy of the United States of America.

2d. That they shall be subject to the articles of confederation in all those cases in which the original states shall be so subject, and to all the acts and ordinances of the United States in Congress assembled, conformable thereto.

3d. That they in no case shall interfere with the primary disposal of the soil by the United States in Congress assembled, nor with the ordinances and regulations which Congress may find necessary, for securing the title in such soil to the *bona fide* purchasers.

4th. That they shall be subject to pay a part of the federal debts contracted or to be contracted, to be apportioned on them by Congress, according to the same common rule and measure by which apportionments thereof shall be made on the other states.

5th. That no tax shall be imposed on lands, the property of the United States.

6th. That their respective governments shall be republican.

Library of Congress

7th. That the lands of non-resident proprietors shall, in no case, be taxed higher than those of residents within any new state, before the admission thereof to a vote by its delegates in Congress.

That whensoever any of the said states shall have, of free inhabitants, as many as shall then be in any one the 63 least numerous of the thirteen original states, such state shall be admitted by its delegates into the Congress of the United States, on an equal footing with the said original states; provided the consent of so many states in Congress is first obtained as may at the time be competent to such admission. And in order to adapt the said articles of confederation to the state of Congress when its numbers shall be thus increased, it shall be proposed to the legislatures of the states, originally parties thereto, to require the assent of two-thirds of the United States in Congress assembled, in all those cases wherein by the said articles, the assent of nine states is now required, which being agreed to by them, shall be binding on the new states. Until such admission by their delegates into Congress, any of the said states after the establishment of their temporary government shall have authority to keep a member in Congress, with a right of debating but not of voting.

That measures not inconsistent with the principles of the confederation, and necessary for the preservation of peace and good order among the settlers in any of the said new states, until they shall assume a temporary government as aforesaid, may, from time to time, be taken by the United States in Congress assembled.

That the preceding articles shall be formed into a charter of compact; shall be duly executed by the president of the United States in Congress assembled, under his hand, and the seal of the United States; shall be promulgated; and shall stand as fundamental constitutions between the thirteen original states, and each of the several states now newly described, unalterable from and after the sale of any part of the territory of such

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state, pursuant to this resolve, but by the joint consent of the United States in Congress assembled, and of the particular state within which such alteration is proposed to be made.

ORDINANCE OF 1787.

There are many copies extant. Probably the most accurate as well as the most easily obtained, is in *Federal and State Constitutions* , etc. (Wash., 1877), i., 429–432.

RADISSON AND GROSEILLIERS IN WISCONSIN.¹

¹ Pierre d'Esprit, Sieur Radisson, and his sister Margaret's husband, Médard Chouart, Sieur des Groseilliers, were among the most daring and successful explorers known in North America during the third quarter of the seventeenth century. Groseilliers arrived in Canada in 1641, when but sixteen years of age; while Radisson arrived on the 24th of May, 1651. They were constant companions in their dangerous journeyings, through the heart of the Northwest, from 1658 to 1685; being alternately employed under the flags of both Great Britain and France, as fancy or their self-interest dictated. From 1652 to 1664, Radisson made notes of his individual and their joint wanderings, which he copied out in 1665; these cover his first four voyages of exploration in the Northwest. Later, he wrote out a journal of their voyage of 1682–83, to the Hudson Bay region, where they originated the idea of forming a settlement, from which developed the Hudson Bay Company's mammoth establishment; and still another narrative covering their experiences there in 1684,—the last named being in French. The MS. narratives of the first four voyages, evidently intended not for publication, but for the edification of King Charles II., of England, whose patronage the adventurers were then seeking, in London,—came into the possession of the famous diarist, Samuel Pepys, secretary of the admiralty both to King Charles and James II. In 1703, Pepys's manuscripts, falling into the hands of London shopkeepers, were used, many of them, for waste paper; but in January, 1750, Richard Rawlinson, a famous collector, secured as many of these Pepys documents as he could find, and among them chanced to be Radisson's priceless narratives of 1652–1664. Finally, they

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drifted into the Bodleian Library, where they now are. The narrative of 1682–83 was purchased for the British Museum, July 8, 1839, of Rodd, a London dealer in antiquities; while the French narrative of 1684 came to the Museum in the collection of Sir Hans Sloane. In 1885, Gideon D. Scull, of London, England, copied these manuscripts in the Bodleian Library and the British Museum, and later the same year they were published by the Prince Society, of Boston, in a limited edition, not generally accessible. Mr. Scull furnished a biographical and critical introduction, and a few valuable explanatory notes; but not a sufficient number of the latter to render the narrative easy reading or the course of the travelers apparent to any but antiquarian experts. Not a scholar, and writing in an age when even the orthography of the learned was uncertain and their literary style often clumsy, and writing, too, in a language with whose grammatical forms this wild Frenchman was ill acquainted. It is not surprising that Radisson's narratives are unique specimens of "English as she is wrote;" and that one who attempts to critically read his pages and trace the intricate wanderings of these adventurous explorers, upon a modern map, must often trust to inference.

In *Minn. Hist. Coll.*, v., pp. 401–403; *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, ix., pp. 292–298, and *Mag. West. Hist.*, vii., pp. 412–421, Edward D. Neill has given brief popular sketches of the romantic career of Radisson and Groseilliers, based on Scull's introduction. Radisson's first "voyage," in 1652, an individual experience, was in the character of prisoner, a party of Mohawks having captured him in the neighborhood of Three Rivers and carried him with them to their village, where he was adopted; but he ran away, October 29, 1653, went to the Dutch at Albany and from Manhattan sailed for Holland. In May, 1654, he was back again at Three Rivers. In July, 1657, he accompanied the Jesuit Fathers, Paul Ragueneau and Joseph Inbert Duperon, to their mission among the Onondagas, which was clandestinely abandoned on the night of March 20, 1658. This constituted Radisson's second "voyage."

"About the middle of June, 1658," Radisson and Groseilliers, who had now formed a brotherly partnership "to travell and see countreys," began a journey up the Ottawa river.

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to Lake Huron and beyond. They started in company with twenty-nine other Frenchmen; but being attacked by the Iroquois, all returned except Radisson and Groseilliers, who pushed on with the Huron “wildmen” who served as their guides to the upper country. Dr. Neill, in his article in *Mag. West. Hist.*, p. 415, makes the curious mistake of combining the incidents of this third voyage of Radisson with those of the fourth.

Upon arriving at the mouth of French river, the Indians divided their party; “seven boats went towards west northwest and the rest to the South.” The two Frenchmen proceeded with the south-bound fleet, and after making nearly the entire circuit of Lake Huron, stopped with their Indian companions at the village of the latter—apparently on one of the Manitoulin islands. From here, they went on a neighboring visit to “the nation of ye stairing haire.”—the Ottawas, who were on the Great Manitoulin. Urged by visitors, —“ambassadors,” Radisson grandiloquently styles them,—from the “Pontonatenick,” or Pottawattomies, the travelers pushed westward through the straits of Mackinaw and visited these new friends, who were then located (see Butterfield's *Nicolet*, p. 71) “upon the islands at the mouth of Green bay, and upon the main land to the southward, along the western shores of Lake Michigan.” They passed the winter of 1658–59 with the Pottawattomies,— thus being the first white men known to have set foot within what is now Wisconsin, after the advent of Nicolet in 1634. While with the Pottawattomies, they met with visitors from the Mascoutins, or the famous “Fire Nation,” whom Nicolet had discovered on the south side of Fox river, probably in what is now Green Lake county, Wis. (Butterfield, p. 66), twenty-five years before; and such was the stability of their habitation, Allouez (*Relation*, 1670, p. 99) found them in the same place, eleven years after Radisson's voyage. In the spring of 1659, the Frenchmen passed up the Fox to visit the Mascoutins. The latter told them of the “Nadoneceronon” nation, or Sioux, their neighbors to the west; also of a wandering tribe, the Christinos, who lived on the shores of Hudson's bay in the summer and in Wisconsin and along the south shore of Lake Superior in the winter.

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They appear to have had excellent treatment at the hands of the Mascoutins; and it is undoubtedly to this period of the voyage, in the spring and early summer of 1659, that Radisson refers, when, upon his homeward journey down the Ottawa, he writes, by way of reminiscence, the words commencing with:— “We wears 4 months in our voyage without doing any thing but goe from river to river.” In this paragraph,— apparently quite unconscious of the great historic importance of the discovery,— he alludes to the fact that his companion and himself accompanied some Indians “into ye great river,” which from his description was undoubtedly the Upper Mississippi. This discovery antedates that claimed for La Salle (C. W. Butterfield *Mag. West. Hist.*, v., pp. 51, 721–724) by not less than eleven years, and that of Joliet and Marquette by fourteen years, and forms one of the most notable records of early American exploration. There can be no doubt that Radisson's reference is to the Mississippi; and that the event occurred during his visit to the Mascoutins. In 1634, these Indians gave Nicolet an account of “the great water” to the west, but he did not take advantage of the information; and he went no further in that direction (*Jesuit Relations*, 1640, p. 36; 1654; p. 30; 1670, pp. 99–100). Radisson and Groseilliers, however, were careless of time, and apparently only desirous of satisfying their curiosity,—“to be knowne with the remotest people,” as the narrator puts it. The season they spent with the Mascoutins was the only time they could have made the visit to the Mississippi, for the narrative fully explains their movements during the rest of the third voyage, and leaves them no other opportunity to reach the great river. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that the notable discovery was made in the spring or early summer of 1659; and that the approach to the Mississippi was made up the Fox river and down the Wisconsin,— the route pointed out by the Mascoutins to Nicolet, twenty-five years before.

Upon the conclusion of their visit to the Fire Nation, the adventurers returned via Green bay and the straits of Mackinaw, in company with a party of the Mascoutins, to Sault Ste. Marie. After cruising along a portion of the southeastern shore of Lake Superior and in the neighborhood of the Sault, they returned to Lower Canada by way of the Ottawa river, arriving at Three Rivers about the first of June; 1650. Our selections from

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the third of *Radisson's Voyages* (Prince Society, Boston, 1885) cover the period from leaving the Manitoulin islands to visit what was afterwards Wisconsin, until the return of the adventurers to the Sault in company with the Mascoutins (pp. 147–159); and the paragraph of reminiscence relating to the discovery of the Mississippi (pp. 167–169).

Redisson's fourth voyage, again in the company of his brother-in-law, was commenced in August, 1661. Skirting the southern shore of Lake Superior, they discovered the Pictured Rocks, portaged across Keweenaw point and visited a party of Christines who were located northeast of Montreal river; near this river, some of their Huron companions left them to proceed overland by a well-worn trail to their village about the sources of the Chippewa river; the Frenchmen pushed on with the remainder of the Hurons and after a portage across what is now known as Oak point, in Ashland county, Wis., entered Chequamegon bay. They built a rude fort at "the end of" the bay. About a fortnight later, the Frenchmen proceeded to the Huron village at the head of the Chippewa and passed the winter of 1661–62 in that vicinity. In the spring of 1662 they visited the Bœuf (or Buffalo) band of the Sioux for six weeks and then returned to Chequamegon bay, venturing as far northwest as the Christine villages at Lake Assiniboine. They appear to have returned to Three Rivers in August, 1662. Our selection from the fourth voyage covers only the experiences of Radisson and Groseilliers from the time of their reaching the Montreal river, and entering what is now Wisconsin, in the fall of 1661, until their arrival in the land of the Christinos the following spring (pp. 193–224).

THE THIRD VOYAGE OF RADISSON.

* * * * *

We weare then possessed by the hurrons and Octanac [Ottawas]; but our minde was not to stay in an island, but 65 to be knowne w th the remotest people. The victory that we have gotten¹ made them consent to what we could desire, 5

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1 Soon after their arrival in the Manitoulin islands, Radisson and Groseilliers assisted their Huron friends in vanquishing a party of eleven Iroquois, eight of whom were killed and three captured alive. "The dead weare eaten & the living weare burned with a small fire to the rigour of cruelties," calmly writes Radisson.— Ed. 5

66 & because that we shewed willing[ness] to die for their defence. So we desired to gee w th a company of theirs that was going to the nation of y e starring haire.1

1 Ottawas, who at this time chiefly occupied the Grand Manitoulin. The Ottawas in the Huron village where the Frenchmen were quartered, were evidently few in number.— Ed.

67

We weare wellcomed & much made of, saying that we weare the Gods & devils of the earth; that we should furnish them, & that they would bring us to their ennemy to 68 destroy them. We tould them [we] were very well content. We persuaded them first to come peaceably, not to destroy them presently, and if they would not condescend, then Would wee throw away the hatchett and make use of our thunders. We sent ambassadors to them w th guifts. That nation called Pontonatemick1 w th out more adoe comes & meets us w th the rest, & peace was concluded. Feasts were made & dames w th guifts came of each side, w th a great deale of mirth.

1 Pottawattomies of the Green bay region.— Ed.

We visited them during that winter, & by that means We made acquaintance w th an other nation called Escotecke [Mascoutins], w ch signified fire, a faire proper nation; they are tall and bigg & very strong. We came there in the spring.2 When we arrived there weare extraordinary banquetts. There they never have seen men w th beards, because they pull their haire as soone as it comes out; but much more astonished when they saw our arms, especially our guns, w th they worshipped by blowing smoake of tobacco instead of

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sacrifice. I will not insist much upon their way of living, ffor of their ceremonys heere you will see a pattern.

2 Meaning that they went to visit the Mascoutins, on Fox river, in the spring of 1659.— Ed.

In the last voyage that wee made I will left you onely know what cours we tanned in 3 years' time. We desired them to lett us know their neighboring nations. They gave us the names, w ch I hope to describe their names in the end of this most imperfect discours, at least those that I can remember. Among others they told us of a nation called Nadoneceronon [Sioux] w ch is very strong, w th whome they weare in warres w th , & another wandering nation, living onely uppon what they could come by. Their dwelling was on the side of the salt watter³ in summer time, & in the land in the winter time, for it's cold in their country. They calle

3 Hudson's bay.— Ed.

69 themselves Christinos,¹ & their confederats from all times, by reason of their speech, w ch is y e same, & often have joyned together & have had companys of souldiers to warre against that great nation. We desired not to goe to the North till we had made a discovery in the South, being desirous to know what they did. They [the Mascoutins] told us if we would gee w th them to the great lake of the stinkings² the time was come of their trafick, w ch was of as many knives as they could gett from the french nation, because of their dwellings, w ch was att the coming in of a lake³ called Superior, but since the destructions of many neighboring nations they retired themselves to the height of the lake. We knewed those people well. We went to them almost yearly, and the company that came up w th us weare of y e said nation, but never could tell punctually where they lived because they, make the barre of the Christinos from whence they have the Castors [beavers] that they bring to the french. This place is 600 leagues off, by reason of the circuit that we must doe. The hurrans & the Octanacks, from whence we came last, furnishes them also, & comes to the furthest part of the lake of the Stinkings, there to have light earthen pots, and girdles

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made of goat's hairs, & small shells that grow att the sea side, w th w ch they trim their cloath made of skin.

1 Kilistinons, or Kenisteno, now settled in British America and called Crees.— Ed.

2 Lake Michigan. Du Creux' map of 1660, one of the earliest charts representing this lake, styles it "Magnus Lacus Algonquinorum, seu Lacus Foete[n]tium," equivalent to "Great Algonquin Lake; or, Lake of the Puants." As Puant was rendered into English "Stinkard," or "Stinking," and Green bay and Lake Michigan were then regarded as one body of water, it will be seen how that body came to be distinguished by Radisson as "the great lake of the stinkings."— Ed.

3 Sault Ste. Marie.— Ed.

We finding this opportunity would not lett it slippe, but made guifts, telling [them] that the other nation would stand in feare of them because of us. We flattered them, saying none would dare to give them the least wrong, in so much that many of the Octanacks that weare present to make the same voyage. I can assure you I liked noe country as I 70 that wherein we wintered; ffor whatever a man could to be had in great plenty; viz. staggs , fishes in abundance, & all sort of meat, corne enough. Those of the 2 nations would not come w th us, but turned back to their nation. We neverthesse put ourselves in hazard, for our curiosity, of stay 2 or 3 years among that nation. We ventured, for that We understand some of their idiome & trusted to that.

* * * * *

We weare 4 months in our voyage w th out doeing any thing but goe from river to river. We mett several sorts of people. We conversed w th them, being long time in alliance w th them. By the persuasion of som of them we went into y e great river that divides itselfe in 2, where the hurons w th some Ottanake & the wild men that had warts w th them had retired.¹ There is not great difference in their language, as we weare told. This nation have

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warts against those of [the] forked river. It is so called because it has 2 branches, the one toward the west, the other toward the South, w ch we believe runns towards Mexico, by the tokens they gave us,² Being among these people, they told us the prisoners they take tells them that they [the prisoners] have warrs against a nation, against men that build great cabbans & have great beards & had such knives as we have had. Moreover they shewed a Decad of beads & guilded pearls that they have had from that people, w ch made us believe they weare Europeans. They shewed one of that nation that was taken the yeare before. We understood

1 A large party of Hurons and Ottawas, while being driven before the storm of Iroquois wrath, had, about five years before Radisson's visit settled on an island in the Mississippi river, above Lake Pepin, but had finally proceeded up the Chippewa river to its source.— Ed.

2 Clearly the Mississippi. The branch “toward the west” may have been the Iowa. It is not likely that our travelers descended to the mouth of the Missouri, or the great river would have made such an impression Upon Radisson that he would have described his journey thither in detail. Again, his authority as to the western branch may have been but hearsay. But the statement is direct, that they saw and “went into ye great river.”— Ed.

71 him not; he was much more tawny then they w th whome we weare. His armes & leggs weare turned outside; that was the punishment inflicted upon him. So they doe w th them that they take, & kill them w th clubbs & doe often eat them. They doe not burne their prisoners as those of the northern parts.

We weare informed of that nation that live in the other river.¹ These weare men of extraordinary height & biggnesse, that made us believe they had no communication w th them. They live onely uppon Corne & Citrulles,² w ch are mighty bigg. They have fish in plenty throughout y e yeare. They have fruit as big as the heart of an Oriniak,³ w ch grows on vast trees w ch in cornpasse are three armefull in compasse. When they see litle men they are affraid and cry out, w ch makes many come help them. Their arrows are

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not of stones as ours are, but of fish boans & other boans that they worke greatly, as all other things. Their dishes are made of wood. I having seene them, [the dishes] could not but admire the curiosity of their worke. They have great calumetts of great stones, red & greene. They make a store of tobacco. They have a kind of drink that makes them mad for a whole day. This I have not seene, therefore you may believe as you please.

1 Apparently the western branch.— Ed.

2 Pumpkins.—G. D. S.

3 Moose.— Ed.

* * * * *

THE FOURTH VOYAGE OF RADISSON.

* * * * *

We went on and came to a hollow river w th was a quarter of a mile bredth.⁴ Many of our wildmen went to win y e shortest way to their nation, and [there] weare then 3 aud 20 boats, for we mett w th some in that lake [Superior] that joyned w th us, and came to keepe us company, in hopes to gett knives from us, w ch they love better than we serve God, w ch should make us blush for shame. Seaven boats stayed of the nation

4 The Montreal.— Ed.

72 of the Sault. We went on half a day before we could come to y e landing place, and wear forced to make another carriage a point of 2 leagues long and some 60 paces broad.¹ As we came to the other sid we weare in a bay of 10 leagues about,² if we had gone in. By seeing about that same point we passed a straight, for that point was very nigh the other side, w ch is a cape very much elevated like piramides. That point should be very fitt to build & advantgeous for the building of a fort, as we did the spring following. In that bay there is a chanell where we take great store of fishes, sturgeons of a vast

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biggnesse, and Pycks of seaven foot long. Att the end of this bay we landed. The wildmen gave thanks to that w ch they worship, we to God o f Gods, to see ourselves in a place where we must leave our navigation and forsake our boats to undertake a harder peece of worke in hand, to w ch we are forced. The men told us that wee had 5 great dayes' journeys before we should arrive where their wives weare. We foresee the Bard task that we weare to undergoe by carrying our bundles uppon our backs. They weare used to it. Here every one for himselfe & God for all.

1 Oak point.— Ed.

2 Chequamegon bay.— Ed.

We finding ourselves not able to perform such a taske, & they could not well tell where to finde their wives, fearing least the Nadoneceronons had warrs against their nation and forced them from their appointed place, my brother and I we consulted what was best to doe, and declared oar will to them, w ch was thus: "Brethren, we resolve to stay here, being not accustomed to make any cariage ou our backs as yee are wont. Goe yee and looke for your wives. We will build us a fort here. And seeing that you are not able to carry all your marchandizes att once, we will keepe them for you, and will stay for you 14 dayes. Before the time expired you will send to us if your wives be alive, and if you find them they will fetch what you leave here & what we have; for their paines they shall receive guifts of us. See you will see us in your countrey. If they be dead, we will spend all to be revenged, and will gather up the whole countrey for the next spring, for that purpose to destroy those 73 that weare the causers of their death, and you shall see our strenght and vallour. Although there are seavem thousand fighting men in one village, you'll see we will make them runne away, & you shall kill them to your best liking by the very noise of our armes and our presence, who are the Gods of the earth among those people."

They woundered very much art our resolution. The next day they went their way, and we stay for our assurance in the midst of many nations, being but two almost starved for want

Library of Congress

of food. We went about to make a fort of stakes, w ch was in this manner. Suppose that the watter side had ben in one end; art the same end there should be murtherers, and att need we made a bastion in a triangle to defend us from an assault. The doore was neare the watter side, our fire was in the midle, and our bed on the right hand, covered. There were boughs of trees all about our fort layed acrossse, one uppon an other. Besides these boughs, we had a long cord tyed w th some small bells, w ch weare senteryes. Finally, we made an ende of that fort in 2 dayes' time. We made an end of some fish that we putt by for neede. But as soone as we are lodged we went to fish for more whilst the other kept the house. I was the fittest to goe out, being youngest. I tooke my gunne and goes where I never was before, so I choosed not one way before another. I went to the wood some 3 or 4 miles. I find a small brooke, where I walked by y e sid awhile, w ch brought me into meddowes. There was a poole, where weare a good store of bustards. I began to creepe though I might come neare. Thought to be in Canada, where y e fowle is scared away; but the poore creatures, seeing me flatt upon the ground, thought I was a beast as well as they, so they come neare me, whisling like gosslings, thinking to frighten me. The Whistling that I made them heare was another music than theirs. There I killed 3, and the rest scared, w ch neverthesse came to that place againe to see what sudaine sicknesse befeled their comrads. I short againe; two payed for their curiosity. I think the Spaniards had no more to fulfill then as kill those birds, that thought not of such a thunder bolt. There are yett more countreys as fruitfull and as beautifull as y e Spaniards 74 to conquer, w ch be done w th as much ease and facility, and prove as rich, if not richer, for bread and wine; and all other things are as plentifull as in any part of Europ. This I have seene, w ch am sure the Spaniards have not in such plenty. Now I come backe w th my victory, w ch was to us more than tenne thousand pistoles. We lived by it 5 dayes. I tooke goode notice of the place, in hopes to come there more frequent, but this place is not onely so.

There we stayed still full 12 dayes w th out any news, but we had the company of other wild men of other countreys, that came to us admiring our fort and the workmanship. We suffered non to gee in but one person [at a time], and [they] liked it so much the better, &

Library of Congress

often durst not goe in, so much they stood in feare of our armes, that weare in good order, w ch weare, 5 guns, two musquetons, 3 fowling peeces, 3 paire of great pistoletts, and 2 paire of pockett ons, and every one his sword and daggar. So that we might say that a Coward was not well enough armed. Mistrust neverthelesse is the mother of safety, and the occasion makes the thief. During that time we had severall alarums in y e night. The squerels and other small beasts, as well as foxes, came in and assaulted us. One night I forgott my bracer, w ch was wett; being up and downe in those pooles to fetch my fowles, one of these beasts carried it away, w ch did us a great deal of wrong, and caused y e life to great many of those against whom I declared myselfe an ennemy. We imagined that some wildmen might have surprized us; but I may say they weare far more afrayd than we. Some dayes after we found it one half a mile from the fort in a hole of a tree, the most part torne. Then I killed an Oriniack. I could have killed more, but we liked the fowles better. If we had both [of us] libertie to gee from our fort, we should have procured [enough] in a month that should serve us a whole winter. The wildmen brought us more meate than we would, and as much fish as we might eate.

The 12 th perceived afarr off some 50 yong men towards us, w th some of our formest companions. We gave them leave to come into our fort, but they are astonied, calling us every foot devils to have made such a 75 machine. They brought us victualls, thinking we weare halfe starved, but weare mightily mistaken, for we had more for them then they weare able to eate, having 3 score bustards and many sticks wheare was meate hanged plentifully. They offred to carry our baggage, being come a purpose; but we had not so much marchandize as when they went from us, because we hid some of them, that they might not have suspicion of us. We told them that for feare of the dayly multitud of people that came to see us, for to have our goods [they] would kill us. We therefore tooke a boat and putt into it our marchandizes; this we brought farre into the bay, where we sunke them, bidding our devill not to left them to be weft nor rusted, nor suffer them to be taken away, w ch he promised faithlesse that we should retourne and take them out of his hands; att w ch they weare astonished, believing it to be [as] true as y e Christians

Library of Congress

the Gospell. We hid them in the ground on the other side of y e river in a peece of ground. We told them that lye that they should not have suspicion of us. We made good cheere. They stayed there three dayes, during w ch time many of their wives came thither, and we traited them well, for they eat not fowle att all, scarce, because they know not how to catch them except w th their arrowes. We putt a great many rind¹ about our fort, and broake all the beats that we could have, for the frost would have broaken them or wild men had stolen them away. That rind was tyed all in length to putt the fire in it, to frighten the more these people, for they could not approach it w th out being discovered. If they ventured att y e going out we putt the fire to all the torches, showing them how we would have defended ourselves. We weare Cesars, being nobody to contradict us. We went away free from any burden, whilst those poore miserable thought themselves happy to carry our Equipage, for the hope that they had that we should give them a brasse ring, or an awle, or an needle.

1 Strips of bark.— Ed.

There came above foure hundred persons to see us goe away from that place w ch admired more our actions [than] ⁷⁶ the fools of Paris to see enter their King and y e Infanta of Spaine, his spouse; for they cry out, “God save the King and Queene!” Those made horrid noise, and called Gods and Devills of the Earth and heavens. We marched foure dayes through y e woods. The countrey is beautifull, w th very few mountaines, the woods cleare. Art last we came w th in a league of the Cabbans, where we layed that the next day might be for our entry. We ² poore adventurers for the honnour of our countrey, or of those that shall deserve it from that day; the nimblest and stoutest went before to warne before y e people that we should make our entry tommorow. Every one prepares to see what they never before have seene. We weare in cottages w ch weare neare a little lake some 8 leagues in circuit.¹ Atty e watterside there weare abundance of litle boats made of trees y t they have hollowed, and of rind.

1 Apparently Namekagon lake.— Ed.

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The next day we weare to embarque in them, and arrived att y e village by watte, w ch was composed of a hundred cabans w th out pallasados. There is nothing but cryes. The women throw themselves backwards uppon the ground, thinking to give us tokens of friendship and of wellcome. We destinated 3 presents, one for the men, one for the women, and the other for the children, to the end that they should remember that journey; that we should be spoaken of a hundred years after, if other Europeans should not come in those quarters and be liberal to them, w ch will hardly come to passe. The first was a kettle, two hattchetts, and 6 knives, and a blade for a sword. The kettle was to call all nations that weare their friends to the feast w ch is made for the remembrance of the death; that is, they make it once in seaven years; it's a renewing of ffriendshippe. I will talke further of it in the following discours. The hattchetts weare to encourage the yong people to strengthen themselves in all places, to preserve their wives and shew themselves men by knocking the heads of their ennemyes w th the said hattchetts. The knives weare to show that the ffrench weare great and mighty, and their confederats and ffriends. 77 The sword was to signifie that we should be masters both of peace and warrs, being willing to healpe and relieve them, & to destroy our Ennemyes w th our armes. The second guift was of 2 and 20 awles, 50 needles, 2 gratters of castors , 2 ivory combs and 2 wooden ones, w th red painte, 6 looking-glasses of tin. The awles signifieth to take good courage, that we should keepe their lives, and that they w th their husbands should come downe to the ffrench when time and season should permit. Y e needles for to make them robes of castor , because the ffrench loved them. The 2 gratters weare to dresse the skins; the combes, the paint, to make themselves beautifull; the looking-glasses to admire themselves. The 3 d guift was of brasse rings, of small bells, and rasades¹ of divers colours, and given in this maner. We sent a man to make all y e children come together. When they weare there we throw these things over their heads. You would admire what a beat was among them, every one striving to have y e best. This was done uppon this consideration, that they should be allwayes under our protection, giving them wherew th all to make them merry & remember us when they should be men.

Library of Congress

1 Goblets or mugs— Ed.

This done, we are called to the Councell of welcome and to the feast of ffriendshipp, afterwards to the dancing of the heads; but before the dancing we must mourn for y e deceased, and then, for to forgett all sorrow, to the dance. We gave them foure small guifts that they should continue such ceremonyes, w ch they tooke willingly and did us good, that gave us authority among the whole nation. We knewed their counsels, and made them doe whatsoever we thought best. This was a great advantage for us, you must think. Amongst such a rowish kind of people a guift is much, and well bestowed, and liberality much esteemed; but not prodigalitie is not in esteeme, for they abuse it, being brutish. Wee have ben useing such ceremonyes 3 whole days, & weare lodged in y e cabban of the chieftest captayne, who came w th us from the ffrench. We liked not the company of that blind, therefore left him. He wondered at this, but 78 durst not speake, because we weare demi-gods. We came to a cottage of an ancient witty man, that had had a great familie and many children, his wife old, neverthelesse handsome. They weare of a nation called Malhonmines;¹ that is, the nation of Oats, graine y t is much in y t countrey. Of this afterwards more att large. I tooke this man for my ffather and y e woman for my mother, soe the children, consequently brothers and sisters. They adopted me. I gave every one a guift, and they to mee.

1 Menomonees.— Ed.

Having so disposed of our buissinesse, the winter comes on, that warns us; the snow begins to fall, soe we must retire from the place to seeke our living in the woods. Every one getts his equipage ready. So away we goe, but not all to the same place; two, three att the most, went one way, and so of an other. They have so done because victuals weare scant for all in a place. Butt let us where we will, we cannot escape the myghty hand of God, that disposes as he pleases, and who chastes us as a good & a common loving ffather, and not as our sins doe deserve. Finaly wee depart one from an other. As many as we weare in number, we are reduced to a small company. We appointed a

Library of Congress

rendezvous after two months and a half, to take a new road & an advice what we should doe. During the said terme we sent messengers everywhere, to give speciall notice to all manner of persons and nation that within 5 moons the feast of death was to be celebrated, and that we should apeare together and explaine what the devill should command us to say, and then present them presents of peace and union. Now we must live on what God sends, and warre against the bears in the meane time, for we could aime att nothing else, w ch was y e cause that we had no great cheare. I can say that we w th our comrades, who weare about 60, killed in the space of 2 moons and a halfe, a thousand moons² we wanted not bear's grease to annoint ourselves, to runne the better. We beated downe the woods dayly for to discover

2 The writer no doubt meant that they killed so many that they had bear's grease enough to last for a thousand moons.—G. D. S.

79 novellties. We killed severall other beasts, as Oriniacks, staggs, wild cows, Carriboucks, fallow does and bucks, Cats of mountains, child of the Devill; in a word, we lead a good life. The snow increases daily. There we make rackefts, not to play att ball, but to exercise ourselves in a game harder and more necessary. They are broad, made like racketts, that they may goe in the snow and not sinke when they runne after the eland or other beast.

We are come to the small lake, the place of rendezvous, where we found some company that weare there before us. We cottage ourselves, staying for the rest, that came every day. We stayed 14 dayes in this place most miserable, like to a churchyard; flor there did fall such a quantity of snow and frost, and w th such a thick mist, that all the snow stoocke to those trees that are there so ruffe, being deal trees,¹ prusse cedars, and thorns, that caused y e darkness uppon y e earth that it is to be believed that the sun was eclips d [under] them 2 months; flor after the trees weare so laden w th snow that fel'd afterwards, was as if it had been sifted, so by y t means very light and not able to beare us, albeit we made racketts of 6 foot long and a foot and a halle broad; so often thinking to tourne ourselves we felld over and over againe in y e snow, and if we weare alone we should

Library of Congress

have difficultie enough to rise againe. By the noyse we made, the beasts heard us a great way off; so the famine was among a great many that had not provided before hand, and live upon what they gert that day, never thinking for the next. It grows wors and wors daily.

1 Pines.— Ed.

To augment our misery we receive news of the Octanaks, who weare about a hundred and fifty, w th their families. They had [had] a quarell w th y e burrons in the Isle where we had come from some years before in the lake of the stairing hairs, and [who] came purposely to make warres against them y e next summer. But lett us see if they brought us anything to subsist w th all. But [they] are worst provided than we; having no huntsmen, they are reduced to famine. But, O cursed covetousnesse, what art 80 thou going to doe? It should be farr better to see a company of Rogues perish then see ourselves in danger to perish by that scourg so cruell. Hearing that they have had knives and hattchetts, the victualls of their poore children is taken away from them; yea, what ever they have, those doggs must have their share. They are the coursedest, unablest, the unfamous & cowarliest people that I have scene amongst lower score nations that I have frequented. O yee poore people, you shall have their booty, but you shall pay dearly for it! Every one cryes out for hungar; the women become baren, and drie like wood. You men must eate the cord, being you have no more strength to make use of the bow. Children, you must die. ffrench, you called yourselves Gods of the earth, that you should be feared, for your interest; notwithstanding you shall tast of the bitterness, and too happy if you escape. Where is the time past? Where is the plentynesse that yee had in all places and courtreys? Here comes a new family of these poore people halle dead, for they have but the skin & w shall we have strength to make a hole in the snow to lay us downe, seeing we have it not to hale our racketts after us, nor to cut a little wood to make a fire to keepe us from the rigour of the cold, w ch is extreme in those Countreyes in its season. Oh! if the musick that we heare Could give us recreation, we wanted not any lamentable musick nor sad spectacle. In the morning the husband looks uppon his wife, y e Brother his sister, the cozen the cozen, the Oncle the nevew, that weare for the most part found deade. They lauquish w

Library of Congress

th cryes & hideous noise that it was able to make the haire starre on y e heads that have any apprehension. Good God, have mercy on so many poore innocent people, and of us that acknowledge thee, that having offended thee punishes us. But wee are not free of that cruel Executioner. Those that have any life, seeketh out for roots, w ch could not be done w th out great difficultie, the earth being frozen 2 or 3 foote deepe, and the snow 5 or 6 above it, The greatest subsistance that we can have is of rind [vine] tree which growes like ivie about the trees; but to swallow it, we cutt the stick some 2 foot long, tying it in 81 faggott, and boyle it, and when it boyles one houre or two y e rind or skinno comes off w th ease, w ch we take and drie it in the smoake and then reduce it into powder betwixt two graine-stoans, and putting the kettle w th the same waiter uppon the fire, we make it a kind of breath, w ch nourished us, but becam thirstier and drier than the woode we eate.

The 2 first weeke we did eate our doggs. As we went backe upon our stepps for to gert any thing to fill our bellyes, we weare glad to gott the beans and carcasses of the beasts that we killed. And happy was he that could gett what the other did throw away after it had ben boyled 3 or foure times to get the substance out of it. We contrived an other plott to reduce to powder those boanes, y e rest [remains] of crows and doggs. So putt all that together halle foot w th in grounde, and so makes a fire uppon it. We covered all that very well w th earth, see feeling the heat, and boyled them againe and gave more froth than before; in the next place, the skins that weare reserved to make us shoose, cloath, and stokins, yea, most of the skins of our cottages, the castors' skins , where the children beshit them above a hundred times. We burned the haire on the coals; the rest goes downe throats, eating heartily these things most abhorred. We went so eagerly to it that our gumms did bleede like one newly wounded. The wood was our food the rest of [that] sorrowfull time. Finaly we became the very Image of death. We mistook ourselves very often, taking the living for the dead and y e dead for the living. We wanted strength to draw the living out of the cabans, or if we did when we could, it was to putt them four paces in the snow. Art y e end the wrath of God begins to appease itselfe, and pityes his poore creatures. If I should expresse all that befell us in that strange accidents, a great

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volume would not containe it. Here are above 500 dead, men, women, and children. It's time to come out of such miseryes. Our bodyes are not able to hold out any further.

After the storme calme comes. But stormes favoured us, being that calme kills us. Here comes a wind and raine that putts a new life in us. The snow falls, the forest cleers itselfe, att w ch sight those that had strings left in their bowes 6 82 takes courage to use it. The weather continued so 3 dayes that we needed no racketts more, for the snow hardned much. The small s taggs are [as] if they weare stakes in it after they made 7 or 8 capers. It's an easy matter for us to take them and cutt their throats w th our knives. Now we see ourselves a little nourished, but yett have not payed, flor it cost many their lives. Our gutts became very straight by our long fasting, that they could not containe the quantity that some putt in them. I cannot omitt the pleasant thoughts of some of them wildmen. Seeing my brother allways in the same condition, they said some Devill brought him wherew th all to eate; but if they had seene his body they should be of another oppinion. The beard that covered his face made as if he had not altered his face. For me that had no beard, they said I loved them, because I lived as well as they. From the second day we began to walke.

There came 2 men from a strange countrey who had a dogg; the buissinesse was how to catch him cunningly, knowing well those people love their beasts. Neverthelesse wee offred guifts, but they would not, w ch made me stubborne. That dogge was very leane and as hungry as we weare, but the masters have not suffered so much. I went one night neare that same cottage to doe what discretion permitts me not to speake. Those men were Nadoneseronons. They weare [so] much respected that nobody durst not offend them, being that we weare upon their land w th their leave.¹ The dogg comes out, not by any smell but by good like. I take him and bring him a litle way. I stabbed him w th my dagger. I brought him to the cottage, where [he] was broyled like a pigge and cutt in peeces, gutts and all, soe every one of the family had his share. The snow where he was killed was not lost, flor one of our company went and gott it to season the kettles. We

Library of Congress

began to looke better dayly. We gave [held] y e rendezvous to [at] the convenientest place to celebrat that great feast.

1 The Frenchmen, with their Huron and Ottawa companions, had by this time wandered into the country of the “Dahkotahs or Sioux, west of Lake Superior, in the Mille Lacs region of Minnesota.” (*Minn. Hist. Coll.*, v., p, 401.)

83

Some 2 moons after there came 8 ambassadors from the nations of Nadoneseronons, that we will call now the Nation of the beefe.¹ Those men each had 2 wives, loadened of Oats, corne that grows in that countrey, of a small quantity of Indian Corne, w th other grains, & it was to present to us, w ch we received as a great favour & token of friendshippe; but it had been [more] welcome if they had brought it a month or two before. They made great ceremonys in greasing our feete and leggs, and we painted them w th red. They stript us naked and put uppon us cloath of buffe ² and of white castors . After this they weeped uppon our heads untill we weare wetted by their tears, and made us smoake in their pipes after they kindled them. It was not in common pipes, but in pipes of peace and of the warrs, that they pull out but very seldom, when there is occasion for heaven and earth. This done, they perfumed our cloaths and armour one after an other, and to conclude did throw a great quantity of tobacco into the fire. We told them that they prevented us, for letting us know that all persons of their nation came to visit us, that we might dispose of them.

1 Bœuf Sioux.— Ed.

2 Buffalo skins.— Ed.

The next morning they weare called by our Interpreter. We understood not a word of their language, being quit. contrary to those that we weare w th . They are arrived, they satt downe. We made a place for us more elevated, to be more art our ease & to appeare in more state. We borrowed their Calumet, saying that we are in their countrey, and that it

Library of Congress

was not lawfull for us to carry anything out of our countrey. That pipe is of a red stone, as bigge as a fist and as long as a hand. The small reede as long as five foot, in breadth, and of the thicknesse of a thumb. There is tyed to it the tayle of an eagle all painted over w th severall coulours and open like a fan, or like that makes a kind of a wheele when he shuts; below the toppe of the steeke is covered w th feathers of ducks and other birds that are of a fine colour. We tooke the tayle of the eagle, and instead of it we hung 12 Iron bows in the same manner as y e feathers weare, 84 and a blade about it along the staffe, a hattchett planted in y e ground, and that calumet over it, and all our armours it uppon forks. Everyone smoaked his pipe of to nor they never gee w th out it. During that while there was a great silence. We prepared some powder that was litle wetted, and y e good powder was precious to us. Our Interpreter told them in our name, "Brethren, we have accepted of your guifts. Yee are called here to know our will and pleasur that is such: first, we take you for our brethren by taking you into our protection, and for to shew you, we, instead of y e eagles' tayle, have putt some of our armours, to the end that no ennemy shall approach it to breake the affinite that we make now w th you. Then we tooke the 12 Iron off y e bowes and lift them up, telling them those points shall passe over the whole world to defend and destroy your ennemyes, that are ours. Then we putt the Irons in the same place againe. Then we tooke the sword and bad them have good courage, that by our means they should vanquish their ennemy. After we tooke the hattchett that was planted in the ground, we tourned round about, telling them that we should kill those that would warre against them, and that we would make forts y t they should come w th more assurance to the feast of the dead. That done we throw powder in y e fire, that had more strenght then we thought; it made the brands fly from one side to the other. We intended to make them believe that it was some of our Tobacco, and make them smoake as they made us smoake. But hearing such a noise, and they seeing that fire fled of every side, w th out any further delay or looke for so much time as looke for the dore of the cottage, one runne one way, another an other way, flor they never saw a sacrifice of tobacco so violent. They went all away, and we onely stayed in the place. We followed them to reassure them of their faintings. We visited them in their apartments, where they received [us] all

Library of Congress

trembling for feare, believing realy by that same meanes that we weare the Devils of the earth. There was nothing but feasting for 8 dayes.

The time now was nigh that we must gee to the rendezvous; this was betwixt a small lake and a medow. Being 85 arrived, most of ours weare allready in their cottages. In 3 days' time there arrived eighteen severall nations, and came privatly, to have done the sooner. As we became to the number of 500, we held a councell. Then the shouts and cryes, and the encouragements weare proclaimed, that a fort should be builded. They went about the worke and made a large fort. It was about 603 score paces in lenght and 600 in breadth, so that it was a square. There we had a brooke that came from the lake and emptied itself in those medows, w ch had more than four leagues in lenght. Our fort might be seene afar off, and on y side most deligtfull, for the great many stagges that took the boldnesse to be carried by quarters where art other times they made good cheare.

In two dayes this was finished. Soone 30 young men of y e nation of the beefe arrived there, having nothing but bows and arrows, w th very short garments, to be the nimbler in chasing the stagges. The Iron of their arrows were of staggs' pointed horens very neatly. They were all proper men, and dressed w th paint. They weare the discoverers and y e foreguard. We kept a round place in y e midle of our Cabban and covered it w th long poles w th skins over them, that we might have a shelter to keepe us from y e snow. The cottages weare all in good order; in each 10, twelve companies or families. That company was brought to that place where there was wood layd for the fires. The snow was taken away, and the earth covered w th deale tree bows [pine boughs]. Severall kettles weare brought there full of meate. They rested and eat above 5 houres w th out speaking one to another. The considerablest of our companyes went and made speeches to them. After one takes his bow and shoots an arrow, and then cryes aloud, therespeaks some few words, saying that they weare to left them know the Elders of their village weare to come the morrow to renew the friendship and to make it w th y e ffrench, and that a great many of their yong people came and brought them some part of their wayes to take their advice, flor they had a minde to goe against y e Christinos, who weare ready for them, and they in

Library of Congress

like manner to save their wives & 86 children. They weare scattered in many Cabbans that night, expecting those that weare to come. To that purpose there was a vast large place prepared some hundred paces from y e fort, where everything was ready for the receiving of those persons. They weare to sett their tents, that they bring uppon their backs. The pearches weare putt out and planted as we received the news; the snow putt aside, and the boughs of trees covered the ground.

The day following they arrived w th an incredible pomp. This made me thinke of y e Intrace y t y e Polanders did in Paris, saving that they had not so many Jewells, but instead of them they had so many feathers. The ffirst weare yong people w th their bows and arrows and Buckler on their shoulders, uppon w ch weare represented all manner of figures, according to their knowledge, as of y e sun and moone, of terrestriall beasts, about its feathers very artificialy painted. Most of the men their faces weare all over dabbed w th severall collours. Their hair turned up like a Crowne, and weare curt very even, but rather so burned, for the fire is their cicers. They leave a tuff of haire upon their Crowne Of their heads, tye it, and putt att y e end of it some small pearles or some Turkey [turquoise] stones, to bind their heads. They have a role commonly made of a snake's skin, where they tye severall bears' paws, or give a forme to some bitts of buff's [buffalo] horns, and put it about the said role. They grease themselves w th very thick grease, & mingle it in reddish earth, w ch they bourne, as we our breeks. W th this stuffe they gett their haire to stand up. They curt some down of Swan or other fewle that hath a white feather, and cover w th it the crowne of their heads. Their ears are pierced in 5 places; the holes are so bigg that yo r little finger might passe through. They have yallow waire that they make w th copper, made like a starr or a half moone, & there hang it. Many have Turkeys [turquoise]. They are cloathed w th Oriniack & staggs' skins, but very light. Every one had the skin of a crow hanging att their guirdles. Their stokens all imbrodered w th pearles and w th their own porke-pick [porcupine] worke. They have very handsome shoose laced very thick all over w th a 87 peece sowen att the side of y e heele, w ch was of a haire of Buff, w ch trailed above halfe a foot uppon the earth, or rather on the snow. They had swords

Library of Congress

and knives of a foot and a halfe long, and hattchetts very ingeniously done, and clubbs of wood made like backswords; some made of a round head that I admired it. When they kille their ennemy they curt off y e tuffe of haire and tye it about their armes. After [over] all, [they] have a white robe made of castors' skins painted. Those having passed through the middle of ours, that weare ranged att every side of the way. The Elders came w th great gravitie and modestie, covered with buff coats w ch hung dewne to y e ground. Every one had in his hand a pipe of Councell sett w th precious jewells. They had a sack on their shoulders, and y t that holds it grows in the middle of their stomachs and on their shoulders. In this sacke all y e world is inclosed. Their face is not painted, but their heads dressed as the foremost. Then y e women laden like unto so many mules, their burdens made a greater shew then they themselves; but I suppose the weight was not equipolent to its bignesse. They weare conducted to the appointed place, where the women unfolded their bundles, and fiang their skins whereof their tents are made, so that they had howses [in] lesse than half an houre.

After they rested they came to the biggest cabbane constituted for that purpose. There weare fires kindled. Our Captayne made a speech of thanksgiving, w ch should be long to writ it. We are called to the councell of new come chiefe, where we came in great pompe, as you shall heare. First they come to make a sacrifice to the ffrench, being Gods and masters of all things, as of peace, as warrs; making the knives, the hattchetts, and y e kettles rattle, etc. That they came purposely to putt themselves under their protection. Moreover, that they came to bring them back againe to their countrey, having by their means destroyed their Ennemyes abroad & neere. So said, they present us w th guifts of Castors' skins, assuring us that y e mountains were elevated, y e valleys risen, the ways very smooth, the bows of trees cutt downe to gee w th more ease, and bridges erected over rivers, for not to wett our feete; that the dores of their 88 villages, cottages of their wives and daughters, weare open at any time to receive us, being wee kept them alive by our marchandises. The second guilt was, y t they would die in their alliance, and that to certifie to all nations by continuing the peace, & weare willing to receive and assist them in

Library of Congress

their countrey, being well satisfied they were come to celebrat y e feast of the dead. The 3rd guift was for to have one of the doors of the fort opened, if neede required, to receive and keepe them from the Christinos that come to destroy them; being allwayes men, and the heavens made them so, that they weare obliged to gee before to defend their country and their wives, w ch is y e dearest thing they had in the world, & in all times they weare esteemed stout & true soldiers, & that yett they would make it appeare by going to meet them; and y t they would not degenerat, but shew by their actions that they weare as valiant as their fore ffathers. The 4th guift was presented to us, w ch [was] of Buff skins, to desire our assistance flor being the masters of their lives, and could dispose of them as we would, as well of the peace as of the warts, and that we might very well see that they did well to gee defend their owne countrey; that the true means to gott the victory was to have a thunder. They meant a gunne [gun] calling it *miniskoick* .

The speech being finished, they intreated us to be art the feast. We gee presently back againe to furnish us w th woaden bowls. We made foure men to carry our guns afore us, that we charged of powder alone, because of their unskillfullnesse that they might have killed their ffathers. We each of us had a pair of pistoletts and Sword, a dagger. We had a role of porkepick about our heads, w ch was as a crowne, and two little boyes that carryed the vessells that we had most need of; this was our dishes and our spoons. They made a place higher & most elevate, knowing our customs, in the midle for us to sitt, where we had the men lay our armes. Presently comes foure elders w th y e calumet kindled in their hands. They present y e candles to us to smoake, and foure beautifull maids that went before us carrying bears' skins to putt under us. When we weare together an old man rises & throws our calumet att our feet, and 89 bids them take the kettles from of y e fire, and spoake that he thanked the sun that never was a day to him so happy as when he saw those terrible men whose words makes the earth quacke, and sang a while. Having ended, came and covers us w th his vestment, and all naked except his feet and Jeggs, he saith, "Yee are masters over us; dead or alive you have the power over us, and may dispose of us as your pleasur." So done, takes the callumet of y e feast, and brings it, so

Library of Congress

a maiden brings us a coale of fire to kindle it. So done, we rose, and one of us begins to sing. We bad the interpreter to tell them we should save & keep their lives, taking them for our brethren, and to testify that we shott of all our artillery, w ch was of twelve gunns. We draw our swords and long knives to our defence, if need should require, w ch putt the men in such a terror that they knewed not what was best to run or stay. We throw a handfull of powder in the fire to make a greater noise and smoake.

Our songs being finished, we began our teeth to worke. We had there a kinde of rice, much like oats. It growes in the watter in 3 or 4 foote deepe. There is a God that shews himselfe in every countrey, almighty, full of goodnesse, and y preservation of those poore people who knoweth him not. They have a particular way to gather up that graine. Two takes a boat and two sticks, by w ch they gett y e eare downe and gett the corne out of it. Their boat being full, they bring it to a fitt place to dry it, and that is their food for the most part of the winter, and doe dresse it thus: flor each man a handfull of that they putt in the pott, that swells so much that it can suffice a man. After the feast was over there comes two maidens, bringing wherew th all to smoake, the one the pipes, the other the fire. They offered first to one of y e elders, that sat downe by us. When he had smoaked, he bids them give it us. This being done, we went backe to our fort as we came.

The day following we made y e principall Persons come together to answer to their guifts. Being come w th great solemnity, there we made our Interpreter tell them that we weare come from the other side of y e great salted lake, not to kill them but to make y m live; acknowledging you for our 90 brethren and children, whom we will love henceforth as our owne; then we gave them a kettle. The second guift was to encourage them in all their undertakings, telling them that we liked men that generously defended themselves against all their ennemyes; and as we weare masters of peace and warrs, we are to dispose the affairs [so] that we would see an universall peace all over the earth; and that this time we could not goe and force the nations that weare yett further to condescend & submitt to our will, but that we would see the neighbouring countreys in peace and union; that the Christinos weare our brethren, and [we] have frequented them many winters; that we

Library of Congress

adopted them for our children, and tooke them under our protection; that we should send them ambassadors; that I myself should make them come, and conclude a generall peace; that we weare sure of their obedience to us; that the ffirst that should breake the peace we would be their ennemy, and would reduce them to powder w th our heavenly fire; that we had the word of y e Christinos as well as theirs, and our thunders should serve us to make warrs against those that would not submitt to our will and desire, w ch was to see them good ffriends, to goe and make warrs against the upper nations, that doth not know us as yett. The guilt was of 6 hattchetts. The 3 rd was to oblige them to receive our propositions, likewise the Christinos, to lead them to y e dance of Union, w ch was to be celebrated at y e death's feast and banquet of kindred. If they would continue the warrs, y t was not y e meanes to see us againe in their Countrey. The 4 th was that We thanked them ffor making us a free passage through their countreys. Y e guift was of 2 dozen of knives. The last was of smaller trifles,—6 gratters, 2 dozen of awles, 2 dozen of needles, 6 dozens of looking-glasses made of fine, a dozen of litle bells, 6 Ivory combs, w th a litle vermillion. But ffor to make a recompence to y e good old man that spake so favorably, we gave him a hattchett, and to the Eiders each a blade for a sword, and to the 2 maidens y t served us 2 necklaces, w ch putt about their necks, and 2 braceletts for their armes. The last guift was in generall for all y e women to love us and give us to eat when we should come to their 91 cottages. The company gave us great *Ho! ho! ho!* that is, thanks. Our wildmen made others for their interest.

A company of about 50 weare dispatched to warne the Christinos of what we had done. I went myself, where we arrived the 3 rd day, early in y e morning. I was received w th great demonstration of ffriendshippe. All that day we feasted, danced, and sing. I compared that place before to the Buttery of Paris, ffor the great quantity of meat that they use to have there; but now will compare it to that of London. There I received guifts of all sorts of meate, of grease more than 20 men could carry. The custome is not to deface anything that they present. There weare about 600 men in a fort, w th a great deale of baggage on their shoulders, and [they] did draw it upon light slids [sleds] made very neatly. I have

Library of Congress

not seen them att their entrance, ffor the snow blinded mee. Coming back, we passed a lake hardly frozen, and the sun [shone upon it] for the most part, ffor I looked a while steadfastly on it, so I was troubled w th this seaven or eight days.

The meane while that we are there,¹ arrived above a thousand that had not ben there but for those two redoubted nations that weare to see them doe what they never before had, a difference w ch was executed w th a great deale of mirth. I ffor feare of being inuied I will obmitt onely that there weare playes, mirths, and bataills for sport, goeing and coming w th cries; each plaid his part. In the publick place the women danced w th melody. The yong men that indeavoured to gett a pryse, indeavoured to clime up a great post, very smooth, and greased w th oyle of beare & oriniack grease. The stake was att least of 15 foot high. The price was a knife or other thing. We layd y e stake there, but whose could catch it should have it. The feast was made to eate all up. To honnour the feast many men and women did burst. Those of that place coming backe, came in sight of those of the village or fort, made postures in similitud of warrs. This was to discover the ennemy by signs; any that

¹ Still among the Christinos. This band that the Frenchmen visited was evidently seven days' journey north of the Mille Lacs region.— Ed.

⁹² should doe see we gave orders to take him, or kill him and take his head off. The prisoner to be tyed [and] to fight in retreating. To pull an arrow out of y e body; to exercise and strike w th a clubbe, a buckler to theire feete, and take it if neede requireth, and defende himselfe, if neede requirs, from the ennemye; being in sentery to heark y e ennemy that comes neere, and to heare the better lay him dewne on the side. These postures are played while the drums beate. This was a serious thing, w th out speaking except by nodding or gesture. Their drums weare earthen potts full of watter, covered w th staggs-skin. The sticks like hammers for y e purpose. The elders have bomkins to the end of their staves full of small stones, w ch makes a ratle, to w ch yong men and women gee in a cadance. The elders are about these potts, beating them and singing. The women also by, having a nosegay in their hands, and dance very modestly, not lifting much their

Library of Congress

feete from the ground, keeping their heads downewards makeing a sweet harmony. We made guifts for that while 14 days' time. Every one brings y e most exquisite things, to shew what his country affoards. The renewing of their alliances, the marriages according to their countrey coustoms, are made; also the visit of the beans of their deceased ffriends, ffor they keepe them and bestow them uppon one another. We sang in our language as they in theirs, to w ch they gave greate attention. We gave them severall guifts, and received many. They bestowed upon us above 300 robs of castors, out of w ch we brought not five to the ffrench, being far [away] in y e countrey.

This feast ended, every one retourns to his countrey well satisfied. To be as good as our words, we came to the nation of y e beefe, w ch was seaven small Journeys from that place. We promised in like manner to the Christinos y e next spring we should come to their side of the upper take [Superior] and there they should meet us, to come into their countrey.¹ We being arrived among y t nation of the beefe,²

1 In the Hudson bay region.— Ed.

2 The band of Bœuf Sioux whom they met earlier in the season were on their winter hunt. The Frenchmen had now apparently come to the principal winter village. Radisson speaks of their summering grounds as being further south than this, apparently in the neighborhood of the lead mines of Iowa.— Ed.

93 we wondered to finde ourselves in a towne where weare great cabbans most covered w th skins and other close matts. They tould us that there weare 7,000 men. This we believed. Those have as many wives as they can keepe. If any one did trespasse upon the other his nose was cutt off, and often the crowne of his head. The maidens have all manner of freedome, but are forced to marry when they come to the age. The more they beare children the more they are respected. I have seene a man having 14 wives. There they have no wood, and make provision of mosse for their firing. This their place is environed w th pearches w ch are a good distance one from an other, that they gett in the valleys where the Buffe used to repaire, uppon w ch they do live. They sow corne, but their

Library of Congress

harvest is small. The soyle is good, but the cold hinders it, and y e graine [is] very small. In their countrey are mines of copper, of pewter, and of ledd. There are mountains covered w th a kind of Stone that is transparent and tender, and like to that of Venice. The people stay not there all y e yeare; they retire in winter towards the woods of the North, where they kill a quantity of Castors, and I say that there are not so good in the whole world, but not in such a store as the Christinos, but far better.

Wee stayed there 6 weeks, and came back w th a company of people of y e nation of y e Sault, y t came along w th us loaden w th booty. Wee weare 12 days before we could overtake our company that went to the lake. The spring approaches, w ch [is] the fittest time to kill the Oriniack. A wildman and I w th my brother killed that time above 600, besides other beasts. We came to the lake side w th much paines, ffor we sent our wildmen before, and we two weare forced to make cariages 5 days through the woods. After we mett w th a company that did us a great deale of service, ffor they carryed what we had, and arrived at the appointed place before 3 dayes ended. Here we made a fort,¹ Att our arrivall we found art least 20 cottages full.

¹ Evidently on Oak point, hemming in Chequamegon bay on the east.

It will be remembered that (*ante*, p. 72) Radisson says, when speaking of portaging over Oak point, the fall before: "That point should be very fitt to build & advantgeous for the building of a fort, as we did the spring following."— Ed.

94

One very faire evening we went to finde what we hide before, w ch we finde in a good condition.¹ We went about to execut our resolution, fforseeing that we must stay that yeare there, ffor w ch wee weare not very sorry, being resolved to know what we heard before. We waited untill the Ice should vanish, but received [news] that the Octanaks [had] built a fort on the point that forms that Bay, w ch resembles a small lake. We went towards it w th all speede. We had a great store of booty w ch we would not trust to ye

Library of Congress

wildmen, ffor the occasion makes y e thiefe. We overloaded our slide [sled] on that rotten ice, and the further we went the Sun was stronger, w ch made our Trainage have more difficultie. I seeing my brother so strained, I tooke y e slide w ch was heavier than mine, and he mine. Being in that extent above foure leagues from y e ground, we sunke downe above the one halfe of y e legge in the Ice, and must advance in spight of our teeth. To leave our booty was to undoe us. We strived so that I hurted myselfe in so much that I could not stand up right, nor [go] any further. This putt us in great trouble. Uppon this I advised my brother to leave me w th his slide. We putt the two sleds one by another. I tooke some cloathes to cover mee. After I stripped myself from my wett cloathes, I layed myselfe downe on the slide; my brother leaves me to the keeping of that good God. We had not above two leagues more to goe. He makes hast and came there in time, and sends wildmen for me and the slids. There we found the perfidiousnesse of the Octanaks. Seeing us in Extremitie, [they] would prescribe us laws. We promised them whatever they asked. They came to fetch me.

1 See *ante*, p. 75.— Ed.

For eight dayes I was so tormented I thought never to recover. I rested neither day nor night; at last by means that God and my brother did use, w ch was by rubbing my leggs w th hott oyle of bears and keeping my thigh and leggs 95 well tyed, it came to its former strength. After a while I came to me selfe. There comes a great company of new wildmen to seeke a nation in that land for a weighty buissinesse. They desired me to goe a long, so I prepare myselfe to goe w th them. I marched well 2 dayes; the 3rd day the sore begins to breake out againe, in so much that I could goe no further. Those left me, albeit I came for their sake. You will see the cruelties of those beasts, and I may think that those y t liveth on fish uses more inhumanities than those that feed upon flesh; neverthesse I proceeded forwards the best I could, but knewed [not] where for y e most part, y e sun being my only guide.

There was some snow as yet on the ground, w ch was so hard in the mornings that I could not percave any tracks. The worst was that I had not a hattchett nor other arme, and not above the weight of ten pounds of victualls, w th out any drink. I was obliged to proceed five days for my good fortune. I indured much in the morning, but a little warmed, I went w th more ease. I looked betimes for som old cabbans where I found wood to make fire wherw th . I melted the snow in my cappe that was so greasy. One night I finding a cottage covered it w th boughs of trees that I found ready cutt. The fire came to it as I began to slumber, w ch soone awaked me in hast, lame as I was, to save meselfe from the fire. My racketts, shoos, and stokens kept me my life; I must needs save them. I tooke them and flung them as farr as I could in the snow. The fire being out, I was forced to looke for them, as dark as it was, in y e said snow, all naked & very lame, and almost starved both for hunger and cold. But what is that a man cannot doe when he seeth that it concerns his life, that one day he must lose. Yett we are to prolong it as much as we cane, & the very feare maketh us to invent new wayes.

The fifth day I heard a noyse and thought it of a wolfe. I stood still, and soone perceived that it was of a man. Many wild men weare up and downe looking for me, fearing least the Bears should have devoured me. That man came neere and saluts me, and demands whether it was I. We both satt downe; he looks in my sacke to see if I had victualls, 96 where he finds a peece as bigg as my fist. He eats this w th out [my] participation, being their usuall way. He inquireth if I was a hungary. I tould him no, to shew meselfe stout and resolute. He takes a pipe of tobacco, and then above 20 pounds of victualls he takes out of his sack, and greased, and gives it me to eate. I eat what I could, and gave him the rest. He bids me have courage, that y e village was not far off. He demands if I knewed y e way, but I was not such as should say no. The village was att hand. The other wildmen [had] arrived but the day before, and after a while [we] came by boats to the lake. The boats weare made of Oriniacks' skins. I find my brother w th a company of Christinos that weare arrived in my absence. We resolved to cover our buissinesse better, and close our designe as if we weare going a hunting, and send them before; that we would follow them

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[the Christinos] y e next night, w ch we did, & succeeded, but not w th out much labor and danger; for not knowing the right way to thwart the other side of the lake,¹ we weare in danger to perish a thousand times because of the crams of Ice. We thwarted a place of 15 leagues. We arrived on the other side att night. When we came there, we knewed not where to goe, on the right or left hand, ffor we saw no body. Att last, as we w th full sayle came from a deepe Bay, we perceived smoake and tents. Then many boats from thence came to meete us. We are received w th much Joy by those poore Christinos. They suffered not that we trod on ground; but they leade us into the midle of their cottages in our own boats, like a couple of cocks in a Basquett.

¹ He means that he and his companion were at first ignorant of any portage from Lake Superior over into Hudson's bay. They were by this time skirting the northwest shore of the lake, endeavoring to find their Christino friends. In his succeeding sentence, Radisson's reference is doubtless to what came to be afterwards known as the Grand Portage, by way of Pigeon river and the Lake of the Woods. On Franquelin's map of 1688, the name Groseilliers is applied to what is now Pigeon river.— Ed.

PAPERS FROM THE CANADIAN ARCHIVES 1778–1783.

The following are copies of papers in the Haldimand Collection, secured from the historical archives of the Dominion of Canada, at Ottawa. The originals are in the British Museum, London, England. Where there are omissions, the matter stricken out has no bearing upon Wisconsin history.

MAJOR DE PEYSTER¹ TO GENERAL CARLETON.²

¹ Major Arent Schuyler de Peyster, then British commandant of Michilimackinac and dependencies. He was horn in New York city, Jane 27, 1736, the son of Pierre Guillaume de Peyster; his mother was Catharine, sister of the famous Peter Schuyler. June 10, 1755, he entered the 8th (or King's) regiment of foot; and, after serving in various places in North America, was in 1774 placed in command of Michilimackinac. He displayed

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marked ability at this important post, in keeping the Western Indians in line with British interests during the first half of the Revolutionary war. When, in 1779, Lieut. Governor Hamilton was captured at Vincennes, by George Rogers Clark, De Peyster was sent to succeed Hamilton in command of Detroit. He remained there until 1784, having now risen to the rank of lieutenant colonel. Afterwards, he went to Great Britain, where he became colonel, being in command at Plymouth, Dam fries and other stations. He had the honor, daring the French revolution, of training the 1st regiment of Dumfries volunteers, of which Robert Burns was a member. It was to De Peyster, himself a veteran rhymster, that Burns addressed the lines, beginning, "My honor'd Colonel, deep I feel," etc. Colonel De Peyster died at Dumfries in November, 1822. A copy of his *Miscellanies*, wherein he recorded, in press and verse, some of his experiences in the Northwest from 1774 to 1779, is in the possession of Lyman C. Draper, of Madison, Wis.; there are but few other copies. now in existence. Cf. Butterfield's *Washington-Irvine Correspondence*, pp. 417, 418.— Ed.

2 Sir Guy Carleton, K. B., governor of Canada, 1774–1778.— Ed.

Michalimackinac 30th May 1778,

Sir , I have just received a letter from Mr. Langlade³ acquainting [me] that his affairs goes on very slow at La 7

3 For material on Charles Michel de Langlade, see *Wis Hist. Coll.*, vii., pp: 123–187, 405–408; viii., pp. 209–223.— Ed.

98 Baye.¹ The Menomenies having lost two chiefs & the Chippawas of the plains have made war upon that nation I have therefore come to the resolution of sending down such of the Indians as are ready (one hundred and ten forms this first Division) & I shall make the Outawas follow in a day or two right glad to get rid of them.² It can scarce be credited to what inconveniency I am put to carry on this service, No vessels being yet arrived from Detroit or Canoe from Montreal to give me the least assistance.

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1 Green Bay, Wis.— Ed.

2 These Indians — the Ottawas — were to be used against the Americans.— Ed.

The Traders inform me that Lieut Gen r Hamilton³ will not allow their Rum to come to this Post except a small quantity for the North trade. On this report the little here raised to Twelve pounds ten shillings Halifax per keg.

3 Col. Henry Hamilton, then lieutenant governor and superintendent of Indian affairs, of Detroit and its dependencies, He was appointed to this position in 1775. Hamilton was an able and energetic officer, but his zeal was greater than his humanity and he did not hesitate to employ Indian scalping parties against the Americans. July 27, 1777, he reported to his government that he had already sent out fifteen parties, aggregating two hundred and eighty-nine warriors, with thirty white rangers and officers, to harass the American settlements on the Pennsylvania and Virginia borders. When, in 1778, George Rogers Clark captured the Illinois and Wabash country, Hamilton organized an expedition of whites and Indians to retake the territory. He succeeded in recovering Vincennes, December 17,—the American garrison consisting of a captain and one private. But Clark retook Ft. Sackville. in Vincennes, February 25, 1779, and sent Hamilton and his officers prisoners to Virginia. The Virginia council found that Hamilton had been guilty of excessive cruelties to American prisoners at Detroit, had offered rewards for scalps and encouraged the slaughter of the defenceless; but the judgment of modern historians is more favorable to him. See the evidence reviewed in Winsor's *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vi., p. 682. After a time spent in irons in a dungeon at Williamsburg, the British officers were released and paroled. During 1785, Hamilton was governor of Canada; later, he became governor of Dominica and soon thereafter died.— Ed.

As nothing has arrived here for the King except about half canoe load of dry goods by Gautier last fall I have made a merchant purchase me all the Barn in this place which has gone but a little way to wards contenting, I have endeavored to sweeten their tempers with

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sugar and water & have 99 complimented the chiefs with the remains of my private stock of Liquors. If no vessells arrive with Rum soon I cannot answer for the bad effects it will produce.

* * * * *

I am &c At. S. De Peyster .

INDIAN LICENSES, 1778.

List of Indian Licenses granted at Quebec for Michilimackinac and places beyond from the 13 th day of April to the 4 th day of June, 1778. Accounting where the Arms and Ammunition distened [destined] after it arrives at the Post of Michilimackinac.

Number of Passes. Traders Names to whom granted. Canoes. Quantity of ammunition brought. Fuzees. Gun Powder. Shot and Ball. Where distened beyond Michilimackinac.
1 Louis Chabollier 2 20 600 1,200 Grand River. 6 Finley & Gregory 2 24 1,000 900 Mississippi. 13 Wm. and John Hay 2 20 1,200 1,200 North West. 14 Ditto 3 20 1,500 800 Illinois and Mississippi. 15 Ditto 4 80 3,000 3,600 Ditto. 16 Ditto 2 20 1,500 1,400 Prairie du Chain and Mississippi. 18 Etienne Campion 4 4 2,000 1,800 La Bave and Mississippi. 19 Mchs. Maréehepean 5 50 2,000 1,800 Ditto. 22 Grant & Soloman 2 50 600 1,400 Nippigon. 23 Ditto 3 50 1,000 2,000 Ditto. 28 Amable Curot 1 12 500 800 Towards La Baye. 43 John Bte Barthe 3 12 500 5,200 Lake Superior. ... Hippt Des Riv.eres 3 20 800 1,200 Grand River and La Baye. 47 Gable Cotteé 3 34 1,200 1,200 Neppigon. 49 Benj. Lyon 1 16 400 600 Prairie du Chain. 57 Josh. Languinet 3 30 1,400 2,400 La Baye, etc. 61 J. B. Labeau 2 20 1,200 1,200 Illenois. 62 Jean Cullat 2 20 1,200 1,200 Mississippi. 63 J. M. Ducharm 2 40 1,800 200 Prairie du Chin. 64 P. J. Lavigna 2 30 1,200 1,000 La Baye, etc. 66 Joseph Biron 1 10 400 400 Ditto. 67 C. Lamarche 1 6 400 700 Ditto. 68 L. Durocher 1 20 600 700 Illenois. 69 Alerr Campion 1 8 250 500 La Bay. 70 Robt. Aird 1 15 425 600 Prérie Du Chin. 71 Paschal Pillet 1 9 500 600 La Bay. 72 J. B. Guillon 2 24 1,200 600 Illenois via St. Joseph. 73 Pt La Croix 2 16 1,200 1,200 La Bay.

At De Peyster , Major to the King.

100

GAUTIER'S JOURNAL OF A VISIT TO THE MISSISSIPPI, 1777–78.1

1 Charles Gautier de Verville was the son of Charles Michel de Langlade's half-sister. Gautier's father, Claude Germain Gautier de Verville, married Marie Louise Therese Villeneuve—daughter of Madam Augustin Lunglade by her first marriage—on the 2d of October, 1736. Charles de Langlade was born in 1729, and Charles Gautier not earlier than 1737. The latter's grandmother being a sister of King Nissowagnet, or La Fourche (The Fork), he himself was a quarter-blood Ottawa. In 1755, when not over eighteen years of age, young Gautier served with De Langlade at the defeat of Braddock. Four years later, he “fought like a lion” on the plains of Abraham, but at the close of the war, in common with his fellows, cheerfully rallied under the standard of his old enemies, the British. During the Revolutionary war, we find him constantly employed, usually with De Langlade, in keeping the Northwestern Indians in line with English interests. He appears to have rendered valuable assistance in this service, and in the letters of Major De Peyster and other British officers in the West, he is frequently referred to as being a valuable military agent among the savages west of Lake Michigan. He obtained the commission of captain, as a reward for bravery and successful Indian diplomacy. After the close of the Revolutionary war, he settled at Mackinaw and was occasionally employed by the English government as an Indian interpreter. By a Winnebago wife, he had three children, of whom one became the consort of the elder Michael Brisbois, and the mother of Michael Brisbois, Jr. Gautier regularly married Miss Madelaine Chevalier, “a woman of rare beauty.” The elder of their two daughters married Henry Fisher, of Prairie du Chien, and the younger became the legal wife of the senior Brisbois. Gautier, in 1798, retired from Mackinaw and went to live with his son-in-law, Brisbois, at Prairie du Chien, where he died about 1803, aged some sixty-six years. His wife followed him a few years later. Their numerous descendants at Green Bay and Prairie du Chien rank with the best of the old families there.— Ed.

[Translated from the French by Grace Clark.]

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To His Excellency, de Carletonne, General for his Britannic Majesty in Canada .

Having found myself able and indeed designed to go and induce the Nations of the Mississippi to come and take your orders, I left two mountains² the 28th [October, 1777], to carry out my mission and accidents have so detained me that I

² The Lake of the Two Mountains is a widening of the Ottawa river, about twelve miles above its mouth. In the time of Gautier, there was a station there, at which traders and exploring parties fitted for expeditions to the Northwest.— Ed.

¹⁰¹ was not able to go to Missilimakinac¹ with my Indians until the 31st where after presenting my orders to the Commandant and receiving his I set out again the 6th [November] for la Baye and arrived there the 25th where I began to announce your plans which I supported and confirmed in Indian fashion by wampum belts and presents.

¹ See *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, vii., p. 125, for various spellings of Michilimackinac. Cf. also Butterfield's *Discovery of the Northwest*, p. 55, *note* 1; and *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, index.— Ed.

If it should please² your excellency to grant to his humble servant the freedom to decide, he would not have so much trouble and anxiety, he would amuse himself with his friends and presently he would have more ample knowledge of hot-headedness than he will ever have of Indian disposition he would also be exempt in the matter of jealousy and all criticism.

² *Cent il plu a Votre Excel*, etc.— Tr.

I implore your clemency and as a novice in this art I hope you will design to receive with indulgence this journal that I make with no other view than to try to make my zeal equal to the opinion that you have of me in elevating me to the summit of such a tree that the least wind only throws me down.

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While I remained at this post [La Baye], I sent runners to the winter quarters of the Indians in the vicinity with belts and presents both to several folles avoines³ and to puants⁴ seeing that M. de Langlade⁶ did not come into this region this year.

3 Menomonees.— Ed.

4 Winnebagoes.— Ed.

6 “ *Jay mieux fait les egresse que je nanvois du aussi bien qua dautre mandian qui ayant sen mon arrivée ne mont pas epargné et suis reparty,*” etc.— Tr.

The 11 th [December], Sabacherez fol avoine died whom I had buried the 22 nd December, I covered him and as I came to raise the nation I started out better than I have although some beggars learned of my arrival and did not spare⁷ me, and I set out again the 23 after sending the nations to seek out their winter quarters and to inform

6 Charles Michel de Langlade, his uncle — Ed.

102 those whom they should see on the road of the reason of my journey.

Taking the road to the river la Roche,¹ I stopped with S r Lisse the 31 st [December] to inquire concerning the winter quarters, both of the Indians and the french and some puant chiefs came along to whom I spoke and left them two belts hoping to conceal other presents that I will not mention here for fear of wearying the reader.

1 Rock river.— Ed.

I left to Sieur Lessé a belt with a runner for the ajovoin, and another for Milwaki.

The 3 rd of January, 1778, I continued my journey to the river la Roche, carrying out my orders on the way up to the 14 th of it [January] and I fell upon a lake near 2 villages, whose inhabitants, one to the number of 100 puants, the other 200 Sakis,² had left for winter quarters, and the 15 th I arrived at the river la Roche where there was no one. I was

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compelled to seek them taking the road as well as I could to prairie du chien, and at all the little lodges I met with I announced your plans, as far as the prairie du chien where I was awaited by a part of each nation who were meanwhile in winter quarters and who had very little to eat.

2 Sacs.— Ed.

The 27 th I arrived at prairie du chien at Sieur Lese's where I obtained information as to winter quarters.

I dispatched Runners to the Scioux to bury the Sakies and Renard³ who were wintering below the Mississippi and also to the Traders that were with them so that they might aid me in sustaining my belt.

3 Foxes.— Ed.

It was necessary also to ask for food and clothing for a part of the families of those who had been in Canada, as they had left their things at la baye and were sick tired and nearly frozen.

I took refreshments and left this place the 30 th to go among the Scioux of the lakes and to fulfill my mission on the way.

The 12 th [February] I appeared at the River S te Croix 103 where I learned that part of the Scioux were wintering at the upper part of this river with some puants who fared very badly on account of the delay of their Comrades who were at Montreal thinking they were dead, and in virtue of this they wanted to kill Sieur Robert, being English.

As soon as the news was known I started to quiet this tumult and arrived the 13 th at the house of the said S r Robert where it was time that I was [considering what] might have perhaps happened, seeing the mood in which I found those rascals (I did not go hostilely).

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I pacified them as well as I could and the french after this affair informed me where the Scioux were.

The 17 th I had a runner leave to go and seek Sabache a great Scioux chief and another to go among the Sauteux¹ of Manominikara with belts and the customary presents, for them I made use of the name of M r Pehster² their father at Missil.³ I invited them to come and see me promising them peace with the Scioux.

1 Chippewas.— Ed.

2 Major De Peyster.— Ed.

3 Michilimackinac.— Ed.

I heard it said that the Scioux of the River St. pri⁴ were Assembling to go to war against the Sauteux, I had a runner set out and begged them to keep quiet that I had a matter to communicate to them.

4 St. Peter river.— Ed.

The 22 d , Sabache sent me word they were going to be with me in five days.

25 th . There arrived from Terre 9 lodges of puants to leave their wives and children [*a faire du suite*] and to depart straightway to go and fall upon the Sauteux and avenge the death of a puant whom they had killed last summer by mistake at Lac du Boeuf.⁵

5 Buffalo lake.— Ed.

This would have been a war which all the nations of the Mississippi would have engaged in if I had not checked it and it would have cost me still more that [if?] I had always tried to stop them.⁶

6 The meaning here is obscure. The original reads: “ *Ce seroit été une querre que toute la nation du Mississippi auroient soutenn si je ny avois remedié et m' en auroit il couté davantage que j'aurois toujours assayé a les arreter.*”— Ed.

104

The 28 th , the Sauteux of Manomanisk arrived and after resting I spoke to them thus:

My brothers, I announce to you on the part of your father that if you do not hasten to see him this year you will make him think that you are not his children and he will be angry.

He has a long Arm and very large hands.

He is good, he has a good heart when his children heed him.

He is bad, he is terrible, he sits in judgment on all the indians and french.

reply.

It is good that you tell us what our father has told you to tell us.

I am a chief I hope to go see him twice this spring.

I know that the chiefs are good, strong, bad [*sic* .] and that they can all [go?].

20 th [March]. But there came a Sciouse who told me that the Sauteux not being so strong as they in winter quarters had made them a present of a little oil which they [the Sauteux] had prepared with poison, which had made them [the Sciouse] all sick.

24 th . The runner from the River St. Pierre reported to me that the Scioux were asking for me.

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26 th . The puants mourned their comrade and sang. I was obliged to clothe the deceased in clothing — his family was composed of six persons, and I repeat that I found this matter of importance seeing that they did not act from self-interest.

27 th , sabache arrived with 20 men.

28 th , we all set out to go up the Mississippi and put our canoes with our baggage.

7 th April, I arrived at River St. Pierre where I found S r 105 Berty¹ and several other workmen with de sarpeton. I spoke to them and talked about war, with a belt and ordinary presents.

¹ John Baptiste Barthe, a trader licensed from Michilimackinac for the Lake Superior country.— Ed.

12 th . Another company of them carne and talked war with some puants who had come with them.

14 th . The nephew of the Scioux chief was drowned with a frenchman, which caused a little trouble through the sadness which it spread in the place, besides the general scarcity so overpowered me that to make them follow me I was obliged to buy food.

20 th . I took the Road to prairie du Chien gathering on the way the most indians it was possible.

26 th . Arrived at prairie du Chien where I expected the nations and prepared to receive them.

I bought food, drink and some merchandise that I thought necessary, Indians arrived every moment from winter quarters. [The] agovoin took the lead and left their comrades preparing to come.

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I received a letter from S r de Langlade through [the chief?] Siskomsin in which he commanded me to speak to all the chiefs and warriors and not to others, that he himself was a warrior and not a chief, that he invited his comrades the Warriors to come & see him at la Baye and to succeed in this they had only to take this Tomahawk by one end because he held it by the other.

May 4th . It is reported in the camp that S r Louis Reaume had killed and scalped a Sakie. sad news for me who was preparing to talk war[;] this nation bidden against the whites robbed S r Delinctot Lathe of a fierce of brandy on his way toward the river la Roche and they said [also that] they would have vengeance for this death.²

² Godefroy Linctot, a trader, in the spring of 1779 joined fortunes with the Americans. De Peyster writes Haldimand, July 9, that the renegade was preparing to march against St. Joseph's with 400 horse; Aug. 9, he writes that Linctot's destination is Detroit, but he has sent out 500 Indians to harass the party on its way.— *Mich. Pion. Coll.*, ix., pp. 389, 390, 392. Lincrot was appointed by Clark as Indian agent “for the Illinois river and all the western side of said river to the east of the Mississippi,” with power to appoint “an assistant for the upper part of the Mississippi, near the Dog Plains” (Prairie du Chien). See *Calendar Va. State Papers*, i., p. 325. Linctot was at first appointed captain, but later became a major (*ibid*, p. 428). Of all the French adherents to the American cause, in the West, he was one of the most active.— Ed.

106

I assembled all the Traders and made them help cover up this so called shameful death after Sieur Louis Reaume had in a feeble way redeemed this murder.

I aided also in this result more than any other because the aforesaid good intentioned relation [Reaume] had descended from Montreal and had waited at the prairie until I arrived there to talk war with me and would have succeeded if the brandy trade had not

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proved too strong for the Indian mind—except the Scioux who have served me and all the whites as safeguards.

Such a confusion was hard to put down among Indians who charged the whites with wish to destroy them by Drink and by war, that [which] turned a large part of the Sakies and renards from going down, speaking very badly and without reserve, arising from a Sakie of the river la Roche named la main Cassée thai came from the Mississippi to fall upon any passer that might come to the prairie or even going himself to enter wherever he could catch a glimpse saying that no nation of his color was able to resist him and that he wanted to help the Whites to know it (as well as [that] we were wishing to destroy the idea of our [then?] superiors [superiority?] so as to make them know what the White skin was.)

8 th . I found when I got up, 3 or 4 feet from my tent, le soichihone great chief of the Sakies of siskoinsin, little by little people awoke and these men began to search for him. I resisted it, he had no wound nor not one bruise but he was purple and foamed at the mouth, two Days ago he was Drinking and we all supposed that Drink had killed him, but the Indians unceasingly charged the Whites with having killed him, which awakened the affair of S r Louis Reaume which was only half quieted, I was obliged to lead away my Scioux our guard and to keep ourselves hidden.

There came more news that S r Alexis Reaume his brother 107 had been killed in returning from winter quarters from below the Mississippi.

I stopped the trade in brandy seeing the principal chiefs drunk and I clothed the deceased and had him buried with all the Indian rites.

I will not detail the ill treatment that one suffers on such occasions.

10 th . I dispatched S r de Linctot the younger to go and seek the agovoins of this chief with a suitable belt.

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I acted as mildly as I could with these people, I made them speak and I spoke myself with a belt of peace to quiet a second revolt that was preparing and I proposed to them to each go to their village in order to talk there more at ease.

I prohibited a second time the trade in brandy, a thing which went against the Traders and I was compelled in spite of all ugly speeches to leave.

The 13 th May, left the prairie and took the Road for the Village of the Renards with seven Sioux families and arrived there the 15 th and waited till they Came.

The 17 th , I talked war I gave them the belt of the way and another fastened to a red Tomahawk.

A Renard called le Chat began and staved in a Barrel and overturned it with kicks saying that that didn't pay for the bodies of the two dead men whom the Whites had killed.

All of them were grumbling low and I saw myself taken unless Siskoinsin chief of the village had not taken the Tomahawk and sung after making a speech contrary to the ideas of the whole Village, which calms all and the rest very Well and the Reply of those departing was put off till the next day.

The 17 th , there was counted about 60 men who were to come to Montreal and in order not to delay me so that I could leave, for the Sakies they had come for me.

18 th . Left for the Sakies and on the Way I spoke to different ones that I met in the Village des pins where I prohibited [?], and performed the same ceremonies as elsewhere.

22 nd . I arrived at the Village of the Sakies and the next day I talked war. That day there arrived three Sakies of 108 the Village from the river la Roche who came to speak to all the Villages of Siskoinsin with a so-called belt of the Bostonniens¹ who had surrendered in the course of the Winter; they were at one end of the lodge when I began to talk at the

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other end, without knowing that there were some strangers in this lodge, afterwards I was warned not to go to the river la Roche as I had premeditated, by a good old woman (such is not often found) as I and my men would be killed; The Indians that I knew hesitated to lead me There and some others were inclined to it with all their heart, all this took place in the council of war and a great many weak voices talked war.

1 Americans.— Ed.

All these contradictions did not coöperate for my undertaking, on the contrary the death of these two men was revived and the first more than the second. They had only this to reproach me with without wishing to tell me that these three deputies came to speak to them, but I knew through the faithful ones that they had a belt from the Bostonniens who promised them to keep quiet unless they should do to them as they had done to others, which kept the latter balanced.

Sieur Janisse took the Tomahawk and danced which excited the whole nation as he was the great comrade of the son of the dead Sirchihome and at the end of his dance presented him with the Tomahawk, this young man was in conversation with these three strangers over the so claimed Bostonnien belt (I was not able to see it) this news was made known secretly and I found myself in a very short moment chief of a very small [band] of Royalists while the son of the deceased seated in both councils took the Tomahawk and made a speech in which he demanded my skin in order to level me, and to appease him I was forced to give him my regimentals, he conducted things very well, afterwards S r Calvé [took] the Tomahawk, danced and sang war, which had a very good effect.²

2 Joseph Calvé was a trader, employed by the British as military agent among the Sacs and Foxes. As late as June, 1780, De Peyster considered him an “honest and inoffensive man” and praised him for valuable services. But in the attack on St. Louis, Calvé seemed to Sinclair to be working in the American interest. On account of his supposed treachery,

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and that of Jean Marie Ducharme and other traders in the Sac country, Sinclair calls the expedition "a sham attack." July 30, 1780, Sinclair writes to De Peyster (*Mich. Pion. Coll.*, ix., p. 586) that "The attack upon the Illinois miscarried from the treachery of Calvé and Ducharme," etc. Cf. Scharf's *Hist. St. Louis*, pp. 206, 207; and Reynolds's *Pion. Hist. Illinois* (ed. 1887), pp. 123, 124.— Ed.

109

After these men had finished [*mendircent autant que le Renard*] and sent me away till the Next day, they consulted the rest of the Day at their ease.

(These frenchmen whom I mention are married [among the Indians] and have their trade) there are others who told me they would descend with me.

The Sakies came to tell me to go and await them at the portage of the 8iskoinsin¹ that they and their brothers the renards would come to me there, I set out straightway after leaving them again the loving words of their father to calm their heart and give courage, repeating to them that their father awaited them only to see them.

1 Wisconsin river.— Ed.

26 th . Stopped at the Village of Nibakoa, village of every nation [several nations] and performed there same Sermonie as usual, they informed me that the renards and Sakies were considering making war upon the Sauteux and that Many of them did not go down to Montreal (a part of this Village is composed of Sauteux.)

They accepted belts Tomahawk and presents and conducted things very well, they told me they would come to me at the portage of the 8iskoinsin.

27 th , arrived at the portage with my Scioux and the follesavoines and did my carrying.

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29 th , I sent a runner to see if the renards and Sakies were coming, the puants of the River la Roche came to join me there.

30 th , the Season was advancing too far, which made me leave and I continued to Write back all along the road as far as the great Village of the puants of the Lake² which was the strongest one.

2 At Winnebago rapids, now Neenah,Wis.— Ed.

110

2 nd June, arrived at la hay where I found S r De Langlade waiting for me, he was anxious on account of my Delay and after telling him a part of my troubles I gave him an account of my mission.

3 rd , I remitted to S r de Langlade recruits, comprising men women and children

37 h e Scioux and families.

20 h e Renards " "

20 h e Sakie " "

20 h e puants river la roche.

6 h e Nabakoa and families.

80 h e puans " "

& 7 h e Agos " "

4 th , S r de Lincto the younger arrived from the Village of the Agosoin and in giving the account of his mission, he said to S r de Langlade his friend, that the Spaniards had sent word to the agosoin not to heed the Venimous and empoisoned Mouths which should

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come or which had already spoken to them that those bad men had no other end in view than to destroy them by the Bostonniens, that they were braver men than any other nation and that they were upheld by the Spaniards (among whom the Agosoin go very often and indeed are neighbors). all concurred to my enterprise for they were ready to come to the number of Sixty and more, besides the Abovementioned la main cassé had spoken to them (this man should be Well rewarded and he makes Much expense with the runners that he is constantly dispatching and Even to Milwaki not for the Good but for the bad.)

I thought I should be able to complete my three hundred men in January last if all these misfortunes had not suddenly stopped me and I have flattered myself in vain that I could by my mission [show] his Excelency my zeal for the Service that nothing shall exceed.

After handing over my recruits of two hundred and ten men to S r de Langlade not including women and children, the folles avoines to whom I had spoken, came to Join the number of men in camp, and all together we departed and 111 de Langlade and I [set out] from the baye des puans the 6th of June 1778 for Missilimakinac with the aim of so well pleasing the Indians that we could make them go to Montreal; so let it be. C. Gautier .

Vreteneque,¹

1 Apparently the names of the leaders of the several bands collected by Gautier.— Ed. Renard.

Teskinawa, Sakie.

Oreshkaté, Scioux.

Indorsed: "From the best information I can get it appears to me that M r Gautier has met with the many difficultys set forth in the body of this his Journal, and that he was absolutely under the necessity of putting the Government to some extraordinary expense. Given

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under my hand at Fort Machilimackinac this 22 nd day of June 1778. A r S. De Peyster, Major to the Kings Commanding.”

DE PEYSTER TO CARLETON.

Michililhamakinac 29 June 1778.

Sir ,—I have the honor to acquaint you that on the 24 th Instant I sent off the last of the Indians destined for Montreal this Season amounting to 550 warriors Messrs Calveé & Roque² are going as Interpreters to the Lachis Schiong [Sioux of the Lakes] &c Calveé has been of Service in the Mississipy for several years past and particularly this last winter.

² Rocque was an interpreter detailed for service among the Sioux. During the expedition against St. Louis, in 1780, he accompanied Wabasha in this capacity.— Ed.

I lately wrote to L t Col Bolton³ beging of him to apply to your Excellency for leave of absence for me my health being so much impaired by the constant attendance I am obliged to give to Indians that at times I suffer the greatest torture Since my application I have got accounts that the Labay Indians and the Chippawas are at war and otherwise very restless which if not settled may be of great detriment

³ Lieut. Colonel Mason Bolton, of the 8th regiment of foot; his headquarters were at Niagara.— Ed.

¹ 12 to the Service & disadvantage to trade. This is a point I shall endeavor to settle before I avail myself of my leave you may please to grant me & I shall settle every other matter in the best order for whoever I may leave to command. The matter of pleasing the Indians without any very extraordinary expence to Government may be easily acquired by a person possessed of any degree of patience and activity Hitherto I have entrusted no one thing to others which the absence of the Superintendent and his train have facilitated. I should therefore be sorry that for want of my usual activity I should leave the Indians

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any room for complaining, which will be the case if the Commanding officer does not see things with his own eyes I mean at this post where I have always been sure to see every individual satisfied I have not received a line from your Excellency nor from any one in office this year no vessels as yet being arrived from Niagara, every other year they had made their second trip before now.

No canoe has yet arrived for the King, not even the one which Mr Langlade left at the Lake of the Two Mountains last fall.

The weakness of this Garrison (as the men from Niagara were not arrived) prevented my sending more than five men with Lieutenant Bennet¹ to which I added seven Canadians. I hear that they were east on the rocks on Lake Superior but lost nothing but ammunition and provisions. I have sent off a fresh supply,

¹ Lieut. Thomas Bennett, of the 8th foot, was dispatched to the Grand Portage, at the west end of Lake Superior, to settle differences among the Indians there and to arrest any "ill affected or suspected persons resorting there" (*Mich. Pion. Coll.*, ix., p. 356). The traders of the Northwest Company were themselves not above suspicion of leaning to the American interest (*ibid*, p. 552).— Ed.

I have the honor &c (Signed) At. S. De Peyster .

113

COLONEL CLARK'S MEMORANDUM TO A WINNEBAGO CHIEF.

By George Rogers Clark Esq r Colonel and Commandant of the Eastern Illinois & its Dependencies &c &c &c.¹

Whereas Chourachon Chief of the Puans and his nation Living at the Rock River have entered into Alliance and 8

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1 Gen. George Rogers Clark was born Nov. 19, 1752, near Monticello, Albemarle county, Va. At the age of twenty he was practicing his profession as a surveyor on the upper Ohio, and afterwards became a farmer. In 1774, he participated in Dunmore's campaign against the Shawnees and Mingo. Early in 1775, Clark went as a surveyor to Kentucky, where he acquired marked popularity, and in 1776 was elected as "a delegate to the Virginia convention, to urge upon the state authorities the claims of the colony for government and defence." He secured the formation of the new county of Kentucky and a supply of ammunition for the defence of the border. In 1777, Clark, now a major of militia, repelled the Indian attacks on Harrodsburg and proceeded on foot to Virginia to lay before the state authorities his plan for capturing the Illinois country and repressing the Indian forays from that quarter. His scheme being approved, he was made a lieutenant colonel and at once set out to raise for the expedition a small force of hardy frontiersmen. He rendezvoused and drilled his little army on an island in the Ohio river, opposite the present city of Louisville. June 24, 1778, he started, and after passing the rapids landed near the deserted Fort "Massac," which was on the north bank, ten miles below the mouth of the Tennessee; thence marching across country, much pressed for food, reaching Kaskaskia in six days. The inhabitants there were surprised and coerced during the night of July 4-5, without the firing of a gun. Cahokia and Vincennes soon quietly succumbed to his influence. Governor Hamilton, on hearing of this loss of the Illinois country and the partial defection of the tribes west and southwest of Lake Michigan, at once set out to organize an army, chiefly composed of Indians, to retake the Illinois. He proceeded via the Wabash and Maumee, with eight hundred men, and recaptured Vincennes, December 17. The correspondence we are here publishing has largely to do with Hamilton's negotiations, through De Peyster, Langlade and Gautier, for the mustering of savage allies for his expedition, from the country west of Lake Michigan and his attempt to thwart the intrigues of Clark's agents, who were very busy among the Indians north and northwest of the Illinois country, even penetrating as far north as the Wisconsin river. The intelligence of this movement of Hamilton was not long in reaching Clark at Kaskaskia, and he at once set out for Vincennes to recapture it. Hamilton surrendered to him, February 25, and was

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forwarded to Virginia as a prisoner. The weakness of his force and the poverty of Virginia alone prevented Clark from moving on Detroit. Early in 1780 he established Fort Jefferson, just below the mouth of the Ohio, and later in the season aided in repelling a body of British and Indians who had come to regain the Illinois country and attack the Spaniards at St. Louis. Leaving Colonel Montgomery to pursue the enemy up the Mississippi, Clark, with what force could be spared, hastened to Kentucky where he quickly raised a thousand men and invaded and laid waste the Shawnee villages, in retaliation for Bird's invasion. Later, he was engaged in some minor forays and was appointed a brigadier general; but his favorite scheme of an expedition to conquer Detroit miscarried, owing to the poverty of Virginia and the activity of the enemy under Brant, McKee, Girty and other border leaders. In 1782, he led a thousand men in a successful campaign against the Indians on the Great Miami. This was his last important service, his subsequent expeditions proving failures. His later years were spent in poverty and seclusion, and his social habits became none of the best. In 1793, he imprudently accepted a commission as major-general, from Genet, the French diplomatic agent, and essayed to raise a French revolutionary legion in the West to overcome the Spanish settlements on the Mississippi; upon Genet's recall, Clark's commission was canceled. He died February 18, 1818, at Locust Grove near Louisville, Ky., and lies buried at Cave Hill, in the Louisville suburbs. In his article on Clark, in *Appletons' Cyclop. of Amer. Biog.*, i., pp. 626, 627, Lyman C. Draper says: "Clark was tall and commanding, brave and full of resources, possessing the affection and confidence of his men. All that rich domain northwest of the Ohio was secured to the republic, at the peace of 1783, in consequence of his prowess." Cf. William F. Poole, in Winsor's *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Amer.*, vi., pp. 710–742. While due credit should be given to Clark for his daring and successful undertaking, we must not forget that England's jealousy of Spain, and shrewd diplomacy on the part of America's peace plenipotentiaries, were factors even more potent in winning the Northwest for the United States.— Ed.

Library of Congress

114 Friendship with the United States of America, and Promised to be true and faithful Subjects to the same.

In consequence whereof I have given him this writing as a remembrance that he and his said nation are to treat all the subjects of the said States of America with Friendship and receive all those they may meet with, as their Brothers.

Given under my hand and seal at Fort Bowman in the Illinois this 22 nd Aug t 1778.

G. Clark [Seal.]

Indorsed: "Colonel Clark's Certificate to a Chief of the Puan. Dated at Fort Bowman Illinois Country 22 nd Aug t 1778.

"Recd. in Lieut. Gov r Sinclair's Letter of the 29 th May.

"The within mentioned Chief and his Band are gone to strike against the Rebels and trade upon the commission.

115

" Machiquawish took the King's Medal from the Breast of one of his Band who refused to go and sent it to this Post.

"Addressed to me with two Prisoners of his Nations which he received from the Scions as a mark of Friendship & future alliance."

DE PEYSTER TO GENERAL HALDIMAND.¹

¹ Sir Frederick Haldimand, K. B., succeeded Carleton as governor of Canada, in 1778, serving until 1784. His correspondence and the miscellaneous official documents accumulated by him during this important period in American history, constitute the Haldimand Collection, now in the British Museum. The papers herewith presented

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are carefully copied from the copies of the original documents made under the close supervision of Douglas Brymner, government archivist of the Dominion of Canada. General Haldimand was born in Switzerland and secured the lieutenant-colonelcy of the 60th (or Royal American) regiment of the British army, Jan. 4, 1756. He came to America in that year and was allowed the rank of colonel "in America" a year later. In 1756, he was commandant at Philadelphia. In 1760, he was with Major General Amherst in the expedition from Oswego to Montreal. He became a colonel in the army in 1762, and an "American" major general ten years later, in May. In October, 1772, he was promoted to be colonel commandant of the 60th. Jan. 1, 1776, he was commissioned a general "in America." In 1777, he rose to be a lieutenant general in the army; and the year following succeeded Governor Carleton, as before noted. Jan. 10, 1785, he arrived in London; in October, he prepared to return to Canada and resume his governorship, but the news of his unpopularity had meanwhile reached England and he never again crossed the ocean. In 1791, he died at Yeverden, Switzerland. See Brymner's *Report on Canadian Archives*, for 1887, pp. vii–xxi, for additional details of his career, based on the latest information.—Ed.

Michilimackinac 21st Sepr 1778.

Sir ,—I did myself the honor to write to your Excellency on the 16 th Instant by Mr. Charles Reaume when I informed you that I had sent a letter and Speech on the 10 th Instant to St. Joseph² to be forwarded to the Illinois to which dispatch of yesterday received the enclosed answer.

² Located in what is now Portage township, St. Joseph county, Ind., on the east side of the St. Joseph river, a short distance below the present city of South Bend. It guarded the much-used portage between St. Joseph river and the head-waters of the Kankakee. Opposite the fort, upon the portage trail, was a Pottawattamie village. It was important to keep this portage open, as the most direct gateway between Detroit and the Illinois country; it was, too, a central depot for the fur trade.—Ed.

It appears by Mr. Chevaliers¹ letters that the rebels are too firmly fixed in that important post to hazard my Belt with any prospect of success. I fear however that if they are not routed by some means that the whole Mississippi Trade is knocked up.

¹ Louis Chevalier was a trader who had located at St. Joseph's as early as 1758. During the American operations in the Illinois country, he was regarded by De Peyster as friendly to British interests; but Sinclair, who succeeded De Peyster at Michilimackinac, was of a suspicious turn of mind towards many of the latter's friends, and had Chevalier placed under arrest and sent down to Quebec, as a "suspect." It was found, however, that he could not be held out so slight a pretext.

The Indians of the little Detroit of Labay The Manomenia Sabris Oumissigoes & Secoux² being arrived and on the point of their departure I present them with a large Belt which I desire may go through the different Villages of the Nations which have been employed by Government and who have been so long protected by His Majesty. Telling them that it is my earnest request that they have not the least connection with the Rebels but keep themselves quietly at home till I can have your answer to this letter which I tell them I expect this fall or so early in the winter and to send amongst them before the rivers are open in the Spring. That should I hear of their having done anything prejudicial to the Traders, or of their having entered into any alliance with the enemy I have in such case taken the precautions to request of you that the passes for the ensuing season may require of every Canoe to wait at the mouth of the French river in Lake Huron for my further instructions so that should they misbehave during the winter they may expect I will send to order every Canoe loads of goods back to Montreal. This threat seems to have great force with the Indians present and with submission I could wish your Excellency would think fit to order it so It will detain Canoes no longer than is absolutely necessary, and it will be the means of their coming up with great confidence that far so as to be ready

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to furnish the nations with their Wants as usual to prevent the trade taking another turn
Provided the traders can be allowed to proceed with prosperity.

2 Menomonees, Sacs, Winnebagoes and Sioux.— Ed.

117

I have as much as possible instilled into the Indians the Idea that altho the Rebels may perhaps be able to make a shew of presents at first that they can by no means be able to furnish the different nations with their necessary wants. It now remains for me to send the several nations home pleased, this will require much rum and Tobacco, those gentry the Seroux excepted having continued to employ their Kegs before they arrived here, they must be also provided of good many Canoes as many of theirs are unfit for further Service.

* * * * *

Should your Excellency judge proper to send Mr. Gautier to proceed to the Mississippi he will hurry this Canoe much without him, it will scarce be in my power to put any orders you may send for the movement of the Labay Indians into Execution. Mr. Langlade the zealous will by no means be able to undertake so active an Enterprise.

The Indians have already declared that were Gautier here to lead them they would penetrate the Illinois Country this winter. As I suppose you will also send orders at Detroit in the winter I shall send off an express to be ready there as my Indians will know the road & as I shall be able to depend upon them & the person I shall send with them.

* * * * *

I have the honor to be &c

(Signed) A. S. De Peyster .

DE PEYSTER TO HALDIMAND.

Library of Congress

Michilimackinac 7 October 1778.

Sir ,—I am just honoured with your Letter of the 10 th of August last. Your Excellency may depend on me that I shall do all in my power to keep within bounds as much as the present situation of affairs will permit. I am sorry to inform you that the Indians who had been so well provided at Montreal had made away with almost everything before they reached this (their fine cloaths excepted which they 118 carefully preserved) & as the cold weather must pinch them before they reach their houses I could not refuse them some cloathing. I likewise furnished them with Canoes, as many of their Canoes were rendered unfit to proceed. Half of their guns either wanted repairing or exchanging.

Demands were made upon me for payment of their own Canoes which they said were not paid them according to promise at Montreal. They made a claim for provisions taken the second Campaign. In this I however put them off till I have an opportunity of seeing their Leaders. Some of them brought me orders for Kegs of Rum &c and I have been obliged to cover their dead afresh. The Rum they got at Montreal to take to their Vilages they drank coming up the Country & they also used their Tobacco & expended their ammuniion so that I have had all those articles to furnish over or run the risk of forfeiting all we have ever done.

At length I have sent the Labay Indians off pleased with promises—on their parts not to listen to the rebels at the Illinois from which quarter I have not heard anything since my last letter. I am in hopes the Traders have received my orders to turn up the Mississipy in time so as to avoid falling into their hands.

* * * * *

(Signed) A. S. De Peyster .

DE PEYSTER TO HALDIMAND.

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Michilimackinac 24th October 1778.

Sir ,—Your Excellency's Letters of the 30th August and 2nd of September I received the 21st instant by De Groselior.¹ I received about the same time a Letter from L^t Gov^r Hamilton which he left to be forwarded from Detroit. As [had] the Indians not been gone to their several homes before I received Mr. Hamiltons Letters it would have been

¹ J. B. de Grosselier, recommended to De Peyster by Haldimand as a man capable of being made use of in the Illinois country.— *Mich. Pion. Coll.*, ix., p. 353.— Ed.

119 in my power to have seconded his attempt which he tells me he directs in person to dispossess the rebels at the Illinois, and as it may be in my power to dispose the Indians here to coöperate by going down the Illinois River he gives me this notice.¹

¹ Clark had captured Cahokia and the other French villages in the Illinois, early in July.— Ed.

The Indians at present are too much dispersed for me to assembly them in a body Sufficiently strong to go down that river and I am persuaded they would not leave their wives and children in their wintering grounds, there having been no previous provision made for them I shall however send Express to the grand river² & on the borders of Lake Michigan to endeavor to spirit up the young men to join Mr. Hamilton by the most expeditious route ordering them to call at St. Josephs for further information of his situation.

I shall also write to Mr. Chevalier to give Mr. Hamilton every assistance in his power which I fear cannot be much, as the Indians mostly are gone to their meeting [hunting] grounds.

² Grand river, Michigan.— Ed.

I have long since by civil treatment apparently secured that gentleman to His Majesty's Interests foreseeing thai he would become useful before those troubles could be at

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an end, the different representation of him by Mr. Hamilton and myself must appear extraordinary. I can assure your Excellency that I never heard anything that could be proven to his disadvantage on the contrary Whilst at this Post, he with a becoming decency set his enemies at defiance should he however prove faithless the disadvantages arising from my credulity will be greatly overbalanced by advantages that may occur by putting some confidence in him. This much I am obliged to say in vindication of my judgment as Mr. Hamilton notwithstanding my representation to him writes me that he has represented him to your Excellency in a very unfavorable light. I shall take every possible method to procure intelligence of the present state of the Illinois and transmit (if I receive any) by way of Detroit during the course of the winter. I have now to offer 120 my sentiments agreeable to your Excellency's request whether anything can be done for the recovery of the Illinois.

Provided your Excellency's Instructions relative to stopping the communication of the Ohio &c be vigorously put in execution. I am persuaded that Mr. Gautier or some other active person may assemble a body of Indians in his direct road from Labay to the Prairie de chien and in the river St. Pierre to go down the Mississippi early in the spring which may be performed from the mouth of the Oresconsign¹ in seven or eight days. That country is full of resources but the Indians must have presents whenever we fall off from that article they are no more to be depended upon. The past is soon forgot by them except when they do us a favour. Give the Indians of this country a present and they will immediately strive to make some trifling return, which we must however give them four times the value for. To second the above mentioned Indians the Pottewatamies must be also ordered to move down the Illinois river followed by the Ottawas and Chippawas those latter will be rather late but by sending belts before them to assure the Illinois Indians that they came in friendship to them provided they join in driving out the rebels it will have great effect, even the brent of their intended march will settle them. The inhabitants of that country are not to be depended upon should the french offer to interfere otherwise should they join the rebels, it would be thro fear of being plundered by the Stranger Indians. I some time ago

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represented a small armed vessel necessary to be under the direction of the commanding officer of this post, as a Sort of respect to the Indians, and to reconoitre the different Bays and Creeks in Lake Michigan also to be ready to send to Detroit on immergency, and finding I could not carry on the service without one I armed the *Welcome* to send to Labay St. Josephs Milwakee &c as the winds are generally so strong that canoes cannot move even in a fair wind, which makes their passages very tedious on the Lakes. But finding

1 Wisconsin river.— Ed

121 no favorable answer indeed none at all to myself, I dismissed her. I can send such a vessel at [to] St. Josephs and get answer to my letters in eight days or sooner whereas I must not expect it in less than a month if so soon by a Canoe or small boat. The above representation was long before Your Excellency took the command.

I hope your Excellency is acquainted with the reasons why Sir Guy Carleton ordered me to remain at this post with an hand-ful of men and no other Command, to [with] a Captain of the Regiment and remaining guide removed, from what will in all probability soon become the scene of action if the Rebels are not routed from the Illinois.

I have the honor &c (Signed) A. S. De Peyster .

DE PEYSTER TO HALDIMAND.

Michilimakinac 27 th Oct. 1778.

Sir ,—Soon after my letter of the 24 th inst. was despatched by a light Canoe, Messrs. Langlade and Gautier arrived here and informed me that they were sent up to attend my order. I was surprised they bro t me no letters, but they tell me Your Excellency was at Chamblée and that Lieut. Col. Campbell¹ sent them off lest the weather should set in so as to prevent them getting up. I have come to the resolution to send these Gentlemen off to give every assistance in their power to Lieut. Gov r Hamilton.

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1 Lieut. Colonel John Campbell, of the 57th foot.— Ed

I have provided them with some Goods, which I believe with their presence amongst the Indians will do more good than I could have expected by sending my Belts by the hands of Indians.

Mr. Langlade is to undertake the Grand River, near which the Ottawa's and Chippewa's from the place winter. And Mr. Gautier is to proceed straight to St. Joseph's where he will give orders for the Indians in that neighbourhood to assemble whilst he endeavours to get intelligence of the route 122 Mr. Hamilton has taken, so as to be able to join him with all expedition.

Mr. Hamilton by this means will not meet with any impediments from want o f such assistance as [is] in my power to give him.

Should they find that he is returned to Detroit, they then have orders to cross the country to their old Stations, to keep the Labay and Mississippi Indians in temper & there wait further orders.

I also sent off my Interpreter to St. Joseph's to bring me back necessary intelligence.

At this present Juncture I should have found the benefit of having the Sloop Welcome, as I have been obliged to press from some of the Inhabitants their only serv t to enable me to make out a canoe to transport them to St. Joseph's, and the winds are rather high.

* * * * *

I have the Honor to be with the greatest Respect, Your Excellency's Host Humble obed
Servant,

(Signed) A. S. De Peyster .

To His Excellency, the Commander in Chief .

DE PEYSTER TO HALDIMAND.

Michilimakinac 29th Januy 1779.

Sir ,—I did myself the honor to write to your Excellency on the 27th of October acquainting you with the steps I had taken towards giving assistance to L^t Gov^r Hamilton having sent Messrs Langlade Gautier & Ains¹ is [they have] returned with the following report viz that they were detained on their way by contrary winds, so that they did not reach the mouth of grand river till the Thirteenth day of Novembre, where Mr Langlade landed agreeable to his Intencion. That on their way to St Joseph's they spoke with the Ottawa chiefs who declined the expedition for want of previous notice but declared themselves ready in the Spring. That detained by a continuation of bad weather he Ains & Gautier did not

1 Interpreter at Fort Michilimackinac.— Ed

123 arrive at St Joseph's untill the second day of December where they found Mr Louis Chevalier who had been twenty two days from Mr Hamiltons little army which passed near the pays plat¹ before he left it that he le Chevalier was informed there that Gebease² the Priest had been at the Post Vincent [Vincennes] & at the Ouia [Fort Ouatenon]³ with a party of rebels & obliged 600 inhabitants to swear Allegiance to the Congress &c & that by the best accounts he could get the rebels at the Illinois did not exceed three hundred men who were ill provided.

1 *Pays plat* (Fr. for flat country) was frequently applied to portage plains, by the French. In Long's *Voyages and Travels* (London, 1791), the term is applied to the portage of two miles between Lake St. Martin and Muddy lake in Manitoba. The particular *pays plat* referred to by De Peyster was the portage between the Maumee and Little river, one of the sources of the Wabash.— Ed

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2 Father Pierre Gibault, the French priest at Kaskaskia, who undertook, on behalf of Clark, a mission to Vincennes in July, 1778, and succeeded in inducing its inhabitants to declare for the Americans.— Ed

3 Now Lafayette, Ind.— Ed

P. S.—I should be glad to know if your Excellency will please to allow the officer any pay for his laying out and directing the route at the Portage.⁴

4 Referring to Lieutenant Bennett's expedition to the Grand Portage, at the west end of Lake Superior. Wherever the word "Portage" is used in these letters, without specific mention of locality, reference is had to the Grand Portage. The Grand Portage post was at the head of a bay on the northwest coast of Lake Superior, some five miles above (southwest of) the mouth of Pigeon river. From here, there was a carrying place of three leagues (nine miles) in length, northward to a widening of the Pigeon. The Grand Portage settlement was the great halting place of voyageurs and an important depot for the fur trade in that section. At the other end of the trail was another fort, to protect the portage from the north; upon a map of 1737,—the first sent to France, which showed this carrying place—this latter post is called Fort St. Pierre, but by 1800, under English rule, it was styled Fort Charlotte. Grand Portage was estimated to be 900 miles by water from Sault Ste. Marie and 1800 from Montreal (Harmon's *Journal*, Andover, 1820, p. 40). Harmon tells us (p. 41) that, in 1800: "This is the Head Quarters or General Rendezvous, for all who trade in this part of the world; and therefore, every summer, the greater part of the Proprietors and Clerks, who have spent the winter in the Interior, come here with the furs which they have been able to collect, during the preceding season. This [Friday, June 13], as I am told, is about the time when they generally arrive; and some of them are already here. The people who come from Montreal with the goods, go no farther than this, excepting a few who take those articles to the Rainy lake, which are intended for Athabasca, as that place lies at too great a distance from this, to permit people who reside there to come to this place and return, before the winter commences. Those who bring

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the goods from Montreal, on their return, take down the furs, &c., from the north.” After leaving Fort Charlotte, the voyageurs ascended Pigeon river, which is crooked and often widens into lakes, frequent short portages being made to avoid the bends and rapids. The intricate water-courses followed, were what now form the international boundary as far as the Lake of the Woods; and from there, via the Winnipeg river to Lake Winnipeg, whence the parties scattered through the Hudson bay, Assiniboine, Saskatchewan and Athabasca regions, to their respective trading posts. See description of Grand Portage in Carver's *Travels* (ed. 1778), pp. 106,107. The map in Vol. I. of Keating's *Narrative of Major Long's Expedition to the source of St. Peter's River* (Phila., 1824), includes a detailed chart of the route from Lake Superior to Lake Winnipeg, “showing that there are no less than seventy-two portages, viz.: thirty-five westward of Rainy lake and thirty-seven eastward of the same place,” The canoeing distance between the mouth of the Pigeon and the mouth of the Winnipeg is stated in Keating (ii., p. 144) to be 716 miles; in the same volume, the route is minutely described, pp. 86–150, with a list of portages and *décharges*,—the latter term being applied to partial obstructions, necessitating only the lightening of the canoe.

Edward D. Neill, of St. Paul, writes me as follows: “The Sieur de la Verendrye, in a communication to the Minister of the Marine, at Paris, mentions that on the 26th of August, 1731, he arrived from Montreal with his exploring party `at the Grand Portage of Lake Superior, which is fifteen leagues to the north-west of Kamanistigonia.' Verendrye and his nephew La Jemeraye were the first to reach Pigeon river, from Grand Portage, on their way to establish a trading post at Rainy lake. After the French established communication between Lake Superior and Lake Winnipeg, it was the great halting place of voyageurs. Count Andriani, of Milan, in 1791, visited this point, and his account of the voyageurs at this place is in Duke de la Rochefoucault Liancourt's *Travels*. David Thompson, the astronomer of the North-West company, in 1797 made observations here. In 1803 the united Hudson Bay and North-West companies erected a post at the mouth of Pigeon river called in compliment to one of their partners,—William McGillivray,—Fort William, and after this Grand Portage lost its importance as a stopping place.”

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Grand Portage is now a small lakeside hamlet in Cook county, Minn., on the site of the old post. It is thirty-four miles northeast of Grand Marais, and 240 from Duluth. The inhabitants are chiefly Indians.

The government engineers have lately made some preliminary surveys in the harbor, looking to possible improvements there in the future.— Ed

The above news of Mr Hamiltons having got so far the start being told to the Indians at the grand river, where Langlade had raised about eighty they declined to follow at so great a distance on which Mr Langlade set out for his post at La Baye & Gautier finding that Mr Chevalier had already taken the few Pottawatamia which could be raised at that advanced season to Mr. Hamilton, set out for his post on the Mississippi carrying with them Belts & Speeches to exhort the Indians to be ready in the Spring if called upon Your Excellencys answer to my letter of the 21 st Sept. (thro L t Col Bolton) is just come to hand.

I have the honor &c (Signed) A. S. De Peyster .

124

DE PEYSTER TO HALDIMAND.

Michilimakinac 29 th March, 1779.

Sir ,—I did myself the honor to write to your Excellency the 29 th January when I informed you that Langlade had failed in his attempt to move the Indians from their hunting grounds as they heard that L t Gov r Hamilton had got so much the start of them. Since which I received a letter from Mr. Louis Chevalier of St. Joseph's informing [me] that the Pottawatamie were returned home to pass the winter, that they brought him a Letter from the Lieut Governor informing him that he intended not to leave Post Vincent till the spring. I should have been glad to have had a line at the same time. However in compliance with your Excellency's orders to give every assistance in my power, I again ordered the Ottawas & Chippewas to march & send off express to Mr Gautier requiring him to move

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down with a body of Sabres Toyes [Sakis, Foxes] & Wernippigoes & he by this time should be on the March joined by some active Canadians.

* * * * *

(Signed) A. S. De Peyster .

126

GAUTIER TO DE PEYSTER.

[Translated from the French by Grace Clark.]

To Monsieur Major Depeyster .

Monsieur ,—Having learned that Governor Hamilton had wintered at the post,¹ in order to continue his expedition, in the spring, I started to give him assistance by the Mississippi with 208 men puants, feauxayoinés [Folles Avoine], Renard Outawa and Sauteux; after having paid all the necessary expenses I descended the Mississippi as far as the River la Roche which was the 4th of april where I found a small number of Sacques and Sieur la main Capie² to whom I began to speak for you at which he Stopped his Ears and would hear nothing, even mocking at your threats that you made last autumn to the Sacques and Renards, that if you should see that they were with the Bostoniens you would cut off their Traders; he answered me, he and all the others, that they had their arrows for their support and they were not at all anxious about that. Not satisfied with his insolence they made me release 120 men, and I believe if they had been strong enough they would have seized me and given me over to the Bostonias. I continued on my way with the rest of my party up to where I had an idea as to [I would meet] the Sauvoix [Sauteux] and Sacques of Ouisconsin, who were all there having arrived the 6th . I found none of your children, but I found some Bostonien Sacques. They rejected me after I had spoken to them on your part, having received the Words of the Rebels and even threatened to inform the Bostonnais of my Measures. At the very moment of this parley the news arrived that

Library of Congress

Governor Hamilton was taken.³ This checked the grumbling in my little camp, and still the puants and the feauxavaines assured me that they would never forget their Father and that they would die rather.

1 Vincennes.— Ed

2 Apparently identical with La Main Cassée, mentioned in Gautier's journal, *ante*, pp. 106, 110.— Ed

3 Clark captured Hamilton at Vincennes, Feb. 25, 1779.— Ed

For [by] that time it was necessary to release the 7 [men] 127 from there, taken by ambush from the Sacques¹ you know this, having had information through la Torteux of what was taking place, he was one of my war chiefs. I expect the Puants are going to see you, if Carminis² lays himself out before [about] me I hope you will blow His head off, he did all he could to stop the young Puants, I told Quindinaque that you want to see him to speak to and he promised me that he would come and I withdrew [from him] a Bostonnais Commission which I send you in the letter that I have the honor to write you.

1 “ *Pours lors il falut relacher le 7 de la, raporte a l'embuche des Sacques.*”— Tr.

2 One of the Karrymaunees, a line of chiefs long famous among the Winnebagoes.— Ed

You know that a man named Aungnou killed a Renard woman and he was killed for his crime by the Renards. I hope in a short time to have the honor of giving you an account of my mission and informing you more fully of these rascally tribes. Permit me Monsieur to assure Madame of my regards. I am with profound respect,

Your most humble and most obedient servant, C. Gautier .

De la Baye 19 th April 1779.

Indorsed: "Copy of a letter from Mr. Gautier to Major Depeyster. Received 30 th May, '79 inclosed in the Major's letter of the 13 th May 1779."

DE PEYSTER TO HALDIMAND.

Michilimakinac 13 th May 1779.

Sir ,—I did myself the honor to write to your Excellency on the 2 nd instant a copy of which Letter I now enclose.

The Chippewas of the Island of Michilimakinac arived here the 8 th from the Grand River and reports that the Ottawas and Grand River Traders are on their way they declare that the news of the Virginians building boats on the Lake Mitchig [Michigan] was the invention of some evil minded Indians and that neither themselves nor the Ottawas would listen to the Rebels belt.

128

Mr. Langlade arrived last night and informed me that on his arrival at Labaye he received an order from L t Gov r Hamilton acquainting him that he wintered at Post Vincent therefore required of him and Gautier to join him early in the spring by the Illinois River. That he accordingly set out with some Indians & reached Milwakie¹ were [where] he received accounts of Mr. Hamiltons being taken, when the Indians disheartened would proceed no further. The enclosed Letter from Gautier will give your Excellency an account of his expedition. Mr. Langlade assures me that a Canadian named Benclo at the head of twenty horsemen is traveling through the Town and [towns of the] Sakis Country to purchase horses from [for] Mr. Clark telling the Indians that they will be with three hundred men at Labaye soon. But Mr. Langlade rather believes that they mean to transport themselves to Detroit. The Indians were so much divided that it was not possible to take Benclo and his party.

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1 In Gautier's letter of April 19, just preceding this, and enclosed with it to Haldimand, it is shown that Gautier went over the Fox-Wisconsin water-course and down the Mississippi as far as the mouth of the Rock; and then returned to Green Bay by the same route, on learning of Hamilton's capture. Langlade took the lake-shore trip without Gautier.— Ed

He was informed by a man who came from the Illinois that the Virginians then [there] did not exceed sixty men, that they Were mostly in bad [health] the last Fall with the Maladie du Pays² but were taking [talking] of a great reinforcement.

2 Home-sickness.— Ed

The Canadians who want to return to this Post have leave on taking the Oaths not to serve against the United States. Clarke assures them that he will be here nearly as soon as themselves none are yet arrived.

I don't care how soon Mr. Clarke appears provided he come by Lake Michigan and the Indians prove staunch and above all that the Canadians do not follow the example of their brethren at the Illinois who have joined the Rebels to a man. I am in hopes however that their connection at Montreal will be a check upon them.

If I had armed vessels I could make them constantly coast 129 Lake Michigan to awe the Indians and prevent the Rebels building boats, there is a small sloop here as already reported but no sailors nor will my present garrison admit of any detachment, it not being by the one half sufficient to do the necessary duty here. I shall allow the Traders to come to this Post, but if things do not greatly alter I will not allow one to go the Labay rode.

The Sakis and Reynards seems to be easy about the matter as appears by Gautier's Letter but they will soon open their eyes, if it is possible effectually to restrain that trade on that head as well as how to act in case Detroit is taken, is what I hope I shall receive your full instructions about by a light Canoe. If Detroit should be taken it is evident we have but a dismal prospect, however what can be expected from two subdivisions shall be done, I

Library of Congress

think I can with propriety call my handfull by that name, when a part are employed at the Canon having nine pieces of Ordnance & only two Artillery men.

I have sent to Sanguina to endeavour to secure six hundred Bushels of Corn for the Indians without which our flower will run short by the fall of the year.

I have the honor &c (Signed) A. S. De Peyster .

P. S. Give me leave to assure your Excellency that nothing can be expected from the Indians without the Troops to head them.

DE PEYSTER TO HALDIMAND.

Michilimackinac , 2 d May 1779.

Sir ,—

* * * * *

The season here has been very open so that we had reason to expect arrivals from the grand River in the Lake Michigan sometime past, but as yet can neither hear of Trader or Indian being at hand. Some Squaws who went at about forty miles from hence to visit their friends, returned with the news that the Virginians were building Boats near Milwakee & that they had sent belts which were accepted by the Ottawas and Chippaways requesting of them to remain 9 130 at the grand river till they the Virginians had taken this Fort [Michilimackinac], and delivered it into the hands of the Indian's old friends the French and that Siggenake¹ the disaffected Milwakee chief was to lead the first division—yesterday [there] arrived a man from the same place who relates that he was informed from [that] the chief Gicee [Gorce] who wintered at the Grand Traverse about forty leagues from this did not believe it, & and sent the Person who brought it back to the Grand river to get further

Library of Congress

information. Pie further said that he understood that the Virginians were at Chicagou I have dispatched people to make all possible inquiry relative to this news.

1 Onaugesa, mentioned by Augustin Grignon (*Wis. Hist. Coll.*, iii., pp. 290, 292) as being the Menomonee chief at Milwaukee in 1784–85.— Ed

Should they come that way I think there is hopes of their repenting their voyage, as I cannot be persuaded the Indians have so soon forgot their promise, but on the other hand if Detroit falls it must be expected that their friendship will fall with it.

The provisions of this Post turn out very bad great quantities of the Pork appearing evidently to have been condemned before sent up here the pieces being much cut and scarcely packed over & that with dry salt. What Pork we serve as good is frequently so rusty that the soldier scarcely gets half his allowance.

I have the honor &c (Signed) A. S. De Peyster .

P. S. I have taken the liberty to inclose a copy of the last condemnation for the month of April.

LIEUT. COLONEL BOLTON TO HALDIMAND.

Niagara , May the 20 th 1779.

Sir ,—

* * * * *

Major De Peyster in a letter dated the 2 nd of May informs me that some squaws went a short time ago to see their relations about forty miles from this they returned with the 131 news that the Virginians are building boats at or near Milwakie, and have sent Belts, which were accepted of by the Ottawas and Chippewas, requesting of them to remain at

Library of Congress

the Grand River till the Virginians had taken this Fort, and put it into the hands of their old friends the French. A man who arrived yesterday from the same place says, that this news came from the Grand River to the Chief Gorce, who wintered at the Traverse, that Gorce did not believe it, and sent to the Grand River to get further information that the enemy were said to be at the Chickagou and not at Milwaukee, a disaffected chief of Milwaukee (named Sagenake) was to lead the first division. The Major has dispatched people to reconnoitre and get every possible intelligence, he says if they shou'd only come that way, and the Indians keep firm, they may chance to regret their voyage, but should Detroit fall, the friendship of the Indians will fall with it.

* * * * *

I am &c (Signed) Mason Bolton .

DE PEYSTER TO HALDIMAND.

Michilimackinac the 1 st of June 1779.

Sir ,—On the 24 th Instant I was honored with your Excellency's Letter of the 25th Decem
r 1778. The sending a party to the Gr Portage, is what I had represented to Lieut Colonel Bolton as by no means safe from so small a Garrison in the present critical situation of affairs I am glad to find you are of the same opinion.

Your Excellency may depend upon it that I never have nor never shall undertake any Expen
ce lightly at any Post I may have the honor to command I am extremely sorry to find that there is a likelihood of the Expences at this Post rather increasing than otherwise as the Indians are growing very importunate since they hear that the French are assisting the rebels—The Canadians I fear are of great disservice 132 to Government but the Indians are perfect Free Masons when intrusted with a secret by a Canadian most of them being much connected by marriage.

Library of Congress

Since my last Letter of the 13th of May Mr Gautier arrived here with a large band of Weenippigoes and [Menomonees] who had been with him to the Mississippi I would fain have had them stay here till I received orders from your Excellency, but they were impatient lest the Chippewas of the Plains and the Sackis should in their absence disturb their villages. They are gone with promises to bring me some prisoners from the Kaskaskias, scalps I have positively forbid to prevent cruelty and least they should pawn old ones or those of innocent persons a deceit I think them often guilty of. The Sioux Wabasha¹ was on his march to join Mr. Hamilton, but stopt on hearing of his defeat he has sent the interpreter with his son and some young men with a pipe telling me that he waits my further orders That he has silenced the Reynards and desires to know if I chuse he shall strike the Sabres [Sakis] for having had talks with the Rebels which he is ready to do. As well as all opposers of His Majesty's Arms. I am sending off some powder and cloathing to his Nation as well as to the Weenippigoes and Menominies to endeavor to keep them firm in our Alliance, if they continue so we have nothing to fear from the Indians of that Quarter, I have been obliged to purchase goods upon this occasion, great part of which will remain in Store. As the assortment I wanted lay in those parcels I was obliged to buy and I hope your Excellency will not think the purchase ill timed it being of the greatest importance to secure these people in our Interest before the Rebels make any impression on them.

¹ Wabasha, The Leaf (Fr., *La Feuille*), was leader of the Sioux in the British operations on the upper Mississippi, during the Revolutionary war. See *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, vi., p. 250; vii., p. 176; ix., p. 290. He was father to the Wabasha who figured in the Black Hawk war. His village, like that of his son, was on the present site of Winona, Minn. (*Id.* ii., p. 194).— Ed).

The Ottawas and Chippawas are here they do acknowledge that there was a report spread over the country to their disadvantage but positively deny having entered into 133 articles with the Rebels. I am certain that the Detroit Indians have sent Belts to beg they will observe a neutrality which it is not possible for Indians to do.

Library of Congress

Mr. Hamilton's defeat has cooled the Indians in General. I have however a great number to send to Detroit if they should be wanted, as yet no vessel from that Post. Your letter of the 25 Decem r came to me by my returned express.

I have had no letter from Mr. Chevallier of a later date than the 20 th Feb ry wherein he mentioned that the Rebels have employed the Canadians to purchase horses (for to mount their cavalry) in the neighbourhood of Chickagou Mr. Carty¹ who lately gave me Intelligence is now one of the Rebel Captains so poor a creature never entered into any service before, yet he was a very principal actor at Fort Sackwith.²

¹ Richard McCarty. licensed from Michilimackinac as a trader to the Illinois. See his letter to De Peyster, June 7, 1778, describing the condition of affairs in his district— *Mich. Pion. Coll.*, ix., pp. 368, 369. In a report to Governor Jefferson of Virginia, Jan. 24, 1781 (*Cal. Va. State Papers*, i., p. 460), McCarty is spoken of as being in command at Cahokia, for the Americans.— Ed

² Fort Sackville, the name of the fort in Vincennes.— Ed

* * * * *

I have the honor to be &c (Signed) A. S. De Peyster .

DE PEYSTER TO HALDIMAND.

Michilimackinac 14 th June 1779.

Sir ,—

* * * * *

It will be quite safe and highly necessary that Canoes with goods are sent up to this place to enable me to indulge the Friendly Indians with Traders. Twenty Canoes will be

Library of Congress

sufficient and care may be taken in their distribution so as to prevent their falling into the Enemy's hands. The same number of Canoes which entered the Lake Superior 134 the last year may enter it this year. I mean those which were for the different stations from St. Mary's keeping the north shore, such may be trusted who are used to Trade to the Peek, Michipiota, Nippigon and the Grand Portage, so into the North West.

Mr. Barthe at St. Mary's may have two Canoes and Mr. Cadot one, included in the twenty for this place.

The Indians are hanging upon me in great numbers to know if they are to be employ'd, I have repeatedly wrote to Captain Lemoult to know if he wants their assistance but have no answer from him. I am loth to send off party's to the Illinois without your express orders for doing so, at best it would only be productive of much cruelty, perhaps exercised upon the undeserving, still many small partys will steal off, and I think that I observed the Winnipigoes are to bring in some Prisoners. It was necessary to put them to the test to know if they are our real Friends or not, and to show the Sacks and Reynards that they are so.

Wabasha the Sioux has sent in Rocq the Intepreter with his son and some young men to acquaint me he stopt at the Dog Plains¹ on being informed that Mr. Hamilton was taken & that Gautier had retreated. He desires to know if he shall strike the Sacks and Reynards for having stopt Gautier, and for having listened to the Rebels. It would be by no means prudent to encourage an Indian war, and I hear that three or four hundred Chippewas of the plains (People who n ever come in here) are on their march to attack Wabasha, having lately had some of their people killed by the Sioux.

1 Prairie du Chien.— Ed

I do not recollect any Trader having gone by here without a Pass. I once reported that two men from Montreal had left it on their way to Duport or Michilimakinac, and as they never

Library of Congress

reached Detroit it was supposed they had entered the Oswego River. This information I got from a Mr. McNamara who I believe did not recollect their names.

I believe the Sieur Alvé [Calvé] to be a very inoffensive man. It would not be amiss to give him a Dollar and a 135 ration a day and send him into the Sack and Reynard country where he has some influence, otherwise I have too many useless people about me, none but the Interpreter who can give me any real assistance. Rocq I send to the Sioux Country.

Mr. Langlade & Mr. Gautier should be kept in pay and in temper, tho' they at present are rather a burthen upon me. To send them upon an Expedition without Troops is doing nothing, and Your Excellency will see by my former letters, how much it is out of my power to spare a man from this place. Those two gentlemen represent that they cannot live at this extravagant place upon their allowance having a constant run of Indians who snatch the bread out of their mouths.

They beg of me to represent to Your Excellency that should their friends apply for a pass to send them a Canoe,¹ You will please to grant them one.

¹ The phrase, "send them a canoe," frequently occurring in these letters, means, in this connection, to "send them a canoe-load of goods," for their fur-trade. Neither traders' supplies nor individual travelers were allowed to go into the upper country without a pass from the military authorities; hence the annoyance felt by Major De Peyster upon learning of any infractions of this martial rule.— Ed.

* * * * *

I am with the greatest respect, Sir Your Excellency's most Hum l & obed t Servant

A. S. De Peyster

P. S. I have [hear] this moment that the Canoe is setting off.

Library of Congress

His Excellency the Commander in Chief .

Indorsed: "rec d at Quebec the 28 th June."

DE PEYSTER TO HALDIMAND.

Michilimackinac 27 th June 1779.

Sir ,—Your Excellency's letters of the 30 th April & 6 th May only came to hand on the 24 th instant owing to Leekey Canoes and hard gales on the Lakes.

I acquainted you lately that I had been obliged to purchase goods. The Indians hung about the Fort in great 136 numbers waiting to hear if they were wanted at Detroit at length the [they] grew tired and all the strangers filled [filed] off to their homes.

I have received your Letters by Detroit and one from Captain Brehm¹ by a traders Batteaux. The answer to which I have dispatched with a light Batteaux and nine oars so that he will know our wants in a few days.

¹ Capt. Diedrick Brehm, Haldimand's aid-de-camp. Brehm had been sent by Haldimand to Detroit, "to get all the Information of the situation, wants, etc., of your Post [Michilimackinac] and what could be done toward its defence" (*Mich. Pion. Coll.*, ix., p. 412). He arrived May 25, and five days later wrote to De Peyster for information. The latter replied under date of June 20 (*Id.*, pp. 386–87).— Ed.

On hearing of Mr. Hamilton's defeat I did all that this sand would allow of to put his Fort in a state of Defence.

The Sand Hills lately reported² are now nearly levelled, so as to prevent any lodgement behind them.

² In letter to Brehm, June 20.— Ed.

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By creditable people just arrived from the Illinois I have the following accounts so late as 24th of April. Clarke was returned from Post Vincent with most of his people, and one Mr. George³ was also arrived from Carolina with forty men, and they talked of a reinforcement under the Command of Montgomery.⁴

³ Capt. Robert George, who had arrived at Kaskaskia, from New Orleans, with forty-one men, while Clark was absent on his Vincennes expedition.— Ed.

⁴ John Montgomery, one of Clark's four captains in the Kaskaskia campaign.— Ed.

The Kaskaskias no ways fortified. The Fort being still a sorry picketted enclosure, round the Jesuits Colledge with two plank Houses at opposite Angles, mounting two four pounders each on the Ground Floor and a few Swivels mounted in Pidgeon [pigeon] Houses.⁵ The Militia are about one hundred and fifty men, serving much against their inclination. Provisions were growing very scarce, and no supplies of goods from below, the Fort at the River Natches having stoped their convoys, thither Clarke proposed to march when he got answers to some letters.

⁵ William F. Poole, in Winsor's *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Amer.* (vi., pp. 719–721), clearly proves that Fort Gage was in Kaskaskia.— Ed.

137

The Natches is defended by Royalists who had been ruined by Willings depredations.¹

¹ During February and March, 1778, Capt. James Willing, of Philadelphia, at the head of about one hundred American rangers, made conquest of the English settlements at and in the neighborhood of Natchez, Miss. The property of non-residents and British officials was destroyed or confiscated and the loyalists driven out. Cf. Bancroft's *Hist. U. S.* (ed. 1885), v., pp. 315, 816; also the very unfavorable view of Willing in Claiborne's *Mississippi*, i., pp. 117–124.— Ed.

Library of Congress

The Rebels have had several Councils with the Indians, have nothing to give them and treat them with great contempt. Their policy is to intimidate them since they cannot carress them. No expedition was talked of towards this post, they are right for as sure as they attempt it they will never get back. The country affording nothing for strangers to subsist upon.

One Linctot a Trader I find has entered into their service. He has too much to say amongst the Indians, every method should therefore be used to get him into our hands, for which purpose, and to reconnoitre I send off Gautier with a party of Indians at Les Pee2 a small Fort on the Illinois River, where he is at present with some other traders who had better be here. Gautier has orders to Burn the Fort which will shew the Rebels that all the Indians do not intend to remain Neuter, and effectually intimidate them from attempting an Expedition this way. The Pay is about Eighty Leagues from the Kaiskaskias.

2 De Peyster's method of writing Le Pé, an abbreviation for "The Peoria." He phonetically spells it "The Pay," a few lines further on. The post, probably a mere stockade for the immediate protection of the traders, was "situated on the northwest shore of Lake Peoria, about one mile and a half above the lower extremity or outlet of the lake" (*Amer. State Papers*, iii., p. 421),—within the present city limits of Peoria, Ill. See also Matson's *Pioneers of Illinois*, pp. 216, 217. Peoria was, at this time, indifferently styled Lee Pee, Pay, Pé, Au Pay, or Opa.— Ed.

Your Excellency refers me to the Ordinances of the Provence for '77 respecting the affairs of Mr. Howard.³ I see

3 May 6, Haldimand notified De Peyster that Joseph Howard had set off to trade, presumably at Michilimackinac and the Grand Portage, without a license; and directing him "as authorized by my ordinance of the Provence for that purpose passed in March, 1777" to seize Howard's goods and canoes (*Mich. Pion. Coll.*, ix., p. 358). June 14, De Peyster (*Id.*, pp. 383, 384) wrote his superior that the order had been carried into effect, and "the

Library of Congress

whole of his goods seized and lodged in the King's store." Howard finally obtained security at Montreal and recovered his effects.— Ed.

138 thereby he is entitled to give security, which I shall take and transmit it to Montreal.

I have the Honor to be (Signed) A. S. De Peyster .

HALDIMAND TO DE PEYSTER.

Quebec July 3 rd 1779.

Sir ,—I have rec'd both your letters of the 14 th past the necessity which you represent, that goods should be sent to your Post, and to Lake Superior, and the safety with which you say, it may be done to His Majesty's Service, has induced me to grant passes for the number of Canoes you have specified in your letter. I shall depend upon your judgment and experience in the distribution of them. laying the Traders under such restrictions as will most conduce to the Interest of the Public Service.

You judged right in not employing the Indians against the Illinois, since it is your opinion that Cruelties alone would be the result, I would not however absolutely discourage their Incursions into that settlement, as their appearing firm in our interest may have a good effect, not only in the eyes of the Rebels, but of the inhabitants who are so disaffected to us, besides it may be the means of procuring useful intelligence, which you will strongly recommend to, and endeavour to effect by means of these parties—Every caution necessary against cruelty, I am persuaded you will observe.

Wabashas proposal is a very uncommon one from an Indian and tho' it would, as you justly observe, be very imprudent to adopt it Yet the zeal he has manifested merits our attention.

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You will naturally prevent as much as in your power, 139 the breach expected between the Chippewas and Sioux which might deprive us of the Service of many warriors, should we have occasion for them, but perhaps be turned to some account against us, by the Rebels

Agreeable to your recommendation of the Sieur Calvéé, I have ordered that he may have a dollar and a Ration pr day & to be employed as you have proposed.

Messrs Langlade and Gautier have high pay. I must think of raising it, but you may as you judge necessary reimburse them in any little matter of Provision, they may occasionally find indispensibly necessary to furnish to Indians.

* * * * *

(Signed) F. H.

P. S.—In order to convince some Reynards and others of your Indians, who wintered at Montreal, of the falsity of a report propagated by the disaffected Canadians that a French fleet would certainly arrive this Spring to retake the Country, I ordered them down here to be present at the arrival of our Fleet. They are come, and I enclose to you my speech to them which you will deliver to their Nations, making such Additions as you may from local circumstances judge necessary. I shall keep them untill the Fleet arrives and on their return they will I hope, have it in their power amply to confirm what is set forth therein.

HALDIMAND TO DE PEYSTER.

Quebec 13 th July 1779.

Sir ,—By the bearer Mr. Calvé I have an opportunity of more [fully] answering your letter of the 27 th of June, the receipt of which, I acknowledged by yesterday's Post.

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I am obliged to you for Intelligence from the Illinois. I am pleased to find it so favorable, and that your Post is in such security, you will no doubt continue whatever work you may think necessary to preserve it in that state.

I much approve of your destroying Fort Pay and I hope Mr. Gautier will be able to effect all the purposes of his 140 charge From the poverty of the Rebels in that Quarter I think there is little to apprehend. Intercepting their supplies should be the chief object of our attention, it is a service which the Indians, I should think, would cheerfully undertake in their hopes of plunder.

Mr. Calvé has presented to me a claim on Government amounting to 3,699 Livers, besides a Sallary from the year 1776 inclusive, I have never heard that the former was due or the latter promised to him, but I find from Colonel Campbell and Mr. Gautier that the man has been usefull and that it is still in his power to be very serviceable to Government in either or both cases, I should be sorry not to reward his merit, I therefore must desire you will give me every information in your power relative to him—and in the meantime as it is represented that you sent them and that his interest suffered much by his coming down, I have paid him a dollar per day as Interpreter for one year only, and have given him a Licence for one Canoe, exclusive of his share of the Trade. He declined my offer, recommended by you of a dollar per day, as Interpreter, saying that it would interfere with his Commercial Views.

I have forwarded Rum for the General Consumption of the Upper Posts, and am under the necessity of repeating my requests to the officers Commanding to observe the greatest œconomy in the distribution of it, seeing the amazing price charged by the traders for that article.

I likewise wish to refer you to a letter upon the subject of flour which I find from all quarters, there is the greatest necessity to attend to this year, it having been put up warm and is consequently subject to damage. Some large room should be found to spread and air it

on, in [for] two or three days, and then to be repacked. As soon as the Fleet arrives I shall despatch L t Gov r Sinclair to relieve you.

(Signed) F. H.

141

LIEUT. GOVERNOR SINCLAIR¹ TO BREHM.

¹ Patrick Sinclair, in October, 1758, entered the British army as ensign, in the second battalion, 42d Highlanders. In 1759, he was wounded at Guadalope, West Indies. Being ordered to America, he became a lieutenant, July 27, 1760. Because of his regiment being ordered back to the West Indies, in October, 1761, he exchanged into the 15th foot, serving in America until that regiment returned to England, in 1768. Being promoted to a captaincy, April 13, 1772. Sinclair asked for, but failed to obtain, permission to return to America; the following year, therefore, he retired. In 1775, he received the appointment of lieutenant governor and Indian superintendent of Michilimackinac and dependencies, but upon landing in New York was taken a prisoner; summoned, August 3, before the provincial congress on charge of being commissioned to employ the Indians of the Northwest in coercing the colonies; sent to Long Island as a paroled prisoner, and in March, 1776, allowed to return to England. In the summer of 1779, he was again sent to take charge of the post of Michilimackinac, and arrived at his destination October 4, succeeding De Peyster, who in turn succeeded Hamilton, at Detroit. Sinclair served at Michilimackinac until 1782. April 1, 1780, he was commissioned captain in the first battalion, 81th foot (Royal Highland Emigrants), and June 12, 1782, became major. He rose through successive grades, until July 25, 1810, when he was promoted to be lieutenant general. He died in 1820, at that time the oldest officer of his rank in the army.—Ed.

Michilimackinac 29 th Oct r 1779.

Library of Congress

Dear Brehm ,—as this may be the last opportunity that will offer this season, I beg leave to trouble you with some things I wish the General to be acquainted with early enough to know His Excellency's Pleasure in the Spring respecting all or any of them.

Finding the Disposition of the Indians in Lake Michigan very wavering & several Depots of Corn in the rivers there, I sent on the 21 st Inst. the Sloop “Felicity” with a carefull man Mr. Robinson as Pilot for the Lake two Canadians well acquainted with the Rivers, & Mr. Gautier, Intrepreter, with some small presents for the Indians, directing them to purchase all the grain Grease & Provision in that country, on the credit of the Merchants & Traders here & to use that of Government if necessary, that where they met with refractory disaffected persons they were to seize upon the corn 142 giving a receipt, for what they could lodge in the vessel & to destroy the rest. Mr. Gautier carries a string of wampum to the Chief of Michlc Island, to tell him that we are to cut down some brush this winter, in order to judge whether we can flatter him with any assurance of making use of his Island, it seems he was for it, I have ordered Mr. Gautier to exhort the Indians to good behaviour during the winter, & to tell any of them who are desirious of going to war, that an Ottawa Chief Minable and a Chipewa Chief Machiquewish¹ with select warriors goes from this to act in concert with the Scioux's, Sac's & Rhenards against the Rebels on the Illenois & in that quarter—that their operations will be directed against Bodies of Armed Men and against Forts or strong holds by Blockade as that [those] Garrisons are dependant for their daily Bread on the Inhabitants who are wearied out of their Demands (such are the orders sent to Rocque & Calvé Interpreters by a Mr. La Croix) and that their services tending to these objects will be rewarded. I have sent several small craft into Lake Huron to bring in all the Corn &c on its banks.

¹ The captor of Michilimackinac in 1763. See Draper's sketch of “Matchekewis,” *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, vii., pp. 188–194.— Ed.

I beg to inform the General that I have given a Copy of the inclosed instructions to Mr. Jean Baptiste Cadot of St. Mary's, a man who was much esteemed by Sir William Johnson

Library of Congress

& paid for several years by the Crown. He has always maintained a good character in this Country, rendered services in the Indian Commotion [of] "63," he has great influence with the Indians, & is considered by them as a great Village Orator besides. St. Mary's is a pass deserving some attention & will be more so when the General receives fuller information relative to the Grande Portage & the North West. I cannot pronounce on their design, but they have endeavoured to hide from General Carleton how easy it was to supply the Illinois & Mississippi from the South side of Lake Superior the wretched conduct of the people in that Country this years disgrace us, and may hurt the Kings Service. The Indians showed uncommon forbearance and a manly open conduct theirs the reverse.

143

One Pierre Durrand who has been four years in the Illinois Country arrived here with 120 Packs of Furs & expects in the Spring by his Clerk Michael Bello one hundred more. From several unfavourable reports of both I examined his papers very strictly (amongst which are none that required any summary proceeding). However he is made to enter into bond with two responsible men for £1000 sterg., not to aleniate by sale, gift or otherwise any part of his Property, but what may be requisite for his maintenance before the 1 st May next. If anything appears then, or within that time, much against him, the terms of the Bond shall be Extended to the General's decision on their conduct. I shall send down in the Spring (Mr. Durrand not wishing to go sooner) the Rebel Paper Dollars found in his possession "the amount of 180 Bills in favour of a Jean Baptist for 447 Dollars, in favor of a Jean Baptiste La Croix 68 Dollars, all drawn by a Colonel Clarke on the Rebel States. Also a Certificate from a Rebel Major that Michael Bello his Clerk, had taken the Oaths to their Congress. In palliation of these interferences with the Rebels, Mr. Durrand says that he was obliged to give his goods & take their paper money, and that he was so much afraid of his property as to supplicate Don Leyba a [the] Spanish Lt. Governor at Pencour1 to allow him to become a subject to His Catholic Majesty. Mr. Durrands petition will be sent with the other papers, and any information that may come hereafter. As certainly the

Library of Congress

General will not permit Individuals to negotiate Bills of Exchange & things of that nature with the Rebels.

1 St. Louis. The French nickname "Pain Court" (phonetically spelled Pencour by the English) is, literally, "short loaf"—having reference to the poverty of its early inhabitants. It is said to have been applied to St. Louis by the people of the neighboring French settlements, in remembrance of an impoverished parish in France. (Scharf's *Hist. St. Louis*, p. 165.)

Monsr Durrand, upon oath, relates the affairs of the Illinois to be much in the state represented by Major De Peyster to His Excellency excepting that there is no Fort at the Pé.² He left that place on the 12 th of July last, and saw a Mr.

2 It had been burned by Gautier, during the early summer. See *ante*, pp. 187, 139.— Ed.

144 Langto with 40 Rebel Canadians, who were mounted, in that Settlement in March, for Post St. Vincents. the day before he left it. He says that the R [Rebel] Garrison at Cascaskias consists of a few sick men and young giddy recruits from the Country near it. That the Priest Gebou [Gibault] and one Mayette a Canadian are very active in the Rebel Interests.

* * * * *

Yours, Pat k Sinclair .

SINCLAIR TO BREHM.

Michilimackinac 15 th Feby 1780.

Dear Brehm ,—

* * * * *

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It is most probable that as their [the rebels'] attempts agst. the Center posts of the Communication did not succeed last year, that they will begin with the weakest flank this year. Therefore on the same principle that I wished for more Canadians in the Upper Country, I will use my utmost endeavours to send away as many as I can of the Indians to attack the Spanish Settlements as low down as they possibly can, in order to procure the assistance of the others at home. I am so perfectly convinced of the General's Geographical as well as other knowledge that I do not know where to look for the cause of a doubt about giving some aid to General Campbell from this Quarter, but in His Excellency's [Haldimand's] opinion of some want in me—and that so material a want that I ought to be considered as a very unfit person for this place—the most advanced on the Continent, if it is so.

Lieut Govr. Hamiltons disaster has nothing in it to make the Scioux and other nations far to the West-ward, even to recollect the circumstance, many of them never heard of it. The short sighted harpies, which necessity has thrown into the service dwell upon the stories they hear from fretfull bands of Delawares, Mascoutins, and Kicapous near where the Event happened.

145

Admit that the Disaster has all the supposed consequent misfortunes, it is still more necessary for us to engage the Indians to take a part which will at once declare their Enmity to the Party they are engaged to act against, and make it more difficult for their French Friends to effect a Reconciliation should inattention or neglect leave room for the change on our part.

On the day after I received the extract of Lord George Germain's letter,¹ with a part of the General's [Haldimand's] letter to Colonel Bolton which Major De Peyster very properly forwarded, I sent a War Party engaged by the Lieut Cadot to be in readiness by the South Side of Lake Superior into the Country of the Scioux, a warlike people undebauched, under the authority of a chief named Wabasha of very singular & uncommon abilities, who

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can raise 200 men with ease, accustomed to all the attention and obedience required by discipline.

1 Spain declared war against Great Britain, May 8, 1779, and in July her American subjects were authorized to attack Natchez and other English ports on the east bank of the Mississippi. Lord George Germain, secretary for the colonies, wrote to Haldimand, June 17, informing him of the action of Spain and ordering him to attack New Orleans and the other Spanish ports on the river, in coöperation with an expedition under Brig. General Campbell, who was to proceed up the Mississippi to Natchez with an army and fleet. Haldimand issued these orders in a circular letter to all the Western governors. De Peyster forwarded it from Detroit to Sinclair, at Michilimackinac, under date of Jan. 22, 1780. Sinclair refers to the receipt of this communication.— Ed.

I have also wrote to a Monsr. Rocque, an interpreter paid by the Crown, for that nation, enclosing one of Genl. Haldimand's printed commissions, with a power from myself for enabling Wabasha to draw some necessaries from Rocque, to raise a body of his own Indians, and of any others, whether Indians or whites, which he may choose to add to his Suite. I have recommended to him to lose very little time in getting as low down the Mississippi as the Natchez, to take for his interpreter amongst our Friends there a Mr. [John] Key who I have instructed to put himself under Wabasha's command and to serve him in that capacity of a commissary, to carefully attend to the accounts which he 10 146 may receive of any body of our Troops coming up the River Mississippi, and to consider well the People he may have occasion to confide in before he takes that step, to point out to Wabasha, which I have done also, by letter to Rocque, that no Difficulties can occur from the want of Provision—both sides being well stored with cattle and game, and that the difficulty of remounting the stream can never be fatal as he has the Two Florida's & the Natchez for a retreat, should he at once think of proceeding as low as New Orleans. But he will be able to get information at the Natchez [so] that, if he did not hear of an English

Library of Congress

army coming up the Mississippi to [he could] attack by surprise any of the Spanish Forts, and by assault [could capture] any of their exposed Parties, settlements or Villages.

By the Extracts from Lord George Germain's & from the General's letters sent to me, I am a loss to know whether this preparation may not be too early on account of want of secresie in the people I have employ'd, and from their getting too near Orleans before the arrival of the Brigadier [Campbell].

Or, on the other hand, they may be too late, which, will I hope be the case to [for] promoting the Conquest of the Town itself. As afterwards they can act against the Rebels on this side which I have pointed out to them. I have confidence in and hopes of their Leader, as Wabasha is allowed to be a very extraordinary Indian and well attached to His Majesty's Interest.

Being at a loss, as I said, in point of time, I have supposed the Army for that service will arrive before Orleans about the first of May. Our information on such occasions requires to be very pointed, from the distance we have to hunt for our means of executing the wish of our Superiors.

Mr. Hamilton's disaster proceeded from want of system, uncertain information & want of attention in others as much as from the precipitancy of the measures he took himself, and the want of a regular district correspondence will ever produce such ill effects.

* * * * *

I am Dear Brehm with regard & esteem yours very sincerely

Pat k Sinclair .

147

SINCLAIR TO HALDIMAND.

Library of Congress

Sir ,—I have the honour to inform Your Excellency, that in compliance with My Lord George Germain's requisition in the Circular Letter sent from Detroit, on 22 d January, I sent, on the day after its arrival here, a War Party of Indians (for some time past in readiness) to the Country of the Scioux to put that nation in motion under their own chief Wabasha, a man of uncommon abilities. They are a People undebauched addicted to War, & Jealously attached to His Majesty's Interest. Their Force is considerable & their situation very favorable from its proximity to the River Mississippi. Mons. Rocque, the King's Interpreter for them will probably attend Wabasha, I have ordered a Mr Key to act as their English Interpreter & Commissary. They are directed to proceed with all dispatch to the Natchez & to act afterwards [as] circumstances may require, & as I have pointed out more fully to the Sieur Rocque I shall send other bands of Indians from hence on the same service, as soon as I can with safety disclose the object of their Mission. I am at a loss to judge, in point of time, & can only hazard an opinion that the Brigadier & his Army will be at the place of their destination some time in May. I beg leave to refer Your Excellency to my other letter of this date & to Cap; Brehm for further information.

I have the honour to be with respect Sir, Your Excellency's Most obed t & most humble
Serv t Pat k Sinclair L t Gov r of Michilimackinac.

Michilimackinac, 15 th Feb y 1780.

SINCLAIR TO HALDIMAND.

Michilimackinac 17 th Feb y 1780.

Sir ,—Since my letter of the 15th Inst the arrival of an Indian chief personally acquainted with me, affords me an opportunity, earlier than I expected, of ordering Mr. Hesse, a Trader and a man of character (formerly in the 60 th Reg t to assemble the Minominés, Puants, Sacks & Rhenards, in 148 the neighborhood & to take Post at the Portage of the Ouisconsin's & Foxes Rivers, there to collect all the Canoes and Corn in the Country,

Library of Congress

for his own and for the use of the nations higher up, who will be ordered to join him at the Confluence of the Rivers Mississippi & Ouisconseing. Mr. Hesse is ordered not to move from his first stand, until I send him instructions by Sergt. [J. F.] Phillips of the 8th Regt, who will set out from this on the 10th of March with a very noted Chief Machiquawish & his band of Indians. For want of a Cypher & to assist the Serjeant, I am unwillingly obliged to send a Private of the Kings Regt, a Highlander, writing in that language to the Brigadier.

The reduction of Pencour, by surprise, from the easy admission, of Indians at that place, and from assault from those without, having for its defence, as reported, only 20 men & 20 brass Cannon, will be less difficult than holding it afterwards. To gain both these ends the rich furr Trade of the Missouri River, the Injuries done to the Traders who formerly attempted to partake of it, & the large property they may expect in the Place will contribute.

The Scious shall go with all dispatch as low down as the Natchez, and as many intermediate attacks, as possible, shall be made. We will endeavour a system and connection in directing their operations to the service in view.

I have only to add that, I am with the greatest respect Sir Your Excellency's most obed t & most humble Serv t

Pat k Sinclair L t Gov r of Michilimackinac.

General Frederick Haldimand .

P. S. I have told Mr. Hesse & all the Traders to observe strict Œconomy & I have assured them that any pecuniary advantages they may deny themselves, in making all the same compleat preparations, shall be amply made up to them in a better and surer way.

Library of Congress

[No date; but apparently written in February, 1780.]

Sir,—

* * * * *

A supply of Indian Presents is wanted very early—In that Department a Mons^r Langlade with a Capt^{ns} Commission from Gen^l Carleton, a Mr. Gautier (Interpreter in the room of Mr. Ainsea, a man of abilities allowed to retire by Major De Peyster) are men of no understanding, application or steadiness, though I believe well disposed to undertake services which I cannot confide in either. As no accident of any kind has happened to any sett of People here since Major De Peyster left this, The returns will go agreeably to your Excell^y orders, later in the spring.

I have prepared nine large Belts Geographically descriptive of the strides made in Colonization, of ours and the Spanish situation on the Mississippi, & placed two Indian figures with joined hands & raised axes in the Country between this & that River—It serves to please them—

I have the honer to be with respect Sir—Your Excell^y's most obed^t Humble Servant

Pat^k Sinclair L^t Gov^r of Michilimackinac.

BREHM TO SINCLAIR.

Quebec April 17th 1780.

Sir,—

* * * * *

Library of Congress

His Excellency very much approves your having sent to collect the Corn in the Depots made by the Indians upon Lake Michigan & Huron, as a serviceable measure to increase the Stock of Provisions & a very proper precaution to prevent supplies being formed for the Enemy's use—nevertheless in these critical Times, you should be extremely careful to avoid giving any grounds of offense to the Indians.

150

His Excellency will be glad of every information you can procure relative to the Pass of St. Mary's, the Grand Portage &c and particularly the advantages you hint at by supplying the Illinois & Mississippi, from the South side of Lake Superior, and the most likely means of correcting the abuses of the People in that Country, whose conduct you so much complain of in these Inquiries.

* * * * *

I am, &c., (Signed) D. Brehm , Aid de Camp.

MRS. LANGLADE TO HALDIMAND.

[Translated from the French by Grace Clark.]

My General ,—It is to you alone that I can apply for permission to have a canoe to go to M. de Langlade my Husband, who desires me and who has been for several years in the service of his Majesty, at the upper posts and is now at Michilimakinac; The Zeal of his service and his disinterestedness have made his fortune so small that I have no other ressource than to entreat you to command Mons. Campbell to pay me the six months of his salary which will fall due next month, in order that I may make some small provision for this Hard journey.

The uprightness and The Devotion with which M. de Langlade has served his Majesty for twenty years on different occasions make me hope that His Excellency will not refuse

Library of Congress

me this favor, he can see a Sketch of his services in the most gracious Letter of His Excellency General Gage, At the time of the defeat of the fort at Michilimakinac, a copy of which I Add here, not daring to intrust The original to the post office

I am with the most profound Respect My General The most humble & most obedient
Servant of your Excellency

Dourana Langlade .

Montreal 22 nd May 1780.

151

SINCLAIR TO HALDIMAND.

Sir ,—Your Excellency was informed by my letter of February last, that a Party was to leave this Place on the 10 th of March to engage the Indians to the Westward in an attack on the Spanish & Illinois Country. Seven Hundred & fifty men including Traders, servants and Indians, proceeded with them down the Mississippi for that purpose on the 2 nd day of May.

During the time necessary for assembling the Indians at La Prairie du Chien, detachments were made to watch the River to intercept craft coming up with provisions and to seize upon the people working in the lead mines. Both one and the other were effected without any accident.

Thirty six Minomies (at first intended as an escort) have brought to this place a large armed Boat, loaded at Pencour, in which were twelve men & a Rebel Commissary.¹

¹ Early in March, 1780, Charles Gratiot, then resident at Cahokia, sent a barge-load of goods and provisions to Prairie du Chien, for the purposes of trade. But in April, when off the mouth of Turkey river, thirty miles below its destination, it was seized and plundered by the Indians whom Sinclair had incited. As stated in Sinclair's letter, the crew and boat

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were sent on to Michilimackinac. In 1781, the boatmen brought suit for their wages, the charge being made that Gratiot was in collusion with the enemy, and that the contents of the barge proved the main supplies for the support of the Indians in their advance upon St. Louis. Gratiot made an elaborate and successful defense, and the suit became *un cause célèbre* in St. Louis. As a matter of fact, he was aiding the Americans with supplies. For biographical sketch of Gratiot, see *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, x., pp. 239–242, 262–264.— Ed.

From the mines they have brought seventeen Spanish & Rebel Prisoners, & stopp'd Fifty Tonns of Lead ore and from both they obtained a good supply of Provisions. The Chiefs Machiquawish and Wabasha have kindled this spirit in the Western Indians.

Captain Langlade with a chosen Band of Indians and Canadians will join a party assembled at Chicago to make his attack by the Illinois River, and another party are sent to watch the Plains between the Wabash and the Mississippi.

152

I am now in Treaty with the Ottawas about furnishing their quota to cut off the Rebels at Post St. Vincents, but as they are under the management of two Chiefs, the one a drunkard and the other an avaricious trader. I met with Difficulties in bringing it about. Thirty Saguinah Warriors are here in readiness to join them, and the Island Band can furnish as many more.

The enclosed papers will show Your Excellency the arts practiced on the Indians by the Rebels, & French Emissaries.

I have the honour to be Sir, Your Excellency's most obed t & most Humble Servant

Pat k Sinclair L t Gov r .

Michilimackinac 29 th May 1780.

Library of Congress

P. S.—Serjt. Phillips of the 8th Reg^{mt} who has my warrant to act as the Lieut during Your Excellency's Pleasure will Garrison the Fort at the Entrance of the Mississippi¹ Captain Hesse will remain at Pencour, Wabasha will attack Misere [Genevieve] & the Rebels at Kacasia. Two vessels leave this on the 2nd of June to attend Machigwawish who returns by the Illenois River with Prisoners. The small Vessels remain at Milwaké with some provision after visiting the Pottawatamies [east] side of the Lake to give the alarm expected at St. Josephs, at least by Chevalier.

1 Prairie du Chien.— Ed.

All the Traders who will secure the Posts on the Spanish side of the Mississippi during the next winter have my promise for the Exclusive Trade of the Missouri During that time—and that their cannoes will be forwarded.

The two Lower Villages of the Illenois are to be laid under contribution for the support of their different Garrisons, & the two upper villages are to send Cattle to La Bay to be forwarded to this place to feed the Indians on their return.

A part of the Menominis who are come here, some Puants, Sacks & Rhenards go immediately to watch the Lead mines. Orders will be published at the Illenois for no person to go there, who looks for receiving Quarter, and the 153 Indians have orders to give none to any without a British Pass. This requires every attention & support being of the utmost consequence.

Indorsed: "From Lieut Gov^r Sinclair Commanding at Michilimackinac of the 29th of May. Rec'd by Express (St Germain) 11th of June with several Enclosures."

SINCLAIR TO HALDIMAND.

Sir ,—

* * * * *

I propose sending a Captain of Militia to St. Joseph's, one to La Bay & one to St. Mary's. These are to be the Traders at these Posts, & to have a little Rum only on account of Government, with an equipment, for such men as will mount a guard there & be ready to serve when called upon.

Your Excellency will perceive by the Letters from Pencour & St. Joseph's, the frequency of their correspondence. Mr. Chevallier will certainly endeavour to introduce a French or Rebel party at St. Joseph's if our movements do not take place before Autumn. The Pottawatimies have struck, it is true, but for a private insult offered to them last year.

I mentioned to Captain Brehm a Mons r Durrand who arrived here in October last. He serves as a guide for the Illenois Party under Capt. Langlade & leaves his Property here as a security for his conduct—his Paper Dollars & Rebel Bills are enclosed under this cover amounting to 695 Dollars.

I have the honour to be Sir, with Respect Your Excellency's most obed t & most humble
Serv t .

Pat k Sinclair , L t Gov r .

Michilimackinac, 29 th May, 1780.

P. S.—As there are no Private Bills of Exchange here, I cannot agreeable to orders, draw for any money, tho' at this time my Promissory notes are in Circulation for near Two Thousand Pounds, New York Currency.

Pat k Sinclair , L t Gov r .

SINCLAIR TO BOLTON.

Michilimakinac June 4th 1780

Sir ,—

* * * * *

The two vessels are returned from Lake Michigan with a part of the Indians & Volunteers on the attack against the Illinois, scarcity of Provisions obliged them to return by different routes, some by the Mississippi, some through the country between Lake Michigan and that River, and some, as directed by Chigagoe.

They have brought off Forty-three Scalps, thirty-four prisoners, Black and Whites & killed about 70 Persons. They destroyed several hundred cattle, but were beat off on their attacks both sides the River, at Pencour and at Cahokias, owing to the treachery of Mr. Calvé & the Sacks & Renards (for whom he is paid by the crown as Interpreter) His partner in commerce a Mons r Ducharme has kept pace with him, in preferring the little underhand commerce of that country to the advantages I held out to them all, in promising them the Trade of the Missouri, provided they could gain & Garrison the Illinois.

* * * * *

That want of secresy which is and must always be hurtful to the service, I cannot help lamenting upon this occasion.

The Spaniards received their Information of the meditated attack against the Illinois in the month of March last, and threw up in consequence of it a Breastwork round a Store House.

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The Winipagoe Indians without exception, attempted to storm it & lost a Chief & three men on the spot, four are wounded & one of them (I fear) mortally.

They are enraged against the backwardness of the Canadians, and the base conduct of the Sacks, who have been debauched by the Rebels on account of their lead mines, & by the Traders in their Country, who drew advantage from them.

Indorsed: "Copy. Extracts of Letters from L t Gov r Sinclair to L t Col. Bolton."

155

LIEUT. CLOWES¹ TO BOLTON.

1 George Clowes, of the 8th regiment of foot.— Ed.

Michilimackinac , 4 th June, 1780.

Sir ,—as no vessel is yet arrived from Detroit, I seize this opportunity to inform you from a request of the Lieut. Governor I have ordered Sergt. Phillips & Private McDonald & Creige on command towards the Mississippi, the former in Quality of Lieut., the others as Sergeants. I make no doubt but before this they have arrived at their destination with success—for particulars I refer you to the L t Governor.

* * * * *

I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obed t humble serv t G. Clowes .

Indorsed: "From Lieut. Clowes to Lieut Colonel Bolton, 3 d June."

SINCLAIR TO HALDIMAND.

Sir ,—I have the honour to inform your Excellency that the two vessels sent into Lake Michigan have returned.

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They fortunately carried from this a force sufficient to enable the Party retiring from the Illinois by Chicago to pass with safety through a Band of Indians in the Rebel Interest & to embark in security, Some in canoes & some on board the vessels, The Others retired in two Divisions, one by the Mississippi with Monsieur Calvé, who allowed the prisoners taken by the Sacks & Outagamies to fall into the hands of the enemy. The other Division penetrated the country between Lake Michigan & the Mississippi & are arrived here with their prisoners. Two hundred Illinois Cavalry arr'd at Chicago five days after the vessels left it. On the 26 th of May Mr Hesse with the Winipigoes, Scioux, Ottawa, Ochipwa, Iowa & a few of the Oatagamies, Sacks, Mascoutins, Kickapous, & Pottawatamies.

Twenty of the Volunteer Canadians sent from this, and a very few of the Traders and the servants made their attack against Pencour & the Cahokias. The two first 156 mentioned Indian nations would have stormed the Spanish Lines if the Sacks and Outagamies under their treacherous leader Mons r Calvé had not fallen back so early, as to give them but too well grounded suspicions that they were between two Fires. A Mons r Ducharme & others who traded in the country of the Sacks kept pace with Mons r Calvé in his perfidy. They have long shared the Profits arising from the Lead Mines & from a commerce with the Illinois. The Attack, unsuccessful as it was, from misconduct & unsupported I believe by any other against New Orleans with the advancess made by the Enemy on the Mississippi, will still have its good consequences. Many of the Indians are entered &; many are riveted in our interest. The Traders who would not assist in extending their Commerce cannot complain of its being circumscribed to necessary bounds, and the Indians who received a profusion of Presents without Distinction will now be Discriminated.

The Winnipigoes had a chief & three men killed & four wounded, I fear one of them mortally. They are the only sufferers.

The Rebels lost an officer & three men killed at the Cahokias & five Prisoners.

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At Pencour sixty eight were killed & eighteen Blacks & white people made Prisoners. Amongst whom [were] several good Artificers many Hundreds of Cattle were destroyed & Forty three scalps are brought in. There is no doubt can remain from the con current testimony of the Prisoners, that the enemy received Intelligence of the meditated attack against the Illinois, about the time I received a copy of my Lord George Germain's Circular Letter. A like disaster cannot happen next year, and I can venture to assure your Excellency that one Thousand Scioux, without any mixture from neighbouring tribes, will be in the field in April under Wabasha (if no accident happens to him). His Interpreter Monsieur Rocque is a thorough honest man, & both have conceived the necessity for a profound secrecy, as well as the design and manner of executing it. In order to avoid the bruited reports of couriers, & the curiosity & suspicion they always excite in traversing such an extent of country, 157 everything was settled with Wabasha here, & his wants were supplied principally by the timely arrival of the King's Cannoes. Sixty Winipigoes & a party of Indians from the West side of Lake Michigan are sent to cross the roads leading from the Rebel Posts—on the Ohio and Wabash—to the Illinois, to cover Capt n Bird of the 8th who may be encumbered with Artillery, & to intercept Convoys of Provisions or Partys of the Rebels occasionally in motion from either Quarter.

From this to the close of Harvest, small parties will be sent from here in that direction. I have hired for a year three men who undertake to carry Expresses from Niagara to this Post, in ten or twelve days, which Your Excellency may think a preferable Route to that of Detroit, for such matters as may require secrecy or dispatch. I have the honor to be Sir your Excellency's most obed t & most humble Servant.

Pat k Sinclair , 84th Reg' t .

Michilimackinac 8th July 1780.

P. S. No accident happened to any of the Indians or others in retiring. Mons r Ducharmé permitted two profligate Frenchmen who were in his charge as Prisoners, to go to the

Library of Congress

Illinois. Numbers of that stamp are brought in from the Indians with their consent & approbation & the whole are ordered in Mr. Ainsés, call Interpreter here, is sent to bring in the Crew from St Josephs, Mons r Chevallier is his uncle, & will come in, I believe through favor & compulsion, if he is not encouraged to stay here.

SINCLAIR TO HALDIMAND.

Sir,—

* * * * *

Numbers of the People who used to winter at the Illinois & Mississippi will be allowed to go down late in the year, if they should not, be required by the Traders for Lake Superior or near wintering Grounds—

I am obliged to prevent anything going to the South side of Lake Superior for some months hence to avoid the Intrigues 158 of the Traders, who concert t with disaffected Indians the means of supplying them. As an Instance of their Turpitude, Monsieur Calvé & Le Croix with some others, after sending some of their Prisoners to the Enemy Equip't one, Provencal, with what goods remained in the wintering ground & sent him to the Illinois which they made a sham attack upon.

They also knew Provencal to be a person who opposed Major De Peyster's orders & who had refused to come in to the Post, & otherwise a man of an Infamous Character.

I therefore think it my Duty to prefer checking evils of that nature, to the silence of People who will now very probably become very clamorous.

I am, Sir, with Esteem Your most obed t humble Serv t Patk Sinclair L Gov r .

Michilimackinac 2 d Aug 1780.

SINCLAIR TO HALDIMAND.

Sir ,—As it has been unfortunately left to my lott to cheek several abuses, to purge the Indian Country of many bad People, who shelter themselves in it, from Authority, Justice & their Creditors—Each will be naturally armed with a dagger against the Person who has undertaken the Task which I could not refuse, Even, in the fullest consideration of the Times, and the consequences which may tho' thankless [and] dangerous, result from so necessary Measures.

To pass over the Whim & Caprice of several engaged in the Service, Experience has taught me as excusable often, but, when from a Disposition altogether unfriendly to the source of Authority in the Province & to that exercised in conformity of [with] it (of which I am sorry to say there is too much apparent at Detroit) I then think it is my Duty to take determinate Steps as must root out so great an evil, if pursued everywhere.

Please to observe the insolence of a man, who is indebted to His Excellency for his daily Bread, borrowing the language of the discontented at Detroit & at this Place—You will see that he is not mistaken, If I am presise in obedience of orders, & will Justify these People's opinions in calling 159 this Fort, Fort Haldimand. They all do me honor which I shall be happy if my conduct may claim.

This far I write officially thro' the medium of Friendship.

Were it necessary to offer any other justification for confining Mr. Harrow¹ to the Fort, only, than the account which he sends him self of the matter to Mr. Grant.² I would observe to you that I have parties of Sawyers, parties of Axe-men, cutting Picketts, Parties cutting Hay, the Corvées as they arrive to transport Provision in small quantities to send at a time for each of these Parties, their safety to watch over, as well as their humours, and besides the danger of some one lurking Villian destroying what we have done on the Island. Rebel Belts & strings are brought in every week by the Indians who still cannot prevent some bad

Library of Congress

ones from doing mischief. However at the time when Mr. Harrow displayed his insolence, I had the Sacks and Renards Indians here, who I then told were not to receive goods this year in their Country as they had allowed themselves to be debauched by the Rebels & that they could not murmur as they could not deny it, They being the only Western Indians in their interest. I also told them how short sighted they were not to observe that as they had mines in their Country, it was the Interest of the Rebels to pay them more attention than to the others—tho not more friendship for they meant them less. To return to Mr. Harrow—He is told to remain here untill General Haldimand's Pleasure is known, & his report in the Enclosed letter with the ordinary additional circumstances which agravate, & not necessary to trouble you with, is near the truth.

1 Lieut. Alexander Harrow, commanding H. M. sloop "Welcome," was placed under arrest in the fort at Michilimackinac, by Sinclair's orders, for alleged insolence and disobedience. The correspondence relating to this affair is in *Mich. Pion. Coll.*, ix., pp. 598–607. Sinclair was tenacious of his official prerogative, and seems to have continually had one or more personal quarrels on his hands, while at Michilimackinac.— Ed.

2 Capt. Alexander Grant, of the first battalion, 42nd (or Royal Highland) foot. For Harrow's letter to Sinclair, dated July 31, 1780, see *Id.*, p. 601.— Ed.

I am, Sir, Your most obed t humble Serv t Patk Sinclair , L t Gov r .

Michilimackinac 3 rd Aug t 1780.

160

HALDIMAND TO SINCLAIR.

Quebec 10th Aug t 1780.

Sir ,—In my letter of the 18 th Ultimo, I acknowledged the receipt of your Dispatch dated the 29 th of May, my wishes upon the material parts of its contents having been

Library of Congress

communicated to you by my letters of the 17th of April & 16th of July, there remains but a few articles to be answered.

In regard to the Prisoners you already have, & those which may hereafter be brought in, those who are Spanish Soldiers must be sent down to save your Provisions but from the barbarous treatment of our Prisoners by the Rebels in many Instances particularly in that of Lieut Gov^r Hamilton & the Troops taken with him (who are still confined in Dungeons) upon scanty & unwholesome Provisions, and their obliging many (even in the character of Gentlemen) to work for their maintenance, I have given orders to the Commanding officers of the Several Posts to employ the Rebel Prisoners in whatever work they may be most useful, if necessary under a guard, allowing them a full ration & pay equal to the Soldiers, who are employed as Labourers—which is to be applied to Cloathe them.

The air and exercise will preserve their health, & there cannot be a doubt of their being treated with Humanity.

You will please to observe the same at Michilimackinac, for which your situation of the Island is favourable, but if your Prisoners should multiply so as to be inconvenient those who are most troublesome send down to Montreal.

I approve entirely of your sending Captains of Militia to St. Josephs, La Bay & St. Mary's, upon the terms you propose, convinced you will make choice of such as will observe your Instructions.

I herewith send you one Hundred Printed Bills, persuaded that I shall see no more of them return here, than the necessities of the Service absolutely require.

In one of your letters of the 29th of May You say I can hardly suppose that passes will be granted for Lake Superior or Lake Huron independent of this Post, after the irregularities 161 of this & of last winter. You have in General Terms Complained of the conduct of the Traders to those Lakes & indeed I have not the best opinion of them, but none of your

Library of Congress

letters having mentioned the particulars wherein they have offended, nor the Persons all which it would be necessary for me to be acquainted with before I can with propriety reject their applications for Passes, in which I purpose at all times to be directed by the Reports you make me.

* * * * *

I am, sir, (Signed) F. H.

HALDIMAND TO SINCLAIR.

Quebec 10 th August 1780.

Sir,—I have received your letter of the 8 th ultimo covering Brown's Information & Reporting the return of the Vessels sent into Lake Michigan & the service rendered by them to the Party retiring from the Illinois, & likewise the attacks made upon Pencour & Cachokias & the cause of their being unsuccessful. It is very mortifying that the protection Mons r Calvé & others have received should meet so perfidious & so ungrateful a return. The circumstances of his & Monsieur Du Charmes Conduct, you are best acquainted with & to you I leave to dispose of them as they deserve. If you have evident proof of their counteracting or retarding the operations committed to their Direction, or in which they were to assist—I would have them sent prisoners to Montreal, in all events they are improper Persons to remain amongst the Indians, and I imagine you will think it necessary to remove them. Their Influence with the Natives, unless employed for the King's Interests, must be dispensed with, and there is no doubt that the Indians will soon be reconciled to who ever may be appointed to supply their wants.

I am glad to find that altho' our attempts proved unsuccessful they were attended with no inconsiderable loss to the enemy. 11

Library of Congress

You will find the captive Artificers very useful at present, my letter of this Date will authorize you to Employ them.

After the removal of the two interested or disaffected Traders, I hope you will find the management of the Indians less troublesome & more satisfactory. I hope no accident will happen to Wabasha, His and the conduct of his nation merit Distinction.

Your intention of discriminating I am persuaded will have a good effect, & I hope the operations of the ensuing campaign will discover it.

I approve much of your having engaged the three men as couriers between your Post & Niagara—it will open an expeditious communication Between those Posts & this part of Canada when the men are not out you can employ them otherwise.

I am, Sir, &c &c. (Signed) Fred: Haldimand .

Lieut. Govr. Sinclair .

CAPT. MOMPESSEON¹ TO DE PEYSTER.

¹ Capt. John Mompesson, of the 8th foot. Mompesson was commander of the troops at Michilimackinac. Between him and Sinclair there arose a quarrel, the result of a conflict of authority. At the time this letter was written, Sinclair was seriously ill and Mompesson had temporarily assumed entire control of the affairs of the post. For correspondence relative to this dispute, see *Mich. Pion. Coll.*, ix., pp. 575, 589–592, 610–614, 632, 633. It was finally decided that Sinclair outranked Mompesson.— Ed.

In my last to you, I acquainted you how much Provisions remained in store here, since that I hope we will be able to get a quantity of Indian corn, a great part of which is arrived, and the Traders are going to Arbicrook² to trade for more, besides what I hope will be procured at Saguina by Traders.

2 L'Arbre Croche.— Ed.

The Milwaky Indians have not brought in any, neither can a trader be allowed to go amongst them, as they are at present not behaving in a proper manner.

The Sacks & Renards have taken up the Hatchet against us.

Indorsed: "Extract of a letter from Capt. Mompesson dated at Michilimackinac Sept. 20 th 1780."

163

SINCLAIR TO GENERAL POWELL.¹

¹ Henry Watson Powell, serving as lieutenant colonel of the 53rd foot. At the time of this correspondence he was general by brevet, his rank in the army being colonel. He was commissioned major general, May 20, 1782.— Ed.

Michilimakinac 5 th June 1781.

Sir ,--

* * * * *

The Indians to the Westward gave such protection to their Traders, as deterred the Illinois Pillagers from an enterprise similar to that undertaken against St. Joseph's.² They desire to know from me why they are withheld from checking the maroders [marauders] from that Quarter, as they have withheld no proof of their good disposition towards the English, having on His Majesty's Birthday delivered up their French medals.

² Referring to the capture of St. Joseph by the Americans and Spaniards, in January, 1781. Cf. Sparks's *Dipl. Corres.*, viii., pp. 76–78; *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, xv., pp. 457–469, and Winsor's *America*, vi., p. 743.— Ed.

Library of Congress

I have the honor to be &c &c.

To Genl Powell .

Michilimakinac 16 th June 1781.

Sir ,—the Sacks and Rhenards from the Banks of the Mississippi, with the Menominé Indians, are arrived and more expected daily from their Tribes bordering on the Illinois Country, who have sent to inform me, they do not mean any longer to listen to the tales imposed upon them by the enemy.

* * * * *

I have the honor to be Sir &c Pat k Sinclair , L t Gov r .

To General Powell.

Indorsed: "Extracts of Letters from L t Gov r Sinclair to Brigadier General Powell."

164

LANGLADE TO CAPTAIN ROBERTSON.1

1 Daniel Robertson, of the 84th foot, captain commanding Michilimackinac and dependencies, 1782 to May 10, 1787. He succeeded Sinclair in the charge of the post. Robertson is said to have been killed by falling down a precipice 128 feet deep, at the southeastern corner of the island,—now called "Robertson's Folly." See Kelton's *Annals of Fort Mackinac* (ed. 1887), pp. 67–70.— Ed.

[Translated from the French by Grace Clark.]

La Bey march 5 1783.

Governor ,—these presents are to assure you of my most humble respect, and to inform you that according to what some Puants report when the Traders crossed the portage of the ouisconsin, Their nation wanted to Plunder them that in the confusion there was a Puant called Boeuf blanc killed and that to be revenged They took from Sieur Reilh² the Worth of five or six pieces of money in Drink and in other things, and as they were still drunk when Monsieur Blondeau passed he was obliged to give them also a great deal of Spoil in order to save his life, There were forty Sauteux men women and children that ate one another so long had they Fasted in the Bey des nôques;³ Caron Chief of the folles-avoinnes died the third of November,⁴ and a man named Marcotte a Trader was killed, we don't know whether by the Sauteux or the Sioux, but his three men were saved, although two were wounded.

² Antoine Reilhe, of Two Rivers, one of the proprietors of the general store at Michilimackinac.— Ed.

³ Bay de Noque, Delta county, Mich.— Ed.

⁴ Cf. *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, i., p. 58; iii., p. 266.— Ed.

I hope to have soon the honor to go and offer you my most humble Respect, and if you have Need of my service command me whenever you please, you will find me always ready to receive your orders, For I am always with the greatest Respect, Governor, the faithful Servant of the King

Langlade , Captain of the Indian department.

Addressed: "To Captain Robinçon, Governor of Machilimakinac, at Machilimakinac."

Indorsed: "1783 Letter from Captain Langlade to Capt. Robertson La Baye 5 th March."

ROBERTSON TO CAPTAIN MATHEWS.1

1 Capt. Robert Mathews, of the 8th foot, secretary to Haldimand.— Ed.

Michilimakinac 20th April 1783.

Sir ,—

* * * * *

Mr. McBeath² sets out this week for La Prairie de Chiens with Mr. Langlade Jun r 3 in order to dissuade the Western Indians, who assemble there from coming this length.

2 George McBeath, a trader.— Ed.

3 Charles de Langlade, Jr. See *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, vii., p. 182.— Ed.

I have the honor to be with regard, Sir,

Your most obed t & most hum l Serv t

Dan l Robertson , Capt n 84 th Reg t .

Capt. Mathews .

Indorsed: "From Capt n Robertson commanding at Michilimakinac, of the 20 th April."

ROBERTSON TO M'BEATH.

Michilimakinac 26 th April 1783.

Sir ,—You are to proceed from hence to La Prairie de Chiens, the Rendezvous of the Western Indians, or to where you may meet them, and on your way thither you are to induce every nation or Band of Indians, to the Interests of His Majesty's Peace and

Library of Congress

Harmony among themselves, & in a particular manner recommend Hunting to them, and to keep at their Homes till called for.

You are to smoke the Pipe of Peace with them, in the name of all their Fathers to the above purport, and give them as from me a proportion of what presents you have for that purpose.

You are to inform them that the Great Men are now busy in making Peace with each other, and that they as good Subjects ought to follow the Example among themselves, untill told the contrary by their Fathers.

The above, and everything [of] use for the Publick good, 166 with your own knowledge, and experience of Indians, you will communicate to them in the strongest terms.

Mr. Langlade Jun r is to accompany you as Interpreter & I shall write to the other Interpreters in the Indian Countries to give you every assistance to accomplish the above to effect & enable me to fulfill His Excell y the Commander in Chief's most ardent wishes to diminish the expenses of this Post.

I wish you success & a safe return home.

I am, Sir, Your most obed t & Hum l Servant (Signed) Dan l Robertson Cap tn 84 th Reg t .

To Mr. Geo. McBeath .

ROBERTSON TO MATHEWS.

Michilimakinac 27 th April 1783.

Sir ,—Having an opportunity to [send to] Detroit, I enclose you a copy of my instructions to Mr. McBeath for His Excellency the Commander in Chief's consideration, he sets out in a

Library of Congress

day or two as the weather is very favorable. I have the honor to be with Regard Sir, Your most obed t & humb l Serv t

Dan l Robertson Capt n 84 th Reg t .

Capt. Mathews .

REPORT OF A COUNCIL AT PRAIRIE DU CHIEN.

[Translated from the French by Grace Clark.]

La Prairie du Chien May 24 th 1783.

The Renards, Sacques, Scieux, Puants and Folles avoines held a council in this village in consequence of the Word which was sent them by their Father at Michilimakinac through M. George Mcbeath.

Speech of the Renards. Vimotolaque the great chief speaks:—My Father the english, I pray you to hear from me, all that I am going to tell you, I wish you good day, it is very true that you give us life to-day, you do us Kindness to drive away all dark clouds.

167

My Father, I listen to you always, we are Renards and Saques who are only one body, there are some that call themselves our kinsmen but they are not.

My Father, I have disobeyed the Word that you gave me, but those that call themselves our Kinsmen are the cause.

My Father, You are kind to us, but I am going to tell you what has happened to me. My Father on the other side of the great Lake is kind to me, yes my Father it is true it is not new the kindness that you do us. You have always done it though we deserve it not. My Father, there are some of your children to whom you have been kind who have promised

Library of Congress

you much on receiving Your kindness, who have told you that they will always love Your Word near you as well as far from you, still these children have shown that they have not always loved Your Word, they have done evil acts, and the leader of this act who is called Wabaishaiw¹ is the cause that we have been killed by the Soteux, that we have neglected your Word and that our Father loves us—not like his other children who have mixed the Ground.²

1 Wabasha.— Ed.

2 “ *Brouillé les Terres.*”— Tr.

I thank you my Father for coming upon our Land and for having sent us a Trader, but truly our Head is bewildered.

For the tree that you have spoken of to me, I know of it; our Interpreter was shielded from being defeated, with all our little children.

My kinsmen the Puants, we pray you to take away that tree so that the hunters may pass quietly. My kinsmen the Puants, I ask charity; leave the road open. We are deserving of pity, I think our friends the Scieux are of the same feeling.

My Father, we are joyful to see you on our lands, we deserve not this goodness, we give our Land to our Father.

Anatchie, chief of the Sacques, speaks:—My Kinsmen the Renards, Sacques, Puants, Scieux, and Folles avoines it is 168 true what my father has just said, I rejoice greatly; it is true my kinsmen, I have no wit, but you others that have will say as I do. My Father I have come to see you to hear the word of our Father. I see you, I rejoice at it; my kinsmen the Scieux, and you others my kinsmen I am all alone; I listen to the Word of my Father.

My Kinsmen, I have come here almost by chance, still by the counsel of our chiefs, to hear the word of our interpreter. You see not our chiefs here because the way of the Lake is not

Library of Congress

open. They are sitting on the mat waiting the answer. My Father it is true you are kind to us, to my uncles the Renards, Saques, Scieux, Puants and Folles avoines for sending us a Trader; although I am not transported at your Demand, I am always ready for the good. We are all happy to see you to show you our good heart. I ask charity of you; it is true our children are bewildered, I say nothing that I think not, I hope you will set free this piece of Flesh that deserves to be chopped up.

My Kinsmen the Scieux and Folles avoines, I ask of you charity that you take away the tree that is in the road. I pray you my Kinsmen the Puants, the Renards, and you the warriors to aid in this. I love you dearly, and pray that this may not happen another time.

My Kinsmen the Scieux and you others of this council, I pray you to hear me and to take away this tree. I have a father down below,¹ but I draw nothing from him; this is why I pray my Brothers to take away this tree.

1 The Americans.— Ed.

My Father you are seated there, I ask charity for the Puants; I weep, I hope that you will make me speak true, you have given one another blow for blow, I hope you will arrange this affair; and my Kinsmen the Puants, I regard you as my Brothers, I pray you to aid in this.

My Father, my Kinsmen the Puants and you others of the council there was litter in the road, there is still; I pray you to clean it away.

My Father, one told me to carry fear to Suiseban and I have done so; we remain always in our home at your Demand until we have the Word of our Father.

169

—Here he placed a belt on the Ground.

Library of Congress

My Father, I am going to tell you what happened in our Lands fifteen moons ago; it is all one to me whether the chiefs of the nations here like it or not; I am going to speak all the same; a White who is called Bouchet and who thinks himself chief wanted to make our Traders, who come from among us, deserving of pity; it is I, my father, that hindered it although I was all alone on my side and for reward my Father has taken away my medals. I pray then that my Father restore my three medals to the hands of the Interpreter of the Renards and also my two commissions.

Wabashau, great chief of Scieux, speaks:—My Father, I listen to what I have heard my Kinsmen the Renards and Sacques say. I have no other word than theirs; it gives pleasure to all the Chiefs of Council to see The English Chief on our Lands. They will do like their Kinsman. We are content with what our Kinsmen the Renards and the other nations have said for the road. I pray the two Puants here to speak to their nation to clean the road, so that our Traders be not deserving of pity.

My Father, I am content that the great chiefs on the other side of the greatest Lake are for making peace. We shall do as they, at your demand; as a proof of this, my Kinsman the Sacque has given you a belt.

My Father, we have resolved among us to send you bad men who have killed the Whites, so that you might do with them as you will.

My English Father, you give us pleasure to have come upon our Ground, our heart is joyful and content, it is you that give us life, we will be quiet. I give you my hand.

Anatchie speaks a second time:—My Father, I speak from my heart, the Traders know what I have done for them fifteen Moons ago. I have not thought to tell you my Father, that I,—l'epais and le Mitasse, two of our great chiefs, aided me in this however; my brother l'Epais and I returned from the great Village quite ashamed, we were not regarded by our Father as good children, although we have been more 170 ready and our heart better

Library of Congress

than others of his children who left the great Village quite happy. My Father, we ask for the Interpreter of the Renards and his brother Nisonaquasit to stay with us.

The chief of the Renards answered at this last request:—My Father, our Interpreter who is always with us stays with us and no other. I hope my father will not take him away.

Kariminu¹ chief of the Puants, speaks:—My Father, and Kinsmen the Renards, Sacques, Scieux, and Folles avoines, you tell the truth, we are a foolish nation and it is I who am deserving of pity. The tree I hope is not much in the road, the bad men who put the tree there have given themselves up to us. I send them to my Father.

¹ Karrymaunee.— Ed.

La Jeunesse, Folles avoine, speaks:—My Father, my Kinsmen the Renards, Sacques &c, speak well. I have no other Word than theirs. I am charmed to see my English Father.

Indorsed: "Council held between the Renards, Sacques, Scieux, Puants and Folles avoines at Prairie du Chien the 24 th May 1783."

CADOTT² TO GAUTIER.

² Jean Baptiste Cadott, of Sault Ste. Marie, who traded to La Pointe, in Chequamegon bay, and other stations on the south shore of Lake Superior. See Sinclair's letter to Brehm, *ante*. p. 145; also various citations in *Wis. Hist. Coll.* and vol. ix. of *Mich. Pion. Coll.*— Ed.

[Translated from the French by Grace Clark]

Sault St. Marie June 16, 1783.

Monsieur and Friend ,—As I am on the point of setting out I write you only a few words to acquaint you with the news from Lake Superior.

Library of Congress

All the Indians from fond du Lac, rainy Lake, Sandy lake, and surrounding places are dead from smallpox.

I am Monsieur your servant and friend Cadott .

Addressed: "To Monsieur Gautier, King's interpreter, at Mackynac."

Indorsed: "Letter from Cadet to M. Gautier dated Sault St. Marie 16 th June, 83."

171

ROBERTSON TO MATHEWS.

Michilimackinac 27 th June 1783.

Sir,—It was with much concern that I heard from Montreal, through Mr. Ellice,¹ that my Bill, on His Excellency the Commander in Chief were not paid, if really so it cannot be helped, I have acted in the Principalls of Honor for the good of the Service, and the accounts may undergo any scrutiny.

1 Ellice & Coy were forwarding agents and brokers, at Montreal.— Ed.

The sending Mr. McBeath to La Prairie de Chien is the only act I did of my self and even that I had partly, in my Instructions from Col. Hope,² this has been the means of keeping about twelve hundred Indians from this Post, less than last year, not a small saving to Government in Provisions, &c.

2 Henry Hope, lieut. colonel of the 44th foot.— Ed.

I received four Canoes of Indian Presents from Montreal, very apropos and if it is meant to keep possession of any part in the Upper Country—Four or Six more would be necessary this Fall.

Library of Congress

I have the honor to be with esteem, Sir, Your most obed t & most hum l serv t

Dan l Robertson Capt n 84 th Reg t .

Capt. Mathews .

M'BEATH TO ROBERTSON.

Michilimakinac 14 th July 1783.

Captain Robertson .

Sir ,—The situation of my affairs at present obliges me to lay my case before you, hoping you will be so good as to represent it to His Excellency the Commander in Chieff, who was pleased to authorize me in May 1782 to furnish what things might be wanting for the use of the Post & for carrying on the King's works here, which I have done to the utmost of my power, complying according to His Excellency's 172 Directions, with every order given me by the Commanding Officers, and hope I may without Presumption appeal to your Justice for approbation of my conduct since your Taking the Command. After having advanced money for the payment of Artificers and Labourers employed in the King's Works, paid Cash for Rum and many other Articles that cannot be Purchased on Credite but Rum, Dry Goods and in short everything that was wanting for Government that I could gett, and even put myself under the Disagreeable Circumstance of borrowing from others what was immediately necessary for His Majesty's Service endeavoring by every means in my power to Reduce Expenses at the Risque of my Total Ruin, it was but by the last King's Canoes that I received the last of the Goods, but the preceding Summer in L t Gov r Sinclair's Time, the Rum still remains due, after all These efforts to Forward as much as in me lay the service of the Post and Execute the Directions given me by His Excellency, how Peculiarly Distressing must it be not to have received to this moment one Shilling that I have any knowledge of on account of Government. Even last year I laid before Colonel Hope & Sir John Johnson the difficulties I laboured under, who promised to lay it before

Library of Congress

the General, but alas, I am still a sufferer, and instead of any relief, an augmentation of my distresses, the Bills I drew for the payment of Cash advanced Government for the Engineer Department came back protested with 10 per cent damages and six per cent interest, a loss that I am little [able] to bear, and which must inevitably ruin me unless His Excellency will take my unmerited Sufferings into consideration & order me the payment of what I am obliged to pay on account of non payment of the Bills, my case is quite different From those that Furnished quantitys of Goods for the Indian Department, as mine was entirely advanced for the Purpose of carrying on the King's works, I cannot blame myself with anything but being over persuaded to allow the Transactions before my Time to be mixed with those after. I would only begg you would please lay before His Excellency my Misfortains who alon is able to mitigate them, and will I am persuaded listen with a 173 Favorable Eare to any thing coming from one whom he has so much reason to esteem.

I have the honor to be Sir, Your most obed t & most humble Servant

Geo. McBeath .

Capt. Daniel Robertson 84th Regt Commandant of Michilimakinac .

ROBERTSON TO MATHEWS.

Michilmakinac 14 th July 1783.

Sir ,—The annexed letter you will be pleased to lay before His Excellency the Commander in Chief, it is in consequence of Lieut. Gov r Sinclair's & my bills not being honored that Mr. McBeath now suffers as set forth in his Letter, he was Paymaster of the Workmen, he of course gave many small Bills on Mr. Ellice to different workmen, and all of them protested, as even my Bills were not paid by His Excellency, which Mr. Ellice acquainted Mr. McBeath of.

I have the honor to be with esteem Sir Your most obed t Hum l Serv t Dan l Robertson .

Library of Congress

Captain Mathews .

ROBERTSON TO MATHEWS.

Michilimakinac 9 th August 1783.

Sir ,—By Letters from Mr. Ellice and Mr. McBeath, I am informed that my Bills on His Excellency the Commander in Chief are honored, therefore I have drawn on His Excellency for expenditures at this Post from 1 st April to the 1 st July last, in favor of Mr. McBeath in the usual manner.

For the Engineer Department Four Thousand, three hundred, three Pounds, fifteen Shillings and a penny half penny.

For the Indian Department Two Thousand, four hundred, seven Pounds and thirteen Shillings, both New York Currency.

I hope His Excellency will be pleased to Honor those Bills as soon as convenient, on account of Mr. McBeath, who was 174 dupped [duped] in [into] drawing Lieut. Governor Sinclair's last Bills and [is] of course a great sufferer.

My sending Mr. McBeath to La Prairie du Chien may appear extravagant but it is almost certain that it prevented, at least a Thousand Indians coming here & those fled here & on their way home. I reckon two Bushels Corn with some Grease, a little Bread & Pork, on an average to each with Rum and other Presents would far exceed the present expense. Mr. McBeath left this the end of April long before I had received any goods, and I had nothing in store but a few pieces of Blue Strouds & some white Shirts. Colonel Hope was of the same opinion as myself as to sending out to prevent Indians coming in, which insured me to adopt it.

I have the honor to be with great regard Sir, Your most obed t & hum I Servant

Dan I Robertson .

Captain Mathews .

CARLETON TO DE PEYSTER.¹

¹ This and the succeeding letters and documents were received from Ottawa in April, 1888,—too late for chronological arrangement with the preceding papers, which had gone to press.— Ed.

Montreal , June 25 th , 1776.

Sir ,—I received yesterday your letter of the 13 th inst. The rebels are driven out of this province, and I am preparing to return their visit. You may stop² the Indians from coming down here, at least for the present; provided you can do it without giving them offence.³

² This letter is also published in De Peyster's *Miscellanies*, p. 233, with the following footnote by the recipient: "This was done through great exertion, although at the risk of the Captain's [De Peyster's] life."— Ed.

³ Among these were Indians from what is now Wisconsin, desirous of going down to Montreal to have a war talk with Carleton and beg for presents. See *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, vii., p. 405.— Ed.

Your obedient servant, Guy Carleton .

Capt. De Peyster .

175

CARLETON TO HAMILTON.

Quebec 21 st May 1777.

Library of Congress

Sir ,—You¹ have herewith inclosed the copy of a letter from Lord George Germain, which is sent you at full length, for your instruction and guidance; I have only to add that L Colonel S Leger has similar orders for the Savages of the five Nations, &c.

¹ Lieut. Governor Hamilton.— Ed.

You will therefore be careful not to attempt to draw off any destined for his command.

Let me know what Provisions you may want, in the meantime some shall be sent you at a venture.

I am &c, Guy Carleton .

LORD GERMAIN TO CARLETON.

[Document enclosed in the foregoing.]

Copy of a letter from Lord George Germain, dated Whitehall 26 th March 1777.

Sir ,—In the consideration of the measures proper to be pursued in the next Campaign, the making a division on the Frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania by Parties of Indians conducted by proper Leaders as proposed by Lieut. Governor Hamilton has been maturely weighed.

That Officer in his letter to the Earl of Dartmouth, dated at Detroit the 2 nd of September last, [wrote] that he had then with him deputies from the Ottawas, Chippewas, Wyandotts, Shawnese, Senecas, Delawares, Cherokees and Pouattouattamies. That their inclination was for war and that it was with much difficulty he had restrained them from Hostilities, which he thought it his duty to do, finding by a letter from you dated the 19 th of July, that you had sent back some Ottawas Who had offered their services desiring them to hold themselves in readiness next spring.

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There can be little doubt that the Indians are still in the same disposition and that they will readily and eagerly engage in any enterprise in which it may be thought fit to employ them under the direction of the Kings Officers, and as 176 it is His Majestys resolution that the most Vigorous efforts should be made, and every means employed that Providence has put into His Majestys Hands, for crushing the Rebellion and restoring the Constitution it is The Kings command that you should direct Lieut. Governor Hamilton to assemble as many of the Indians of his district as he conveniently can, and placing proper Persons at their Head, to whom he is to make suitable allowances, to conduct their Parties, and restrain them from committing violence on the well affected and inoffensive Inhabitants, employ them in making a Diversion and exciting an alarm upon the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania. And as there is good ground to believe there are considerable numbers of loyal subjects in those Parts who would gladly embrace an opportunity of delivering themselves from the Tyranny and oppressions of the Rebel Committees, it is His Majestys pleasure that you do authorize and direct Lieut. Gov r Hamilton to invite all such loyal subjects to join him and to assure them of the same pay and allowances as are given to His Majesty's corps raised in America and that such of them as shall continue to serve His Majesty untill the Rebellion is suppressed and peace restored shall each receive His Majestys bounty of 200 Acres of Land.

These offers it is to be hoped will induce many persons to engage in the King's service; which may enable Lieut. Gov r Hamilton to extend his operations so as to divide the attention of the Rebels, and oblige them to collect a considerable Force to oppose him, which cannot fail of weakening their Main Army and facilitating the operations directed to be carried on against them in other Quarters, and thus bring the War to a more speedy Issue and restore those deluded People to their former State of Happiness and prosperity, which are the favorite wishes of the Royal Breast and the great object of all His Majestys Measures.

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A supply of Presents for the Indians and other necessaries will be wanted for this service, and you will of course send Lieut. Gov r Hamilton what is proper and sufficient.

Inclosed is a list of the Names of several persons, residing on the Frontiers of Virginia recommended by Lord 177 Dunmore for their Loyalty and attachment to Government, and who his Lordship thinks will be able to give great assistance to Lieut. Gov r Hamilton through their extensive Influence among the Inhabitants.

G. C.

CARLETON TO DE PEYSTER.

Quebec , 14 th July, 1777.

Sir ,—I have received your letters, by Mr. Langlade and others, on the subject of the Indians sent down from your neighbourhood.

Being sensible, from the prudence and discretion with which you have conducted yourself in the command of your post, that your leaving it just in the present conjuncture would be attended with considerable inconvenience to the King's service, it is my intention that you continue at Michilimakinac, notwithstanding your appointment to the Majority of your regiment, till further orders; of which Lieutenant-Colonel Bolton is made acquainted.

I am, Sir, your most obedient servant, Guy Carleton .

Major De Peyster, Michilimakinac .

CLARK'S COMMISSION TO A FOX CHIEF.

By George Rogers Clark Esq re Collonel in the Virginia Troops & Commandant of the Eastern Illinois and its dependancies, &c. &c.

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Whereas Kinaytounak Chief of the Renard Nation of the Indians has entered into alliance & friendship with the United States of America & promised to be a true and faithful subject thereto.

In consideration of which I do give him this as a Rememberance that he and his Nation are to treat all the subjects of the said States with Friendship & receive them at all 12 178 times as their Brothers. Given under my hand & seal at Fort Bowman in Kahos this 28 th day of August 1778.

G. R. Clark .

(Seal.)¹

¹ The seal bears a lion rampant with star and crescent; the field marked for gules.— Copyist.

Indorsed: "Commission donnée par les Rebelles au Chef des Renards envoyé par Gautier au Major de Peyster. Reçu avec sa lettre du 13 Mayle 30—1779."²

² See *ante*, p. 127,— Ed.

HAMILTON TO HALDIMAND.

Camp at Petite Riviere Nov r 1 st '78.

Sir ,—I have the honor to acquaint your Excellency that I have sent off from this place 22 Voitures³ with Provisions, Stores, &c. under the command of Lieut t . Du Vernet⁴ a very active & intelligent officer, who has my orders to encamp at the Forks of the Ouabash till my arrival or further orders.

³ Wagons.— Ed.

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4 Henry du Vernet, 2d lieutenant of artillery, in charge of stores and transportation upon Hamilton's expedition from Detroit to Vincennes. See his reports, *Mich. Pion. Coll.*, ix., p. 409.— Ed.

I this day purpose setting off with 7 Boats loaded, & take along with me the Ottawas & Chippaways in all 72. Four, the first chiefs of the Miamis Nation have joined me with 30 Warriors.

Mr. Chevalier came to the Miamis town with a chief & 14 of the Pouteouattamies of St. Joseph,⁵ this & his future behaviour may efface his former misbehaviour.

5 Relative to the location of St. Joseph's, see *ante*, p. 115, *note* 2. De Peyster, in his *Miscellanies*, p. 24, *note* 3, says it was "At the head of the river of that name, where the Pottawattamies have a fort and large settlement." He also says, in a letter to Haldimand of Aug. 15, 1778, speaking of Louis Chevalier, the principal trader at St. Joseph, (*Mich. Pion. Coll.*, ix., p. 868), "He [Chevalier] holds the pass to Detroit and can also give the first intelligence of the enemy's motion on the Wabash," clearly describing the portage, or pass, between the St. Josephs and the Kankakee rivers. Consult Thomas Hutchins's *Map of the Western Part of Virginia*, etc. (1778). Fort Miami, built by La Salle in 1679, was, according to Hennepin, "just at the mouth of the river Miami,"—afterward, about 1703, styled St. Josephs river. But this fort was destroyed by La Salle's men in 1680. Father Jean Mermet, then at the river mouth, writes La Mothe Cadillac, April 19, 1702, that he proposes to establish a mission "three journeys," or about sixty miles, up river, "near a stream which is the source of the Ouabache" [Illinois], where there is a portage of half a league (*Margry*, v., p. 219). In 1711, Father Chardon had his mission sixty miles above the month. By 1712, there appears to have been a French military post at this mission. Charlevoix, in a letter dated "River St. Joseph, Aug. 16, 1721," writes, describing his approach to the fort, from Lake Michigan: "You afterward sail up twenty leagues in it [up the St. Josephs river] before you reach the fort, which navigation requires great precaution." He speaks of the large settlement of Pottawattomies and Miamis on the river,

hard by the fort. The evidence is ample, that the fort on the St. Josephs, from about 1712 to its final destruction during the Revolutionary war, guarded the portage between the river of that name and the Kankakee, on the east bank of the St. Josephs, in Indiana, a short distance below the present city of South Bend; while the Pottawatomies were located upon the opposite bank, on the portage trail. In 1879, the St. Josephs river was surveyed by a corps of United States engineers; the distance from the mouth of the river up to Niles, Mich., where most historians have located Fort St. Josephs, was found to be but 42 miles, as the stream winds, while to South Bend it is 56.39, which latter distance very closely fits the sixty miles specified by Mermet, Chardon and Charlevoix. Credit is due to C. W. Butterfield for having been the first historian, so far as I am aware, to have pointed out the fact that this Revolutionary fort was in the neighborhood of South Bend; this he did in an eight-line note in *Mag. West. Hist.*, iii., p. 447.— Ed.

179

Major Hay¹ follows to-morrow with the last of the batteaux, the Pouteouattamies and the Miamis. This carrying place is free from any obstructions, but what the carelessness & ignorance of the French have left, & would leave from Generation to Generation. An intelligent person at a small expense might make it as fine a road as any within 20 miles of London. The Woods are beautifull, Oak, Ash, Beech, Nutwood, very clear & of a great growth. Your Excellency will I hope excuse my mentioning, a trifling tho' curious particular, in a ridge near the road I found a sea fossil, to find Marine productions on this hauteur des torres is to my mind more curious than their being found in the Alps—there are no mountains in view from Detroit to this place so that these appearances cannot readily be accounted for from volcanoes of which there is no trace to be observed. All our people, of all colors are in perfect health, & their disposition such *hitherto* as leaves me no room for complaint.

¹ John Hay, commissioned major August 29, 1777, but serving as captain in the 28th foot. — Ed.

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Lieut t Du Vernet having taken a sketch of the Miamis 180 River & purposing to continue his plan to the Illinois, I shall take the first opportunity of transmitting it to your Excellency, agreeable to L t Du Vernets request. At the same time take the liberty of commending his diligence, as to his capacity I dare not give my opinion knowing my own defficiency in those points, which no officer ought to be ignorant of.

I have got his French Medal from Wanaquibé Chief of Pouteouattamies of S t . Joseph, in presence of 200 Chiefs & Warriors at the Miamis Country.

Our numbers at present are nearly as follows—Detachment of the Kings 32 noncommission'd officers included—With the Artillery 2 Gunners, 4 of the Kings & 17 from the 2 Detroit Companies which are each at 44, officers included. La Mothe's Volunteers 42, Ottawas 40 Chippoways 20, Wyandotts 4, Pouteouattamies 15, Pouteouattamies of St. Joseph 15. Miamis 30 (Women are not included in this return of the Savages). The Shawanese are expected this night with Capt McKee,¹ who writes me word that they attempted a Fort built by the Rebels at the Falls of the Ohio, but only succeeded in destroying a parcel of Tools. I shall endeavour to cut off the communication from that Fort to the Illinois & perhaps shall find the taking that Fort an object well worth attention—The Rebels are building a Fort in the Island at the Falls. I hear the Miamis of the Riviere a l'Auguille will join us. We have had pretty sharp frost, but fine clear weather—by damming up, the water of this petite riviere 4 miles below the landing, the water is backed & raised an inch here. At the dam it rose an inch the first

¹ Alexander McKee, a Pennsylvanian by birth, became an Indian trader in early life; and between 1768 and 1772 had his headquarters at Pittsburgh, conducting, in company with Alexander Ross, a large business in that line. In the latter year he became deputy Indian agent to Sir William Johnson. When the Revolutionary war broke out, suspected of entertaining a preference for the royalist cause, he was put upon his parole at Fort Pitt; but in the spring of 1778 fled from there in company with Simon Girty and others and joined the British at Detroit, where he was continued in the Indian department. He appears to

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have been particularly efficient among the Shawanese.—(Butterfield's *Washington-Irvine Correspondence*, p. 332.)— Ed.

181 hour. The Beavers had worked hard for us, but we were obliged to break down their dam to let the boats pass, that were sent forward to clear the river & a place called the Chemin Couvert.

M r de Celoron has a brother in the Rebel service, & I have no room to doubt his treasonable design in spreading reports that might delay us till next spring, when reinforcements from the colonies might effectually frustrate our attempts to regain the Illinois, or keep the Indians in our interest—double pay I take it has been his seducer, & as to his reward, I hope to have your Excellency's orders. I have ordered his suspension in the interim.

Your Excellency will I trust make allowance for the haste & incorrectness of this report.

I have the honor to be with all imaginable respect, Sir, Your most obedient & most Obed t humble Servant Henry Hamilton .

Indorsed: "Detroit N o 23, 1779. From Lieut. Gov r Hamilton dated at Camp little riviere the 1 st Nov r 1778. Rec d 19 th March 1779,"

HALDIMAND'S SPEECH TO THE NORTHWESTERN INDIANS.

Quebec 2 July 1779.

His Excellency General Haldimand's speech to the Indians resorting to Michilimakinac and in its Vicinity.

After going thro' the usual ceremony of condolence with three strings of Wampum to wipe their eyes to see, clear the throat to speak, & open their ears to hear: go on as follows—

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Children the Ottawas, Chipways, Misis-ageys and other Indian Nations that may be assembled at Michilim c .

Being persuaded that there are among you as among other Nations Mis-chiefeous Birds that wisper into your ears all manner of bad News and Falshoods to disturb your well-being and Unanimity in order to bring you into Strife and trouble. I therefore by this string of Wampum earnestly advise you not to give Ear to such Birds but give due attention 182 to what I am going to tell you it being meant for your welfare, and what you may depend upon as Fact & real Truth.

A string of Wampum.

Children,—I daresay you are acquainted that the King your father has at last been oblinded to chastise and correct his undutiful & rebellious children the Bostonians for attempting to disown and rise against him who has always been a tender & affectionate Father rearing them from their Infancy with a great deal of care & expence, untill they grew strong and able to support themselves. No sooner did they arrive to that state of maturity and ease, but they most shamefully & ungratefully forgot the filial Duty & Affection, and even when they thought themselves formidable enough they rose against him in order to dispossess him of a Country he legally owned near Two hundred years, and become Possessors & Masters both of that & the Indian country, for which reason you must be sensible that they first began with the Indians upon the Ohio endeavoring to drive them off and settle that Country by Force of Arms and were they to obtain their end they would soon drive all the Ind ns from their Lands & become their Masters.

But their Efforts have hitherto proved ineffectual by means of the King your Fathers superior Force both by sea & Land and they losing ground and growing weaker every day and confused in their Councils, they were inconsiderate enough to send a party of their People once moro into the Indian Country by way of the Ilinois; and I am sorry to say the Indians were so blind to their Interest as to suffer them to penetrate as far as S Vincents &

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Tuscarrawas whereby they not only run the risque of loosing their Country but the supplies of every necessary of Life they want which they must get from this Country the Rebels being destitute of everything themselves as the King your Fathers ships Stop up all their ports that no Goods can get in; and as the Bostonians know that the River S t Lawrence is open whereby all the Ind ns in Nations in Canada are plentifully supplied with every Article in Trade they made an attempt 183 to get possession in their Country in ord r to seize upon the Traders & their Goods w ch is the reason that I have stopd my people who are trading among you from setting out as early as usual for fear of running the risque of their Lives & property & your being deprived of your necessities. And let me tell you Children that if you dont endeavor to keep your Country clear of these people for the future, you must expect to be entirely without Trade as I wont expose my peoples lives and property if they can't go into your Country with safety. I think it is the least thing for se numerous a Body of People as you are to keep a handfull of Bostonians out of it. I for my part have not been Idle these 4 years passt to keep this River open that you may have your supplies and defend this Country from the Incursion of the Rebels who make frequent attempts to attack it in order to cut off the communication, with you w ch point if they should gain would deprive you of every kind of cloathing and ammunition; for the King your Fathers ships would immediately block up this River that not a single Ship of the Rebels or their Allies w th merchandize could get in. So that you must be convinced it is for your essential welfare and Interest to do your part & keep your Country clear of the Bostonians.

A large belt.

Children,—As to the Stories these evil Birds carry about & wisper into your Ears with regard to your former fathers the French coming among you again. I shall tell you the Truth of the Matter and you may depend upon it as a fact for I never told an Untruth yet in my Life.

The Bostonians seeing themselves not able enough to stand up against their Father the King, sent some of their most cunning Men to your former Father the King of France telling

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him many false stories how rich and able they were to fight ag st their Father the King of England, but that they had no large ships like his; If therefore the french King would only hire them some of his big Ships to fight for them they would pay him well & trade with him. 184 The french would not for a long while agree to their request till they beg'd and promised him so much that at last they prevailed upon him to send out 15 large Ships to help the Bostonians, w ch was last summer and accordingly they joined the Bostonians army at Rhode Island. As soon as the King of Englands Ships at N. York heard of it they went in search of them and when they came in sight of the french Ships they immediately left the Bostonians and went to sea and the English Ships pursuing them could not stop them to fight but had some Shot at them now and then; since that, the french Ships went to the West Indies where the English followed them and taking a french Island the french General wanted to take it from them again with his Fleet & Army but was beat off with the loss of 3000 men & run away to another Island where he is now shut up by the English Fleet & dare not come to fight them & y r father the King of England has now such a numerous fleet w ch w th in the m th has been so successfull in the East Ind as & every where that the french fleet wont show itself. Now the King of France is so angry with the Bostonians that they brought them into this Quarrel that he wont send them a Ship or a man more, and you wont see him so soon for w ch reason I have called some of y r people that winterd at Montreal to come to this place where I convinced them that there was no french ship here or in y r Mouth of this Riv r this Spring.

I can assure you Children that when ever I find that the french will get the better of this Country I shall act the same part w th your late father Vaudreuil as to acquaint you of it myself, till then I beg you will keep yourselves quiet, follow your hunt g & Trade & keep the Bostonians out of your Country in order to enjoy peace & plenty.

A Belt.

Indorsed: "Speech to the Indians at Michilimakinac, Copy of which sent to Major Depeyster the 3 d July '79."

NAVAL AFFAIRS ON THE UPPER LAKES.

A Return of the Officers their present pays upon the Up. per Lakes:

Officers names. The vessel commanding, &c. Pay per day month or year. Alexander Grant The Gage on Lake Erie, etc 15 shillings York currency a day. Thomas Robinson The Haldimand, Ontario 10 shillings ditto. James Andrews The Dunmore, Lake Erie 10 shillings ditto. David Beaton The Ottawa, Erie 10 shillings ditto. Monsr Tushet The Seneca, Ontario Richd Cornwell Master Builder for the Upper Lakes 10 shillings ditto. Lieut of the Haldimand 8 shillings ditto. Lieut of the Seneca John Shipboy Storekeeper and clerk at Detroit £100 York currency a year.

MR. GRANT'S VESSELS EMPLOYED BY THE CROWN.

Willm Beker The Caldwell, Lake Ontario £12 a month. Willm Niccaroi The Hope, Lake Erie £8 a month. John Graham The Faith, Erie £8 a month. Wm Ferron The Angelica, Erie £8 a month N. Y. currency,

Quebec Octo r 14 th 1777.

Alex. Grant .

Remarks on the present State of the Naval Department, on the Lakes Superior, Michigan, Huron & Erie: Detroit 27 th Octo r 1777.

Present L t Governor Hamilton, Sechariah Thomson Esq r James Andrews Esq r Capt. of his Majestys Ship Dunmore, David Belton Esq r Capt. of his Majestys Ship Ottawa, My Richard Cornwall Master Builder, and M r John Shipboy Kings Store keeper.

His Majestys Ship Gage mounting sixteen carriage Guns and six Swivels requires for her Compliment at the rate of three men per Gun—forty-eight men Officers included a commander, one Lieut., one Mate, one Boatswain, one Gunner, one Carpenter. The opinion of Capts. Thompson, Andrews & Belton—N. B. Capt. Alex. Grant gone to Quebec.

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His Majestys vessel Dunmore mounting twelve Guns & four Swivels, requires for her complement thirty six men officers included—one Commander, one Lieut., one Mate, one Boatswain, one Gunner, & one Carpenter. The opinion of Capts. Thompson, Andrews & Belton.

His Majestys Schooner Ottawa mounting twelve carriage Guns, four Pounders, six Swivel blunderbusses requires for her Complement thirty six men, officers included—one Commander, one Lieut, one Mate, one Boatswain, one Gunner & one Carpenter.

Pay for the officers, petty officers & men on board of the above mentioned Kings ships. Commander at per diem, ten shillings ster. with the allowance of two servants. Lieutenant do five Shillings ster. with the allowance of a servant. Mate at per month five pounds ster. Boatswain per do four pounds ster. Gunner do four pounds ster. Carpenter per diem five shillings and eight pence ster. One seaman per month two pounds five shillings ster. Each Capt. to have an allowance from the Lieut. Governor pro tempore for the lodging of his men in the winter the Contractors having formerly made an allowance for it till proper Barracks can be built.

N. B. The above rate of pay agreed upon by Lieut. Governor Hamilton, Captains Thompson, Andrews and Belton, for the reasons following:

The remoteness of situation, the excessive prices of commodities especially shoes, stockings and other prices current for example, shoes twelve shillings ster. per pair, coarse stockings six shillings ster. the pair, check linnen three shillings and six pence ster. per yard, other things proportionally dear—soap two shillings and four pence ster. per lb. The Wyandott Boat, four Guns, two pounders to be sent up, and six swivel blunderbusses, ten men, a master, a Mate, Boatswain & Gunner.

Indorsed: "State of the Naval Department at Detroit, 27 th October 1777."

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The Schooner Hope taken into the Kings employ, 25 th August 1775 mounting four four p rs and two two p rs requires 187 for her comp l eighteen men, officers included—one Lieutenant to command, one Mate, one Boatswain, one Gunner.

The Sloop Angelica—six swivels; twelve men including officers—viz. one Lieut. to command, one Mate, one Boatswain.

Faith Schooner—four swivels; ten men, including a Master to command with a Boatswain & Gunner.

Sloop Felicity—four swivels; eight men including a Master to command, one man as Boatswain & Gunner.

Sloop Welcome—two swivels; two Blunderbusses; eight men including a Master to command, one Boatswain & Gunner.

Sloop Adventure—six men including a Master and one man as Boatswain & Gunner.

Sloop Archangel—six men including a Master and one man as Boatswain & Gunner.

Row Galley—twenty-one men exclusive of a Lieut. one mate, one Boatswain & one Gunner, to row with sixteen oars; and to mount a twelve pounder in the Bow, & two six p rs in the stern, also ten swivel blunderbusses.

Small arms wanted in due proportion for the above vessels, swivel blunderbusses, Pistols, Cutlasses, Pole axes, ammunition, round & case shot, Flints, tinder-boxes, Match quick & slow, priming horns, wires, priming powder, port fires & other artillery stores.

N. B. A storekeeper necessary to take charge of all naval stores, his appointment one hundred pound ster. per ann. (with a servant, lodging, an office & an allowance for stationary) who is also to act as clerk of the cheque.

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Memorandum . A Surgeon to be appointed with a salary of a hundred pound ster. per Ann. Provisions, fire, candle, lodging &c and a Medicine chest furnished by the Government in two years. The usual deductions to be made for Greenwich Hospital, chest of Chatham and office for sick & hurt seamen.

M r Richard Cornwall Master Builder to have ten shillings ster. per diem, two servants, a lodging with allowance of provisions, Fire, Candle &c, as the other officers of the department—none yet made.

188

Carpenters—six now employed, but not one qualified as a ship carpenter, one a Block & Pump maker. Two Blacksmiths & a Boy at present employed—good workmen one of them an Armourer.

Four more good carpenters much wanted. No buildings as yet for the department, as Barracks Lodging for the Master Builder, Storekeeper, Carpenters, Smiths &c.

Memorandum . A Surgeon on an allowance not appointed; no provisions for maimed seamen &c—which was notorious in the late Indian War, when wounded seamen were left to shift for themselves.

N. B. The Rank & Subordination of officers not put on a proper footing, of course discipline much wanting.

As a due subordination is absolutely necessary for carrying on the Kings service, and as hitherto for want of it, Discipline has been extraordinary relapsed it is humbly proposed to His Excellency the chief Governor of the province that a proper person be nominated to the Post of *Supervisor* of the Department for the Lakes Erie, Huron, Michigan & Superior, who is to inspect the several branches, keep Cheque Books, give regular orders for the Payment of the Department, receive the stoppages, etc., who shall have his accounts

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suspect to an Audit by some person authorized by the Commander in Chief of the Province.

To ascertain the Ranks of officers, Mode of Tryals, punishment &c for want of which regulations the Service has hitherto greatly suffered, and a proper authority has wanted Support.

Submitted, if it shall be left to captains of the Vessels to name their Warrant Officers, but not displace any without due Examination or Tryal.

Submitted, if it be not proper to fix a price on steerage or cabin passengers they having as yet been a great burthen & inconvenience to Commanders of Vessels on the communication.

Submitted, if Merchants should not make an allowance for the care of freights since the Commanders have hitherto been made responsible to them for damages.

Cabin passengers to pay from Fort Erie to Detroit five 189 Dollars. Steerage passengers one Dollar & to find themselves provisions. The same to Michilimackinac.

Henry Hamilton L t Gov r and Superintend t

Zack Thompson Inspector in the Naval Department

David Bolton Cap t of the Ottwa

Richard Cornwall Master Builder

John Shipboy Store Keeper

Indorsed: "Remarks by L t Gov r Hamilton; Captains Thompson & Bolton, Mr Cornwall Master Builder & John Shipboy Store Keeper, 1778."

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Colonel Boltons oppinion in Regard to the Naval Department (Viz.)

The Sccow Haldimand.

The Sccow Senica.

The Sloop Caldwell and one more of the same Burthing very usefull for Lake Ontario. The latter may be dispenced with.

For Lake Erie.

The Schooner Gage

The Ottawa when built

From Fort Slossar to Fort Erie.

The Schooner Hope

The Schooner Faith

The Schooner Dunmore for Lake Huron.

The Sloop Felicity not wanted in the service.

The Sloop Angelica not worthy of Repairs.

Lake Michigan—usefull by Report of Major Depeyster.

The Sloop Welcome the property of Mr. John Askin.

The Sloop Arch-Angle the property of Mess rs Barth & Son.

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The Wyandott, Paquit, Burthing 30 Tons; when launched to be employed from Detroit to Fort Erie, on Lake Huron. Ordered to be built by Gov r Hamilton.

Indorsed: "Return to the different Vessels on the Upper Lakes, Niagara 10 th May 1778."

190

Memorandum relative to the naval department on the Upper Lakes for Capt Thompson.

1 st—To enforce the propriety of making a suitable allowance of the freights, or otherwise—for the risque, and trouble of carrying Merchandize, passengers, Traders, Merchants and others, not employed in the Kings Service.

2 d—To know the General's pleasure, respecting the deduction usually made in His Majesty's Navy for Greenwich Hospital, the Chest of Chatham, Sick and Hurt Officers, for it is to be apprehended, that unless such deductions be made from the department on these Lakes, that those employed there will not be entitled to the benefit of these Institutions.

3 d—Every possible means to be taken to prevail on the General to continue the present allowance of one & a half ration of provisions, with rum to the Seamen in the department.

4 th—One uniform pay to be established for all officers of the same rank, and for *all* Seamen employed in the department; to have fixed the pay of Boatswain pr Month, Gunners per month.

5 th—Capt. Grant to procure from some Officer in the Navy Copies of Indents, for Boatswains, Gunners and carpenter Stores, articles of War, regulations for the Navy and last years Naval list.

6 th—To apply to the General, and to the Officer Commanding His Majesty's Ships in the River S t Lawrence for Boatswains and Gunners,—particularly Boatswains, those trained upon the Navy being such as will carry their officers Orders into execution with spirit, and

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be it remembered that on Boatswains, the executive part of the duty and discipline of ships crews in a great measure depends.

7th—To endeavour to regulate the allowance for officers during y e winter season. House rent for those that have not Barracks, also Candles.

8 th—Shou'd unfortunately, the allowance of Provisions be reduced, there will be an absolute necessity of paying the Seamen for extra Work, as customary in the Army; perhaps, there would be no impropriety in some small pay for 191 the Laborious extra Work of the Seamen during the Winter, cutting Ships Timbers, sawing &c.

9 th —To procure orders from the General to enlarge Niagara Navy Hall Wharf, there being too little Water at the present Wharf to Careen large Vessels at, and it being too small for three Vessels to Winter at.

10 th —To procure orders to enclose Detroit Ship yard, to Build Barracks for the officers and Seamen, Store House and Rigging Loft.

11 th —To procure orders to build a Vessel at Niagara, in lieu of the Haldimand, the state of her given in by the Masters Builder; informed that she cannot last above another year therefore no time should be lost to provide timber.

12 th —To procure orders to erect Barracks at Navy Hall, for the Seamen, a Riggin, and Sail Loft absolutely necessary to fix Rigging, and make Sails in the Winter.

James Andrews .

Niagara, 13 th May 1778.

Indorsed: "Memorandum relative to the Naval department on the Upper Lakes by Capt. Andrews, 13 th May 1778."

Memorandums, relative to the Naval Department of the Upper Lakes.

1st —It being reported that the Seamen's allowance of one & a half ration of Provisions with half a pint of Rum per day, is shortly to be reduced to a single ration, which reduction, and at this particular juncture, tis much to be apprehended, will be very detrimental to His Majesty's service on these Lakes; and it must be further observed on this head, that shortly after the commencement of the Rebellion of the Colonies, Lieut. Gov^r Hamilton and Capt. Grant were thro' circumstances (to be explained by Capt. Grant) under the necessity of entering into Articles with the seamen employed in the department at Detroit, assuring them that during the present troubles unless positively countermanded by the Commander in Chief, they, shou'd have one & a half Ration, with half a pint of Rum p^r day, £4 N. York Currency p^r Month, and thirteen months to the year, as customary in the navy,—A copy of these Articles were transmitted 192 [to] His Excellency Sir Guy Carleton, another copy was sent to Niagara for the Seamen to sign; but they thro' misapprehensions (to be explained by Capt. Grant) at first refused to sign. On further consideration and not long after they offered to sign them; but the Commanding Officers of the Post wou'd not have it done, therefore they were retained at their former wages—allowing them the one & a half ration per day with rum, such allowance being absolutely necessary.

2^{dly} —To request that the Naval Stores sent up for the Department may be directed, separately for the posts of Niagara & Detroit, which will avoid confusion. A Naval storekeeper to be appointed for Niagara, and another for Detroit. Salary—.

3^d —These Naval storekeepers to act as Clerks, to receive from the Captains & Masters of the Vessels an account of their freights, to get certificates from the Merchants to deliver to the Commanding Officer &c.

4th —The Commanders of His Majestys armed Vessels, having extraordinary trouble, in carrying Merchandize, and almost always crowded with passengers, of Merchants, Traders, Clerks, and others not employed in His Majesty's service, but on their own

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immediate and most lucrative business. The Commanders apprehend this to be something out of their line of duty, therefore beg leave to submit to His Excellency's consideration, seine allowance of the freights, and some regulations respecting passengers unemployed by the Crown.

5 th —No fixed pay being settled for MasTer Builders at Niagara and Detroit, and it being impossible to conduct the service without such officers, tis requested to fix their pay per day.

6 th —The Scow Seneca's Crew having but low wages, tin hoped in justice to them, and the usual custom of the Navy that their pay may be raised, Officers & Seamen equal to the others in the Department.

7 th —The propriety of requesting His Excellency to order the Surgeons; attending the Naval Department at Niagara & Detroit, Medecines at the expence of the Crown.

193

8 th—Capt. Andrews commanding the Department on Lake Ontario, being subject to more expense & duty than other captains, submit to His Excellencys consideration some addition to his pay as Cap t of the Haldimand.

9 th—The officers conducting the Department apprehend it would be much more advantageous to the service to leave out 2 d Lieutenant, and in lieu to Warrant Mates with second Lieut s pay.

The above regulations appear to be for the good of His Majesty's Service.

Niagara, May 13 th 1778.

Zach Thompson ,

Alex Grant Comd g H. Majestys Vessel.

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John Burnet Comdg His Majesty's Schooner Haldimand.

James Andrews , Commanding on Lake Ontario.

B. Bouchette .

Indorsed: "Memorandums, relative the Naval Department on the Upper Lakes, by Lieut Colo. Bolton, Captains Thompson & Grant & the Commanders of the different vessels on the Upper Lakes 13 th May 1778."

The following Establishment is formed by his Excellency the Commander in Chief for the better Government and payment of the Naval Force employed on the different Lakes.

Samuel Graves Esq'r commodore—Over all the Lakes and the Commanding Naval Officer in each District will send regular reports to him.

John Schank Esq'r commissioner—Who is to direct the Master Builder in all constructions alterations and repairs of the fleet and the Storekeepers of the different districts are to be responsible that they may Issue Stores exactly agreeable to his Instructions.

Leut Wm. Twiss, Controller—Who is to hire and regulate the List of all artificers to examine all the Naval Stores that are purchased and to certify all Expenses incurred in the Department.

Honble Thos Dunn Esq'r Pay Master—Both for the Military and Civil Departments. 13
194

Rules for Payment

No Officer to be paid as such but who has a Commission from the Commander in Chief.

Library of Congress

Every Vessel actually employ'd and carrying 14 Guns and upwards to be allowed: 1 Boatswain £3.0.0; 1 Gunner £3.0.0.

Every vessel actually employ'd and carrying from 8 to 14 Guns: 1 Boatswain £2.15.0.

Every vessel actually employed and not carrying 8 Guns: 1 Boatswain, £2.10.0.

To all Seamen properly mustered who are not however to exceed two thirds of the number serving: £2.0.0.

To all ordinary Seamen properly mustered: £1.10.0.

It is to be particularly observed that the Warrant Officers receive their Stores regularly from the different Store keepers, and keep an Exact account of their Expenditures so that before they can receive their Pay, the Store keepers certificate of such charges and such Expenditure must be proceeding.

Indorsed: "General Establishment for the better Government and Payment of the Naval Force, employ'd on the different Lakes. July 1 st 1778."

General Orders and Regulations, for the better Government of His Majestys Armed Vessels &c., &c., employ'd on the different Lakes—

1 st That the Lakes be considered as divided into three separate commands, Vize— One Including Lake Champlain and Lake George, another Lake Ontario, and the third Lake Erie together with the three Upper Lakes: and all His Majesty's Armed and other Vessels, Navigating in these Lakes shall be Commanded by the Senior Naval Officer in that particular District provided always that such seniority be estimated from the tenor and date of their Commissions granted by his Excellency the Commander in Chief, and subject to the Command of any Commodore who may be ordered to act on all the Lakes.

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2 d That the articles of War be read on board each Vessel, to all the men belonging to her, at least once every month, 195 and the assistant Store keeper at each District, is also to Muster each Vessels Complement once a Month at such time as he finds most convenient on giving a reasonable notice thereof to the Commander; in these Musters must be marked down all Absentees and the reason, but the cheques for all neglects are to be left to the officer who regulates the payment.

3 d That the Senior Naval Officer on each Lake consider himself not only under the Command of the Commander in Chief, but also of the Eldest Land Officer serving in the same District: in all other cases whatever the Naval Officer will take Rank, and, Command agreeable to His Excellency's Commission and conformable to the Rule of Naval Rank, established by King and Council; it is nevertheless to be strictly observed that no land Officer is to interfere with the Interior discipline of the Seamen or in any of the Minutia belonging to the Naval Department, nor shall any Naval Officer interfere in any respect with the interior regulations of the Land Service.

4 th That as the Commander in Chief has thought proper to appoint a Commodore for the Command of the Naval Force on all the Lakes, to whom the Commanding officer in each District will report likewise a Commissioner Controller and a Pay Master for the whole Department who with the assistance of such Store-keepers Assistant Pay Masters, Master Ship-wrights and Clerks as may from time to time be appointed to act under their directions as the different districts, are to superintend and direct the construction, alteration and repairs of all Vessels & Boats whatsoever, and they are also to regulate the payment of the Warrant officers and Seamen likewise the hire and pay of all Artificers, employ'd in the Naval Department as well as the Purchasing and Issuing of every species of Stores belonging to or in any wise appertaining to the Naval Department. The Commander in Chief therefore directs that all officers both in the Land and Naval Service, do conform themselves in their requests or demands for Stores, of any nature whatsoever, to such rules as the Commissioner or Controller may Point out as conformable to their Instructions

Library of Congress

from the 196 Commander in Chief, and all officers in both services, are to give every assistance in their power to all officers and others employed in this line of Service.

5 th No Vessels to be constructed on the establishment of any Kings Vessels altered without an order from the Commander in Chief, nor is any private person whatsoever to Build any Vessel or Boat, or even Navigate a Caneau without a proper Pasport on any Lake on pain of being seized and put into Confinement.

6 th The Seamen &c are always to be paid in Cash, the payment to be made in January and cleared up to the 30 th Septem r Inclusive—The Eldest Land & Naval Officers on the spot with the Commissioner and Contrroller or their assistants present will attend and certifie the Payment and assist in Determining the cheques & in Rectifying any Mistakes or Abuses which may appear.

7 th All officers and Seamen constituting any part of the Naval Force are to Receive their provisions from the Commissary General, at the same Rations precisely as the rest of His Majestys Troops and during the time they are laid up in the Winter will be furnished by the Barrack Master with the same proportion of Fire and Candles &c.

8 th A Contractor shall be agreed with either at Montreal or Quebec, who shall supply all the Seamen on the different Lakes, with Slops and tobacco, these Articles shall be furnished at the common Market price and delivered to the Naval Store-keeper who will forward them to the different Posts, at the Kings expence.

The assistant Storekeeper who issues them to be allowed Five per Cent, for doing this duty which is to be charged on the Slops and Tobacco, and it is positively ordered that no Seamen be furnished with any Article without an Order in writing from the Officer commanding the Vessels he belongs to, and even then the amount not to exceed twenty Shillings p r Month. Either the Commissioner or Contrroller with some Naval officer should any be present will examine the Slops before they are Received from the Contractor; they will send seperate samples sealed and Marked to each Post and the Naval officers there

Library of Congress

will take care that the Slops furnished 197 are conformable to the samples, certificates from some Eminent Merchants must also be sent with the Slops, that they are charged at the Market Price.

The amount of the Slops to be stopt from the Seamen, at every payday and to be paid to the Contractor so soon after as possible.

9 th The Commander in Chief is determined to establish it for an invariable Rule, that no officer shall be Commissioned for the Naval Department on the Lakes, who has not been Four years at Sea.

10 th The Naval Officers and Seamen being Commissioned or entered to Act on all the Lakes at Large, they will be removed by the Commander in Chief, as the exigencies of the service may require—but no officer or other employed in His Majestys Service is on any pretence whatsoever to be concerned directly or Indirectly in any part of the Lake Trade on pain of being immediately dismissed.

Indorsed: "General Orders, and Regulations for the better Government of the Naval Force employed on the different Lakes. July 1 st 1778."

A Return of Officers serving on the Lakes, 6 th July 1778.

Names. Ships names & from what place. Rank in the navy. Rank in the army. John Shank Canceaux Lieut Major William Chambers Montreal do Major J. Parker Harrison Treasury Board Lieut Commander 1 Lieut & Comdr J. R. Falconer do do 1 Lieut & Comdr James Allson Warwick Midshipman 2 Lieut Park Cirnegey Isis* do 1 do. Samuel Wickham Canceaux* do 1 do. Michael Mallon do do 2 do. F. R. Mowat do do do. Alexander Gordon Quebec do do. Ro'f Alder Warwick do do. Alex Menzie do do do. Antony Canfroy Quebec do do.

* On the Upper Lakes.

Indorsed: "Naval Department. A Return of Officers serving on the Lakes. 6 th July 1778."

Return of all the Vessels upon the Lake George, Champlain, Ontario, Erie, Huron & Michigan, &c. From the year 1759 till this date, Excepting employed at present upon Lake Champlain. Quebec 30 th July 1778.

Vessels Names. On what Lake. Place built at. What year. Number of Guns. French & when taken. Remarks. Sloop Lake George Fort George 1758 5 Lay'd up and decay'd. Brig. Duke of Cumberland Lake Champlain Tiandergo 1759 20 ditto Sloop Buscown ditto ditto 1759 16 ditto Sloop Brochete ditto St Johns 6 Taken in 1759 In service till decay'd. Sloop Lochegeon ditto ditto 6 ditto ditto Sloop Masquenouge ditto ditto 6 ditto ditto Schooner Vigilant ditto ditto 8 Taken in 1760 Lay'd up till decay'd. Sloop Waggon ditto ditto 6 ditto ditto Row Galley Grand Diable ditto ditto 1 ditto ditto Row Galley Petit Diable ditto ditto 1 ditto ditto Sloop Betsey ditto ditto 6 Taken by the Rebbels. Sccow Mohawk Lake Ontario Niagara 1759 & 60 16 Cast away in 1764. Ship Onedago ditto Oswego 1760 18 Cast away in 1764. Sloop Mussasago ditto ditto 1760 8 ditto in 1765. Schooner Mercury ditto ditto 1760 6 Lay'd up and decay'd. Sccow Johnston ditto Oswegatchie 12 Taken in 1760 Cast away 1764. Schooner ditto ditto 12 do ditto 1761. Schooner ditto ditto 6 do ditto 1761. Schooner Brunswick ditto Oswego 1765 10 In service till decay'd. 199 1778 Sccow Haldimand ditto Oswegatchie 1771 18 Still in Service. Sccow Sennica ditto ditto 1777 18 ditto Sloop Charity ditto Niagara 1770 6 Swivels Cast away in 1777. Sloop Caldwell ditto ditto 1774 2 Still in Service. Sloop Lake Erie Navy Island 1763 8 Cast away in 1764. Schooner Victory ditto ditto ditto 6 Lay'd up & burned by accident. Schooner Boston ditto ditto 1764 8 ditto Schooner Gladwin ditto ditto ditto 8 In service till Decayed. Sloop Charlotte ditto ditto ditto 10 ditto Schooner Gage ditto Detroit 1773 16 Still in service. Schooner Dunmore ditto ditto ditto 12 ditto Schooner Hope ditto ditto 1771 4 Swivels ditto Sloop Chippewa ditto Pine River 1769 4 ditto Cast away Nov.? 1775. Sloop Angilica ditto Detroit 1771 4 ditto Still in service. Schooner Faith ditto ditto 1774 4 ditto ditto Sloop Felicity ditto ditto 1775 ditto Sloop Adventure ditto ditto 1776 4 ditto ditto Sloop Welcome Lake Huron Michilimackinac 1777 ditto Sloop Archangel Lake Michigan Detroit 1774 ditto Sloop Wyandall Lake Erie ditto On the stocks. —Paquet ditto ditto Sccow O. tawa ditto ditto Ke.l Lay'd stem & stern posts raised.

Total 40 Sails.

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A general return of His Majesty Arm's Vessels, &c by Order of His Excellency General Haldimand &c &c &c under the direction of Captain John Shank, Lakes Erie, Huron, Michigan, 1 st January 1779.

Number of Vessels. No. of Guns. Number of Men. Vessels Names. Commanders Names. How Rigged. Quality & Quantity of Metal. Prs. 4. Prs. 3 Prs. 2 Howz or Swivels. Built
Detroit in Spring 1772. 1 12 27 Gage Alexr Grant Schooner 12 Ditto 72 2 10 19 Dunmore
Jno Bennet ditto ditto Ditto 71 3 4 6 Hope James Graham ditto ditto Ditto 71 4 6 Angelica
Wm Ferrin Sloop 10 Do 74 5 7 Faith Wm Thorne Schooner 4 6s Do 73 6 5 Felicity John
Loughton Sloop ditto 6s On the Stocks 7 Ottaway " ditto 4s By this time launched 8
Windate " 4s 26 20

Guns & Total of Swivels 46.

201

A Return of Civil Officers & Men employ'd in His Majestys Dock-yard at Detroit, Lakes Erie, Huron & Michigan 1 st January 1779.

Master Builder, Naval Storekeeper, Foremen of Ship Wrights, Foremen of H. Carpenter, Foremen of B. Smiths, Master sail maker, B. of the yard, 1 each.

Artificers & Labourers, 17.

Surgeon wanted.

His Excellency General Haldimand, &c &c &c

John Schank , Commissioner.

A Return of the Officers their present pays upon the Up. per Lakes:

£ s. d. Quebec 1549 12 Lake Champlain 2389 8 6 Niagara 2836 19 7 Detroit 2271 19 4
Total £0047 19 5

An account of the pay of the Civil Department in the Province of Canada.

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£ s. d. Quebec 91 Lake Champlain 2293 4 Niagara 1419 12 Detroit 1696 10 4 Total £5500
6 4

John Shank , Commissioner.

His Excellency General Haldimand &c &c &c.

Indorsed: "A general account of the pay of the Naval & Civil Department in the Province of Canada. 1 st Jan y 1779."

202

An account of the pay of the Civil Department in the Province of Canada.

Whole amount. 3 servants to Capt Grant at £2-6-8 per Mo £ s. d 2 do to Capt Burnett at 2-6-8 P. Month 243 13 4 1 do to Capt Graham at 2-6-8 P. do (one year) 1 Carpenter of the Scow Haldimand at 5s. P day 2 Servants to Capt Andrews at £2-6-8 P. Mo 2 do to Capt Bouchet at 2-6-8 P. Mo 1 do to Capt Baker at 2-6-8 P. do 297 5 4 1 do to Lieut Chaquet at 2-6-8 P. do 1 do to Lieut Harrow at 2-6-8 P. do 1 Carpenter at 4-13-4 P. do 1 Coxon at 2-11-4 P. do Sineca 190 12 3 1 Armourer at 2-11-4 P. do 1 Pilot at 4-17-3 P. do On Lake Ontario. 1 Apprentice to Mr. Cornwell at £2-6-4 P. Mo 1 Sergeant to Mr. Shipboy at 2-6-4 P. Mo 78 8 8 1 do to Mr. Bennett at 2-6-4 P. Mo In the Shipyard at Detroit. Total £808 19 7

N. B. At Detroit a storeroom £100 P. year; House Rent to Capt. Grant £25 ditto; House Rent to Capt. Beeton £19 ditto.

Some other sums which was presented to your Excellency that I dont at present recollect.

John Schank , Commissioner.

Indorsed: "An Acc t of the pay of Servants &c. belonging to the different Vessels on the Upper Lakes that are not allowed. 1 st Jan y 1779."

203

A VOYAGE ON LAKE MICHIGAN—1779.

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Remarks on Board his Majestys Sloop Felicity by Samuel Roberts on Piloting her on Lake Mitchigon.

Thursday 21st of October 1779 at 10 A. M. we left Mitchlemackina the wind moderate and south the weather warm and hazy; at 12 squally; hau d ye T. sail; steared W. B. N. clear of Wabashaw p t ; at 2 P. M. the wind freshened & hauling to y e S. S. W. the weather looking black to the West; we had Wabashaws p t bearing S. E. in 7 fa t ; we past the p t in 2½ f ms , we then haul d the vessel close; she steard W. S. W. a great swell from the S.W. At Sun Sett Tak d to the Eastward we was then about a League dis t from the North west of the beever isld in 2½ fa m stoney bottom; the weather Looking black to the S. W. and the gail freshening we bor away for the lee of Wabashaws p t at 7 P. M. cam too in 4½ f m the p t bearing S W 2 miles distance; cloudy weather with showrs of rain; at 12 this night hard showrs of rain with squals of wind. At 6 A M got underway from the N W; we stood S W B W in 4 f m & stood E S E towards Wabashaws p t . We wore again & stood over West untill we had the beever island bearing West; the wind shifted to the North W; at 9 A. M. we tak d & stood S S W, our course to the Manatoo islands; dark weather and a heavy swell from the S S W. At 11 left the reef out of Mainsail & set the T sail Cutt 6 fathoms from the end of the but bour Cabbel [cable] it being wore out, & bent the best end; the wind light & variable from N to N W. Nothing mere remarkable this 24 hours.

Remarks on Fradey 22 d October 1779 — At 12 this day the wind N W rain & thick weather; at 2 P. M. the wind hauling N we Sett the square saile we then had the grand beever island bearing West 2 Leagues at 4 P. M. the wind hauling to the West we hau d the squar saile a hard rain & thick weather; at 4 P M the wind hauling to the W. S. W. hau d the T. sail; a fresh gale with small rain. I then saw an island to Leeward about three Leaugs which I took for Northmost 204 for the Manatoo islands but not being able to weather it I thought proper to come too on the Lee side in 4 fa m watter. At 12 this night hard squals with showrs of snow at day light this morning the wind hauling to the S S W

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she trip d the Anchor we pased out $\frac{3}{4}$ of the cabbel & dropt the other Anchor she brought up & ride the remainder of this 24 hours. The wind again howling to the W. S. W.

Remarks on Saturday 23 October 1779 — At 12 this day squally with showrs of snow; the wind W S W a hard gale. At 2 P. M. hoist out the boat & sent on shear for fire wood; the wind more moderate at sun sett hoist in the boat & weighed the other Anchor expecting the wind from the N. W. the weather thick with showrs of snow; at 12 this night the wind shifted W N W; we weighed Anchor and stood along shear for the opning of the island, but I finding the land still appear further, & not like the Manatoo islands I therefore concluded it must be the grand Irarane I imeaditly wore the vessel & stood out.

The remainder of this 2½ hours we kept tacking to windward the wind verrey variable & squally with showrs of snow from W N W to S W.

Remarks on Sunday 24 th October 1779 — At 12 this day the wind variable with showrs of snow & heavey swell from the S W clouday & thick weather; at 2 P M let the reef out of the Mainsail & sett the flying jibb more moderate but a great swell still continued so that we gained verrey little ground.

At sun sett the weather more clear; we had the North Manatoo island bearing N W 4 Leaugs dis t ; we then steered closs upon a wind N N W & sometimes North; at 8 P M tak'd to the south. At 12 this night the wind howling to the N W sett the Top Sail at A M the wind howling to S W; we then had the Middl Manatoo Island bears S W 3 Leaugs. Nothing more remakable this 24 hours.

Remarks on Monday 25 October 1779—At 12 this day the Wind S W; we stood in shear about a Leag to the southwr d 205 of the River a Carp; at 1 P M Taked and stood to the end of the Manatoo island.

At 4 P M Tak'd about a Mile distance from the Manatoo island and stood over to the Main Land the Wind being so variable we gained no ground so we Tak'd and cam too under the

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island in 3 fathoms; the wind S W clear night with a fresh gale; at 8 A M hoist out the boat & sent on shore for fire wood the people on board employ d repairing riging & sails. M r Gautly and me went on shore to bunt; saw no game so we came on board after having traversed the island. Nothing more this 24 hours.

Remarks on Tusday 26 October 1779—At 12 this day a fresh gale from the S W; the hands employed repairing the rigging & Topsail; at 2 P M Monsieur Gautly & me began to clean the swivels and place them properly on the gunweale but being ill provided with tools for that purpose M r Gautly giving a Blow to settle one of them in its place broke off the nut; a fresh gale & clear weather. At sun sett the wind moderate & hauling to the southward the remainder of this night clear & moderate. At sun rise the wind freshened up from the S S W; the hands employ'd setting up the stays & rigging greas, everything going so heavey that it required all hands to hoist the mainsail. Nothing more this 24 hours.

Remarks on Wednesday 27 October 1779 — At 12 this day the wind light and hauling to the S S E; we weighed anchor an stood out from the island; the wind variable & light sometimes we had it from the S W and other times from S E so that we could not gett a Leauge from the island; when sun sett we hoist in the boat at 6 P. M. a light breeze from the S E; at 8 P M we past the sleeping Bear the wind fresh; Reef d the T sail; the [wind] hauling to the S S. E.

At 12 this night hau d ye T sail & flying gibb & closs reef d the M. sail; a strong gale and a rowling swell from the S B E; we kept upon this Take the remainder of the 24 hours so that I imagined to have made S W B W course; at 8 A. M. 206 saw the west Shoar, the wind moderate; lett the T sail & flying Jibb. The weather heazy. Nothing more this 24 hours.

Remarks on Thursday 28 th October 1779 — At 12 this day observed the merr d alt [meridian altitude] & found the Latt 44. 25. We was then about 2 Leaugs from the Shoar but as I never had been on that part of the Lake we could not name the land but I suppose by the distance we had made to be about 30 Leauges from Millwakey. At 1 P. M. Taked

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and stood over E B S. A fresh gale from the S S E at Sun Sett hau d the Topsail and closs reef d the mainsail a strong gale & a heavy swell. At 10 P M the wind moderate & clear, lett the reef out of the Main sail and sett the flying gibb the wind S S W.

At 12 this night moderate weather & clear; saw the Land on the lee Bow; at 2 A. M. Taked & stood S W. B W.

At 10 A M Tak d and stood S E. Nothing more remarkable this 24 hours.

Remarks on Fraday 29th October 1779—At 12 this day a strong gale from the S B W and a heavy swell. We stood in Shoar abreast of the River Mauhesty and Tak'd about a Leauge from the shoar. I then saw the point of Sabec wor 5 leaugs to windward; we stood out S W B W; at 2 P M closs reef d the main Sail & haul d the flying gibb, a hard gale & heavey weather; at 12 this night the wind more moderate but the swell still continued; at 1 A M we saw the land under our Lee about a Leauge dis t . We Tak d , the wind verrey light but hazey weather; at sun rise the wind freshned up at South & S & B W we stood over for the other shoar E S E & S E B E the wind still increasing and continued on the south point hazey weather.

Nothing more remarkable this 24 hours.

Remarks on Saturday 30 October 1779 — At 12 this day I observed the Merr d Alt & and found the Latt. 44.20 only 5 Miles to Windward where we was two days Before; we saw the land and fled to windward about 1 mile this 24 hours; at 2 P M we raked and stood off W S W; a strong gale at 1 P M handed the mainsail by two with the foresail & jibb a 207 verrey hard gall from the south & S B W; the vessel cam up S W B W & fell off W B S with the heave of the see and Lee way. I suppose we made a West Course 1 Leauge p r hour; at 10 this night the Wind more moderate but a heavey swell; at 2 P M the Wind howling to the S W we wore and hoist the mainsail; about half an hour afterwards the wind kept hauling untill it cam to the North a fresh breeze but the swell being so heavy from the S W we made littel way untill day light then we lett the reef out of the mainsail & sett the square

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sail & Topsail; at 10 A M saw the littel point of Sabel 5 Leauges a head we then steered S E B S 7 miles p r hour.

Nothing more this 24 hours. Cloudy weather.

Remarks on Sunday 31 st October 1779—At 12 this day I observed the Merr. alt and found the Latt 43.49. We was then abrest of the little point of Sab b about 2 miles distance a fresh gale from the N B E I supposed we was going about 7 or 8 miles pr hour.

At 3 P M past the river Blanch the wind N B W; at 5 this afternoon cam too a brest of the river Mishegon in 4 fath m Watter half a mile from the shoar we imeaditly hoist out the Boat & sent M r Gautly with the 2 french men on shoar. I ordered him to fetch the negro on Board & also any indean that might be there; at 5 this night M r Gautly cam on Board with the negro & 3 indeans; on of the indeans being a chife at Albacroixs [L'Arbre Croche] nam d Lafie du fableu, they give us a present of what venisson they had in return for which we give them two bottels of rum and a pice of Tobacco with a pice of Bread & pork for which they thank'd us & seemed pleased. M r Gautly told them governor Sinclairs orders at which they give their not [note] of aprobation; he Likewise delivered some strings of wampum with & 2 glls kegg of rum & a carrot of Tobacco to Black Piter which promised faithfully to deliver it to the grand sabra, and also the governors message their with; I then inquired concerning the negros with the littele vessel; he told me that they passed there 15 or 20 days ago on their way to Mitchlimackna with M r Durors on board & 70 of his Saks & also 150 bags 208 he did not know for When he told me that there was 150 or 160 bags of corn belonging to Pollitt Chaboly 20 Leauges up the grand River but suposed the man who was taking care of it had no canes to send it down the river; he also told me that there was 200 bags of corn there in cack [cache] belonging to M r Legons who fitted him out with goods last year but as he had sent him no men nor cane this fall as he expected it must remain there this winter as the indeans in whose possession it was had all left that place for their wintering ground. I enquired if he heard any news of the Rebels; he told me that there was not any news of them upon which I determined to go in the grand River & doo

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my indeavour to get that corn of Chaboleys; the remainder of this night a fresh breeze from the N. N. E Cloudy weather. At day light this morning we weigh'd anchor & stood for the grand River S S E a wind from the East; at 10 A M we cam in the river about 2 cabbell lengths & moored her with the anchor on the shear the Bank being steep too so that we stept from the vessels gunwale on the shoar; the narrowest part of the river at the entrance is about 70 or 80 yards wide 3 & 4 fathoms deep, upon the bare is 2 fathoms. I imeadetlay sent M r Gautly with 3 hands in the boat up 4 Leaues to the first indean village in purpose to see if it was possible to get canos to fetch down the corn.

Nothing more this 24 hours.

Remarks on Monday 1 st September 1779—At 12 this day a fresh Breeze from the N. W. At 12 this night M r Gautly returned but saw no indeans although he was 6 leauges up the River, therefore saw it was truth which the indeans at Mishigon had told us that they had all left the Lake side upon account of some distemper of which a great many had died; the negro at the River Mishigon also told me that, none of the tradders had yett passd for the grand River nor the Kikanamago [Kalamazoo].

I therefore determined to gett out of the river as soon as possible the season looking like winter with showers of snow and squals of wind from the N W.

209

At 8 A M the wind hauling to the N N W we imeadetly got underway and got safe out. We kept her along shoar for the Pikanamaso, as M r Gaulty told me that he expected M r D. Moghill would be at the entry to whom he would give the strings of Wampum and keg of rum to Deliver to the Ottawas; at 11 this day we cam a Breast of the Kikanamass we hauld down the Main sail and Lay too with the jibb, and fired a swivell; in the span of half an hour we fixed 3 swivels but saw no sign of any smoak or any person on the shoar although we was not above a quarter of a mile from the rivers Mouth. I waited about an hour; Closs reefd the Main saile; as the wind kept hauling off the Lake & freshening up I thought it

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would be imprudent to make any delay as there was no certainty of finding any person contiguous to the Lake at that place, besides it was impossible for us to send on shoar it Blowing a gale of wind.

Nothing more this 24 hours.

Remarks Tuesday 2 d November 1779—At 12 this day the wind W N W a strong gale with showers of hail; we steered about S S W intending to call at the river a Chemame.

At 4 P M the wind houlng to the west we could not lay to the windward of S t Josephs River; we wore & stood closs upon a wind N N W a verrey strong gale & hazey; we was obliged to carry sail to keep her clear of the Lee shoar; at 12 this night the wind hauling to the N W we wore & stood back S W B W, the wind inclining to the N W. At 4 A M I suppose we was about 3 leagues from the shoar I still kept her upon that Take as the wind did not abate & I saw no appearance of our calling at the River a Chamain; at day light it began to snow and kept continuall squals with thick weather the remainder of the 24 hours.

Remarks on Wednesday 3 November 1779—At 12 this day the wind more moderate but freezing hard. I still kept close upon the wind & steared W N W; at 2 P M we saw the land ahead. At sun sett we was about 4 miles from the 14 210 shoar which suposed to be the pitet fort; the wind hauling to the N E & East I kept her along the shoar about North—at 8 this night the wind howling to the S E I steered N. N. E.

At 12 this night we handed the main sail & lay too so that we might not over run our distance; at day light we sett the main sail & stood in shoar we just fetched in to Millwakey Bay; at 8 A M a retry strong gale; we cam too in 4 fathoms watter; hoist out the Boat; sent M r Gautley & 4 hands on shoer with difficulty. Nothing more this 24 hours.

Remarks on Thursday 4 Nov. 1779—At 12 this day hard squals of wind from S W and hazey weather; at 2 this afternoon M r Gautly returned with 3 indeans and a french man who lives at Millwakey, nam d Morong nephew to Monsier S t Pier; one of the indeans,

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a war chef named Lodegand. M r Gautley gives them a present 3 bottles of Rum & half carrot of Tobacco, and also told them the manner governor Sinclair could wish them to Behave, at which they seemd weall satisfeyed, he also gave give instructions to Monsieur St Pier to deliver some strings of Wampun and a little Keg of rum to the following & a carrot of Tobacco in governor Sinclairs name; likewise the manour how to behave; he also gave another small Kegg with some strings of Wampum with a carrot of Tobacco to Deliver the indeans at Millwakey which is a mixed Tribe of different nations. M r Gaulty also give some strings of Wampum with carrot of Tobacco to MonsieUr St Pier to deliver to a chile named Chamboleé who lives closs by Saganac [Sigenauk] to atempt to fetch him in either by fair or forc'd method for which he would be weall rewarded. Monsieur St Pier also told us that Saganac had received a Belt from the Rebels desiring him to doo his Endeavour to keep all the other indeans from going to ware upon either side, but Chambolee said that they had deceived him to often by telling him that their ancient father the french was going to send people to live & trade amongst them, but he would now no longer believe them, & that he would go this spring and fetch a prissoner or scaulp from some of Langton' [Linctot's] men & make peace with his 211 father the English at Mishlimakna; the Indeans also told us that they had but a very poor crop this year & that they understood that their father suffred no merchandise to come there this winter; they had hid away all their corn for this winter but would fetch it to Michilmakna and trade it in the spring without they had goods sent them; they also told us that they had sent for Monsieur Fay which is at a place called the Deux Rivers [Two Rivers] 18 Leauges from Millwakey to the north; he has 2 Canos of goods from the commetee, but he said it was against his orders to go amongst them, or they suposd so as no trader had ever wintered at that place. Before Monsieur St Pier said that he believed there might be between 200 & 300 bags of corn to trade there in the spring he said that he raised between 40 & 50 bags for his owen use which was all that him & his 2 men had to live upon this winter; he also said that the in deans owed him about 80 or 100 bags & that they waited untill such time as he had merchandize & then they would pay their old debts and take new; he made interest with M r Gautley for a kegg of Rum for which he give 15 bags of corn which

Library of Congress

I received on board for government; the keg of Rum was sent on board to be delivered to the indeans of the grand River, but we could meet with none there; at 4 this afternoon I despatched the 3 indeans with M r Morny give them 3 pieces of pork & some peas for which they were thankfull & went on shore. We imeadtly weighed anchor and sett sail for Mitchilimakina, a fresh breeze from the S S W and hezey I steard N. N E a course which I supposed would fetch the Manatoo Islands.

Remarks on Fraday 5 November 1779—At 12 this day saw the island of Manatoo about 2 leaugs ahead the wind hauling to the N. W and squally handed the square Sail Topsail at sun down we cam too anchor under the lee of the Northmost these islands it looking verry blak to North I did not think it prudent to proceed further, for there is severall shoalds off from Wabashans point which would be impossible to avoid in a dark night. at 12 this night the wind more moderate we weighed anchor and kept under Easey sail all this night.

212

At sun rise we saw the point 3 Leagues ahead about N E B E we made sail and past the point at half past nine this morning.

Indorsed: "Remarks by Sam l Robertson Pilote on Board the Felicity Sloop on Lak Michigan."

THOMPSON MAXWELL'S NARRATIVE—1760–1763.1

1 Thompson Maxwell was the son of Hugh, who came from Ireland in 1732 and settled at Bedford, Mass., where he lived until his death, at the age of sixty years, March 19, 1759. Thompson's mother died in January, 1769, aged eighty-one years, leaving a family of five sons and two daughters. Thompson was the youngest, being born Sept. 11, 1742. He served as a volunteer, under Capt. Nehemiah Lovewell, of Dunstable, N. H., in the campaign against the French and Indians, in 1757, helping scour the country between Concord, N. H., and Fitchburg, Mass. He also served under Lovewell in the campaign of 1758, his company being attached to Robert Rogers's rangers. He continued as one of

Library of Congress

Rogers's corps, through the campaigns of 1759 and 1760, and was present at the fall of Montreal, September 8th of the latter year. Four days after the capitulation, Rogers was ordered by Gen. Sir Jeffrey Amherst "to ascend the lakes with a detachment of rangers, and take possession, in the name of his Britannic Majesty, of Detroit, Michilimackinac, and other western posts included in the capitulation."—(Parkman's *Pontiac*, 6th ed., i., p. 164 et seq.) Maxwell re-enlisted for the war, and accompanied the rangers to the Northwest, in Captain Brewer's company. He arrived at Michilimackinac in October, 1761. In May, 1762, he went upon the first voyage ever made through Lake Superior under the English flag, being one of a military escort sent with a party of traders to the Grand Portage, at the west end of the lake;—see *ante*, p. 123, note 4. In September, 1762, Maxwell went to Detroit. In the spring of 1763, he was on an expedition through Lake Michigan, to Chicago; and afterwards, in the same year, was one of a party sent to reconnoiter a course by land from Detroit to Chicago. He remained at Detroit until the close of the Pontiac war, being one of the participants in Dalzell's fight at Bloody Run. Maxwell was discharged in October, 1763, after six years' hard service, although he was but twenty-one years of age. He married Sibyl Wyman, five years his senior, and she left him, after thirty-eight years of happy union, four sons and a daughter. Maxwell was engaged in teaming between Amherst and Boston. At the request of John Hancock, at whose warehouse he was loading his wagon, Dec. 16, 1773, he joined the celebrated Boston tea party. He says in his narrative, concerning this event: "We mounted the ships and made tea in trice; this done, I took my team & went home as an honest man should." In April, 1775, he was again in Boston with his team, and went out to Bedford to join the minute men. He fought at Concord and Bunker Hill, as lieutenant, and was in Gates's army till the spring of 1778, when he reresigned, being vexed at not receiving promotion. Raising a company of volunteer rangers, he operated along the Mohawk and the upper Susquehanna, and in 1779 united his band with Sullivan's army. Upon the conclusion of Sullivan's famous campaign, Maxwell returned home to Buckland, Mass., when he was chosen to represent his town in the state constitutional convention at Cambridge, taking his seat Oct. 28, 1779. He was a militia captain in the Shay rebellion of 1787, and

Library of Congress

afterwards a delegate to the state convention which accepted the federal constitution. He also served in the Massachusetts legislature of 1796, taking stand in favor of Jay's treaty. In 1800, he removed to Butler county, Ohio, and in 1812 did valiant service at the head of a party of scouts, in piloting Hull's army through to Detroit. After serving as a captain at the desperate battle of Brownstown, with great honor, he was taken prisoner at Detroit, with Hull; and when he returned to his home in October his house was mobbed and burnt, it having been falsely reported that he had favored Hull's surrender. But Lewis Cass and others hastened to befriend the old ranger; and General Miller referred with enthusiasm to the gallant services rendered his country by "Old Major Maxwell." In 1818, Major Maxwell, then seventy-six years of age, made a horseback tour from Detroit,—then his home,—to New England and back, for the sole purpose of revisiting the scenes of his early exploits. He died about 1830, aged some eighty-eight years, and reported to have fought in twenty-two desperate battles. In 1818, a fragmentary narrative of his stirring career was taken down at his dictation by his friend, Gen. James Miller, aided by Lieut. John S. Allanson. This fragment was published in 1865, in the *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, vii., pp. 95–116, where its existence is not generally known, nor is it readily accessible. We republish such portion of the narrative as refers to Major Maxwell's experiences in the Northwest,—between the time he re-enlisted under Rogers, in the fall of 1760, to go to the Western ports, and the close of the Pontiac war in 1763, when he retired, for a time, to private life.— Ed.

* * * * *

Three companies of Rangers were ordered to be enlisted for the war. I joined again [fall of 1760] with Capt. Brewer. Capts. Stark & M'Millan formed our corps, of about 150 men. We were then joined by 800 Regulars under Maj. [Henry] Gladwin, & ordered to march up the River & Lakes 214 to Detroit. Detroit, Mackinaw and all the Canadas, in fact, were surrendered to the British arms by the capitulation of Montreal. The River shut up and we were obliged to wait, about twenty miles above Montreal, for the winter. In the Spring we moved on & did not arrive at Detroit until about 215 Sept. '61. A party of us, (about

Library of Congress

250) were at once ordered to Michilimackinaw, where we arrived, the last of October, & wintered there quietly.

In the latter part of May, 1762, we crossed Lake Superior, to the Grand Portage, at the northwest corner of the Lake, guarding, as we went, the goods of the Northwest Company. There we unloaded & rested a few days and returned to Mackinaw again some time in August. After a few days rest the Rangers returned to Detroit, reaching there the last of Septr. & encamped for the winter.

Next spring, '63, we were ordered to guard a Commissioner & a quantity of goods to Chicago, head of Lake Michigan. We went & returned. Nothing material happened. Now we supposed the war was at an end, and applied to Major Gladwin for our discharge, but he refused it, not having heard that the treaty had been ratified, and ordered us to remain. He ordered us to reconnoitre the country by the Rivers Rouge & Huron, to try to find a course by land to Chicago. We found the Indians cross, discontented, sullen. They would sell us no meat; they offered us no violence, nor we to them. We returned without discoveries & reported to the Commanding officer. He had got notice of a large party of Indians descending Lake Huron on their way to Detroit, but he knew nothing of their views. The Garrison was put in the best possible order of defence, and scouting parties kept out for a number of days, until we discovered them coming down Lake St. Clare in large numbers. They fell down the Detroit River and landed a little above the town. Then Pontiac, their chief, advanced with a flag to the gate, and stated that Pontiac of the West had come to make a treaty with his New Father, and wished to see the Comg. Officer. This was in August, '63. Major Gladwin informed him he would hold a treaty with him in about ten days, & that thirty six of his chiefs would be admitted to the council within the garrison & no more. That until that time not more than two or three Indians would be admitted into the Fort at a time, and they must be out at night. The night before the council were to meet, Major Gladwin got information from a friendly squaw, that the Indians intended to massacre the whole garrison whenever they got in. The Major ordered all under arms. We lay on our arms all night. Early in the morning we were formed in two lines from the

Library of Congress

gate of the Fort to the Council House. About nine in the morning, Pontiac with his thirty six Chiefs marched in through the lines.—He demanded that the troops be dismissed to their barracks. This was refused. The Major accused him of treachery and, upon examination, found everything as the squaw had told him. They were all armed, having cut off the barrels of their muskets, to conceal them under their blankets. Pontiac, with coolness, told the Majr. that he had come in by authority & under the protection of the Commanding Officer, & he demanded to be let out of the Garrison, with his chiefs. Majr. Gladwin let them go, and in five minutes after they got out, they commenced an attack upon us & kept up a severe fire for two days & nights. By means of cartloads of combustibles they set our pickets on fire several times.

Pontiac found out that we were short of provisions & ammunitions, & that there was a vessel, coming to relieve us, wind-bound about nine miles off at a place called Fighting Island. He determined to take it, & went down with a party in birch canoes, attacked & boarded her. Fortunately there was a man on board who, having been taken prisoner by the Indians, had acquired a knowledge of their language. Some of the hands cried out, "Blow her up!" This he communicated to Pontiac's party. They all left her & were off in their canoes in an instant. The wind soon came fair and the vessel got safe up under the guns of the Fort in less than two hours. The ammunition was landed and we were served with as much as we wanted. This put an end to our desperate situation. Pontiac now moved off.

The next day a foolish banter was got up, betwixt the British & Provincial officers, as to which corps would fight the best. Capt. D'E *** of the British Regulars said that the Provincial or Colonial Rangers could not cope with the Regulars in fighting the Indians. Capt. Stark said they could, and with much difficulty they prevailed upon Major Gladwin to let them march out about three miles and try 217 their skill with the Indians. This was the latter part of August. About 400 British went out & 150 Rangers, I among the number. We had gone about two miles & a half, when, in crossing a creek by a bridge, in some low, marshy ground above Detroit, we were completely ambushed. The slaughter was awful. The Indians fell on us like bloodhounds. At the first fire D'E*** and most of the

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British officers fell. We then clubbed our muskets & fought against the tomahawks. We retreated as fast as possible, but the Indians got between us and our Fort. Some of us broke through their lines and reached the Fort. Of all that went out, but about 70 Rangers and 150 British ever returned to Detroit. This Creek has ever since gone by the name of Bloody Bridge. On the bridge fell many British officers.

We had left about two hundred troops at Michilimackinac & were ignorant of their fate until after Pontiac attacked us. We then learned their sad story. Pontiac came with his warriors, very good naturedly, to the Fort at Michi. and was refused entrance.¹ He then commenced a game of ball, near the Fort, very good-naturedly. Bye & bye the ball was knocked into the fort, as if by accident, and the soldiers threw it out. It was knocked in again & again, until an Indian was allowed to go in after it. Soon two went & when the Indians found the officers and soldiers a little off their guard, they all rushed into the gate & murdered every one in the Fort.

¹ The narrator is at fault. Pontiac was not personally engaged in the massacre at Michilimackinac.— Ed.

We lay at Detroit without interruption until the end of the war & were discharged some time in October. Thus ended my six years service.

NARRATIVE OF ANDREW J. VIEAU, SR.

IN AN INTERVIEW WITH THE EDITOR.¹

¹ Upon the 13th and 14th of June, 1887, the editor, while at Fort Howard, obtained from the lips of Andrew Jacques Vieau, Sr., this narrative of his recollections of early times in Wisconsin. The arrangement and language are largely the editor's, but the statements are strictly those of Mr. Vieau, who, though in the seventieth year of his age, appeared at the time of the interview to be in full possession of his faculties, mental and physical, and enjoying the complete confidence of his friends and neighbors. Unfortunately, his father,

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Jacques Vieau, left the son no documents, so that statements by the latter concerning Jacques are based on oral family tradition; but as to their truth he is most positive, claiming to have a distinct remembrance of what was told him by his parents, who spent the later years of their life in his neighborhood. It will be seen that Mr. Vieau narrates many interesting events in his own career, which are not mentioned in any of the published histories of the lake-shore counties. Because of this, the editor has been at much pains to ascertain the soundness of the narrator's memory, and is pleased to say that in cases where he has been enabled to gain outside evidence, direct or presumptive, on the point at issue, it has been invariably in Mr. Vieau's favor; while a large number of MS. letters addressed to the latter by John Lawe, Solomon Juneau and others, together with commissions and miscellaneous documents, presented to the Society by Mr. Vieau, in November, 1887, are also corroborative of his statements. An oil portrait of the narrator, painted in Milwaukee, in 1839, by Geo. P. A. Healey, can be seen in the Society's portrait gallery.— Ed.

My father was Jacques Vieau, the first man to engage in the Indian trade on the ground now occupied by the city of Milwaukee.² The family name was originally De Veau; but as that meant calf or veal, other children would annoy my ancestors in their youth, by bleating in their presence; so the name was changed to Vieau in self-defense. My

² An error. There were, off and on, several traders at the mouth of the Milwaukee river previous to the arrival of Jacques Vieau: chief among them, Alexander la Framboise, who commenced his trade in 1785. See Buck's *Pioneer Hist. Milwaukee*, i., p. 10; *Hist. Milwaukee Co.* (West. Hist. Co., 1881), p. 56; Back's *Milwaukee Under the Charter*, iii., appendix; *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, i., pp. 35, 134; *Mag. West. Hist.*, pp. 639, 757; also *ante*, p. 210, where traders are mentioned as being at Milwaukee in 1779.— Ed.

²¹⁹ father's paternal grandfather was somehow mixed up with the Huguenots and came to New Franco during the oppression of those people in the old country. I do not think he was a Huguenot himself, however. I have heard that my father's great-uncle was governor of Marseilles at that time. Father, who was a full blooded Frenchman, was born in lower

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Canada,—in Cour de Neige (or Snow-Court) in the suburbs of Montreal, May 5, 1757; and died on private land claim No. 14 (west side of Fox river) at Fort Howard, in what is now the town of Ashwaubenou, July 1, 1852. His remains lie buried in the French Catholic cemetery at Shanty Town.

My mother was married to my father in 1786, at Green Bay. Her name was Angeline, daughter of Joseph le Roy, then a trader at the Bay. She was the niece of Onaugesa, a Pottawattomie chief, her mother's brother.¹ Their children, in order of birth, were as follows: Madeleine,² Josette,³ Paul,⁴ Jacques,⁵ Louis,⁶ Joseph,⁷ Amable,⁸ Charles,⁹ Andrew

¹ Augustin Grignon says (*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii., pp. 290, 291) that Onaugesa was a Menomonee, with a Pottawattomie wife, and a brother of Mrs. Joseph le Roy. His village was at Milwaukee.— Ed.

² Died at Stevens Point in 1878, as Mrs. Thibeau, aged 78.— Ed.

³ Josette, the wife of Solomon Juneau, was Vieau's daughter by another consort, the narrator afterwards informed me, but was reared in the Vieau family on an equal footing with the others.— Ed.

⁴ Died in Kansas in 1865.— Ed.

⁵ Kept the Cottage inn in Milwaukee for several years, commencing in 1835; died in Kansas in 1875; his one child, a daughter, became the wife of Indian Agent George L. Young, in that state. Many writers on Milwaukee history confound Jacques Vieau, Jr., the keeper of the Cottage (or Triangle) inn, with his father. Few pioneers who arrived in Milwaukee subsequent to 1835 ever knew the elder Jacques, the trader of 1795, who retired to Green Bay in 1836, at the age of 74 years, and was never thereafter in active life. His son, of the same name, commenced business in Milwaukee at about the time the

Library of Congress

old man retired; hence, the confusion of pioneer reminiscences relative to the two Jacques is not strange.— Ed.

6 Afterwards became chief of the Pottawattomies in Kansas, and died there in 1876, leaving a large estate in lands, cattle and money.— Ed.

7 Died near Green Bay, in 1879, aged 75 years, leaving seven children.— Ed.

8 Became noted among the fur-traders of the Milwaukee district; died October 31, 1887, at his home in Muskego, Waukesha county; at the time of his death, he was reported in the newspapers to be 97 years of age, nearly twenty years older than he was.— Ed.

9 Died in Kansas in 1876.— Ed.

220 (myself), Nicholas,¹ Peter² and Mary,—a round dozen in all. Mother died at the home of my brother Joseph, in the town of Lawrence, Brown county, January 7, 1862, aged about 105 years.³

1 Born in Milwaukee, “just opposite the present stock-yards,” in 1826.— Ed.

2 Born on the same spot, January 10, 1830.— Ed.

3 Cf. statements of Amable Vieau, in *Hist. Milw. Co.*, pp. 70–73. In regard to the statement in that work (p. 71), that the wife of Jacques Vieau, Sr., was “the daughter of a sister to a Pottawattomie chief,” the narrator writes me, under date of Fort Howard, October 27, 1887: “As I told you when here, my father married the daughter of Joseph le Roy, not the daughter of an Indian chief; but my grandfather Le Roy married the daughter of an Indian chief, as I have always understood—Akeeneebaway (Standing Earth). That is what my grandmother Le Roy and my mother always told me.” A Menomonee therein named Ahkenepaweh (Earth Standing) signed the Stambaugh treaty of February 8, 1831.— Ed.

Library of Congress

My father first went to Mackinaw, from Montreal, as a voyageur for the Northwest Fur company, in 1793,⁴ when he was 42 years of age. His first trip in that capacity was to La Pointe, in Chequamegon bay, Lake Superior. In 1794, he returned to La Pointe, but this time as a clerk for the company. In 1795, he was appointed as one of the company's agents, being sent out with a supply of goods to explore and establish posts on the west shore of Lake Michigan. The goods were contained in a large Mackinaw boat, heavily loaded and manned by twelve men. He, with his family, —consisting, then, of mother, Madeleine, Paul and Jacques,—followed in a large bark canoe, in which was also stored the camping equipage. My father's clerk, on that trip, was Mike le Pettéel.

⁴ *Hist. Milw. Co.* says (p. 71) he went there as early as 1776, which is more likely. — Ed.

The expedition started from Mackinaw in July. The first important camping place, furnishing a good harbor, was where Kewaunee is now situated. My father, I am told, established a “jack-knife” post near there, to open the trade, and left a man in charge of it. Father was called Jean Beau by the Indians,⁵ and the creek upon which his post

⁵ He was commonly styled Jean Vieau, by his English and American acquaintances.— Ed.

221 was situated was called Jean Beau creek by the Ottawas. Several Ottawas and Chippewas have told me that he established such a post there, and have described the location to me, as being on the north side of the creek, which is a tributary of the North [East] Twin river, and about nine miles from Lake Michigan.¹ He established a post, as well, at Sheboygan, at which he also left a Clerk. This place was at the foot of the rapids, on the north side, and has been pointed out to me by Ottawa and Chippewa Indians. He also located a post, with a clerk, at Manitowoc, very near the rapids; and perhaps at other points along the lake shore, but I cannot recollect any details concerning them, if I ever was informed.

¹ I am informed by George Grimmer, of Kewaunee, that Henry Tisch, of that place, and formerly of Mishicott, Manitowoc county, “has an old map of Manitowoc county, in

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which Jambeau creek is laid down as entering the East Twin river from the northwest, in section 25, town 21, range 23 east." This is the same creek laid down in Snyder, Van Vechten & Co.'s map of Manitowoc county (1878), and Nicodemus & Conover's wall-map of Wisconsin (1878), as Mauvais creek. Mr. Tisch informs Mr. Grimmer that there is "an old tradition that there was an old Indian trading post on section 28, town 21, range 23 east." Both the mouth of Mauvais creek and the traditional site of the trading post are in the town of Gibson, one of the northern tier of Manitowoc-county towns. The probability is that Vieau's post was in section 27 instead of 28. The distance from Lake Michigan to that point, in a direct line, west by south, from Two Creeks, is nine miles, as Mr. Vieau says; but from Kewaunee harbor it is some sixteen or eighteen miles overland to the southwest. Two Creeks was doubtless the supply harbor for the "jack-knife" establishment.— Ed.

My father's expedition arrived at Milwaukee on either the 18th or 20th of August. He met at the mouth of the river a large number of Pottawattomies, but mingling freely with them were Sacs and Foxes, and a few Winnebagoes who had married into the other three tribes. The Indians told my father that he was the first white man whom they had seen there, and he was Warmly welcomed. He had a good stock of goods, and French traders were always particularly well received at the outposts of civilization, in those days. He erected two log buildings, one for a dwelling and the other for a warehouse, a mile and a half up the Menomonee river, on the south side, at the foot of the lime ridge. During the late 222 civil war, the site of this building was owned by James W. Larkin.¹ I was in Milwaukee during that period, and the places where the store and dwelling had stood were plainly visible, from the remains of banks of earth which had surrounded them.²

¹ Wheeler's *Chronicles of Milwaukee* (1861), p. 23.— Ed.

² It will be noticed that nowhere does the narrator mention Jean Baptiste Mirandeu, who is reported in all existing histories of Milwaukee to have been in Jacques Vieau's company. In answer to later questions relative to his recollections of Mirandeu, I have letters from A. J. Vieau, dated October 27 and 29, 1887, in which he says in substance: "I never heard

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my father say that Jean B. Mirandean went to Milwaukee in his company. I never heard him say what time Mirandean arrived there. I am of the opinion that Mirandean came after my father, but not long after. He was never in any sort of partnership with my father. I have heard my father and mother and older brothers all say that Mirandean carried on blacksmithing and did father's work, whenever engaged to do it, like any other mechanic; he was, from my father's account of him, a very good man, but had one bad fault—he drank whisky, and that was the cause of his death. Mirandean married a Pottawattomie squaw [Cf. *Hist. Milw. Co.*, p. 66], with whom he lived till his death in the spring of 1819. After his death, she and her children went to live among the Pottawattomies again—except Victoria, who was raised by the Kinzies, in Chicago, and in 1822 married a Canadian named Joseph Perthier. Mrs. Porthier is still living in the town of Lake, near Milwaukee. I think nearly all Mirandean's sons and daughters married Indians. Louis was alive fifteen years ago, near Grand Rapids, Wis. I haven't heard of him since. Several of the others went with the Pottawattomies to Kansas, in 1837. Mirandean was buried on the slope of the hill, on what is now the northeast corner of Main and Michigan streets. When, in 1837 or 1838, Michigan street was being graded, Solomon Juneau told the workmen to take care of Mirandean's bones, their resting place being marked by a wooden cross. I was standing near the grave, with others, when the blacksmith's skull came tumbling down the bank, the place having been opened with a pick. The greater part of the hair was still attached to the skull, and some one remarked that the reason for this was that Mirandean had drunk so much poor whisky that he had become sort of pickled. I do not know how much truth there was in this remark. The rest of the bones came down almost immediately after, and all the remains were picked up by Juneau's orders, put in a box and placed in the regular cemetery. Mirandean was, as I understand, a tallish, thinnish man; he had a blonde complexion and his hair was very light."

In Buck's *Milwaukee Under the Charter*, iii., pp. 477, 479, 480, are interesting statements regarding Mirandean and his wife, from their children, Victoria and Josette.— Ed.

My father remained at his post during the winter of 1795–96; and, indeed, every winter thereafter for two or three years. Several members of our family were born there,—Joseph, Louis, Amable, Charles, Nicholas and Peter. Each spring, after packing up the winter's peltries and buying all the maple sugar obtainable from the Indians,¹ father would start out with his family and goods on his return to Mackinaw, after leaving a clerk in charge of the post, to superintend the planting of potatoes and corn and the purchase of what were called “summer” furs. These were the “red skin,” or summer skin, of the deer; this was the only summer fur that was good for anything, for all other animals shed their hair during that season. Upon his return down the lake, father would stop at his various jack-knife posts and collect their furs and maple sugar, and often relieve the men stationed there, by substituting others for them. This trip to Mackinaw would, with fair weather, take about a month. He would set out on his return, in August, distributing goods to the lake-shore posts, and stay at Milwaukee until May again. Thus, he did not abandon any of his posts; he was not doing a roving business, but was in possession of the establishments the entire time.

¹ For account of sugar-making among Indians, see Schoolcraft's *Hist. etc., Indian Tribes of U. S.*, ii., p. 55.— Ed.

Still in general charge of the lake-shore posts, but not personally supplying them, he was ordered to the Fox-Wisconsin portage in 1797 or 1798, and thither he went with his family, remaining there in the fur company's behalf for two or three seasons.² Then he returned to Milwaukee and resumed his former mode of life there,—going to either Mackinaw

² I do not find elsewhere any reference to Jacques Vieau being stationed at the Fox-Wisconsin portage, but the narrator is positive on this score. From 1812 to 1818, approximately. Francis le Roy, the elder Vieau's brother-in-law, had a transportation plant there. It will be seen from Antoine le Clair's statement, post, that the Le Clairs arrived at Milwaukee river in 1800 and found no white man there, except Mirandeau, the blacksmith.

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The Vieaus were doubtless at the Portage, at the time. The narrator does not know when his family returned to Milwaukee, but it was doubtless not earlier than 1802. — Ed.

224 or Green Bay, each spring, with long-shore goods and returning in the fall.¹ His clerk, during this period of his career, was one La Jeunesse. In 1818, while at Mackinaw, the company detailed Laurent Solomon Juneau as my father's clerk; and thus it was that Juneau, then 21 years of age, arrived at the Milwaukee river in August of that year, in my father's company. The next year, father withdrew as agent of what had by that time become the American Fur company, and procured the agency for Juneau, who had in the meantime married my half-sister Josette.

¹ See Lawe and Grignon papers, *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x., and letters of Dickson and others, *post*, for references to Vieau's services in behalf of the British, during the war of 1812–15. He is therein styled *Jean Vieau*.— Ed.

My father had, for many years before this, considered Green Bay his home. He had a farm there and I and several other members of the family were born upon the home-stead, which was private land claim No. 14 on the west bank of the Fox river. Juneau's home also became Green Bay, and remained such until about 1834 or 1835, when Milwaukee began to grow and Juneau platted the village and settled there permanently. Juneau was one of the last to recognize that Milwaukee was destined to become a permanent settlement, and had to be persuaded by his friends into taking advantage of the fact. Green Bay remained as his home and that of my father, despite their business interests at Milwaukee. From about 1810, forward, the family would frequently remain at the Bay during the winters, while father was off among the Indians.

After disposing of his interests to Juneau, in 1819, my father was equipped by Michael Dousman, of Chicago, and for several years traded at his old post on the Menomonee river, near the bluff.² He was an active man, very prompt

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2 In *Amer. State Papers*, vi. (*Indian Affairs*, ii.), pp. 360, 361, there is an extract from a letter by Matthew Irwin, U. S. factor at Green Bay, to Thomas L. McKenney, superintendent of Indian trade, as follows: "October 6, 1821.— Mr. Kinzie, son to the Indian sub-agent at Chicago, and *agent for the American Fur Company*, has been detected in selling large quantities of whisky to the Indians, at or near Milwaukie of Lake Michigan; in consequence of which, the Indian agent at Chicago directed him to close his concerns at Milwaukie in sixty days, and then leave the place. Some Indians from that place represented to me that they would be badly off for a trader, should Mr. Kinzie leave them; in consequence of which, I engaged Mr. Vieau, a citizen of the United States, and a professed Indian trader, to repair there for the purpose of supplying the wants of the Indians. I have supplied him with \$2,228.25 worth of goods, and have agreed to allow him \$200 from the time of his departure till his return next spring, with an allowance of some coarse clothing and subsistence. Two boat-men and two boys will receive, altogether, \$200, with some coarse clothing and subsistence. Mr. Vieau is well known here for his integrity, and possesses property enough here to cover the whole amount with which I have entrusted him."— Ed.

225 and precise in his business dealings and sociable in his manner, so that he commanded much influence with the Pottawattomies. In the winter of 1832–33, the small-pox scourge ran through the Indian population of the state. Father and his crew were busy throughout the winter in burying the natives, who died off like sheep with the foot-rot. With a crooked stick inserted under a dead Indian's chin they would haul the infected corpse into a shallow pit dug for its reception and give it a hasty burial. In this work, and in assisting the poor wretches who survived, my father lost much time and money; while of course none of the Indians who lived over, were capable of paying their debts to the traders. This winter ruined my father almost completely; and in 1836, aged 74 years, he removed to his homestead in Green Bay, where his father-in law, Joseph le Roy, still lived.

I was born in Green Bay in 1818, on the west shore of the Fox river, on private claim No. 14,— in the present town of Ashwaubenon. I went to the French school kept by John B.

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Jacobs¹ about the year 1826 or 1827. Mr. Jacobs having abandoned the undertaking a year or two after, J. B. Dupré, originally of Detroit, and a soldier discharged from the first troops that came here under Col. John Miller in 1816, became 15

1 Mr. Jacobs settled in Green Bay about the year 1800. An Englishman by birth, he originally had large landed possessions in Canada, but appears to have lost them through the trickery of a brother. On arrival at Green Bay, he attempted to retrieve his fortunes in the fur trade. He married Miss Marinette Chevallier. He returned to Canada about 1827, and sought to regain his property, but without success, and died there in 1850.— Ed.

226 his successor. Dupré's French school was on claim No. 10, on the west side. After some time with Dupré, I was instructed at home by my father's old clerk, Pettéel. My next teacher was Captain Dinwiddie, who taught on the east side of the river, at the foot of Judge Morgan L. Martin's present garden. Gen. Albert G. Ellis then instructed me for a year or two; he kept his school on the south side of Astor, on the Louis Grignon claim. Father Fauvel was also my teacher for a time, his chapel and school being within four or five rods east of where the Green Bay water-works pumping station now is. Rev. R. F. Cadle, the Episcopalian missionary, came in 1830; he was a very fine gentleman, and I went to his excellent mission school in company with my brothers, Nicholas and Peter.

There I remained until 1832, when I went to clerk for R. and A. J. Irwin, at their general store and postoffice in Shanty Town. Robert Irwin was the postmaster and I served as his deputy. This was during the Black Hawk war, and I well remember the soldiers coming down the Fox river with Black Hawk in 1833, on his tour to the east. The Irwins failed in 1834, and I went on to Milwaukee to clerk for my brother-in-law, Solomon Juneau, who was agent for the American Fur company. There was nobody there at the time, except the Juneau family,¹ which was established at what is now the junction of Wisconsin street and East Water street,—the warehouse being on the northeast corner and the log dwelling on the northwest. Juneau's family then consisted of his wife, Narcisse, Thérèse, Paul, Harriet

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and Frank. Eugène was born afterward. Juneau was doing a fine business in those days. I think that the company allowed him one-half the profits as a commission.

1 The narrator is at fault here. He has in view impressions gained some years previous. Albert Fowler arrived Nov. 12, 1883; and when Horace Chase arrived, thirteen months later, he found four settlers, in addition to the Juneaus.—Buck's *Pion. Hist. Milw.*, i., pp. 12–15. and map, p. 20; also read *Id.*, chap. iv., for a detailed topographical description of Milwaukee, as it appeared in 1836.— Ed.

The Indians were principally Pottawattomies. Those who were at what came afterwards to be called Walker's point, on the south shore of Milwaukee river, were considerably 227 intermixed with Sacs and Winnebagoes. They were lazy fellows, as a rule, and preferred to hunt and fish all summer long, to cultivating corn. They were noted players of the moccasin game and lacrosse,¹ were heavy gamblers and given to debauchery. In the winter time, these fellows scattered through the woods, divided into small hunting parties, and often Walker's point was practically deserted. But in the summer, there was a large settlement here, the bark wigwams housing from a thousand to twelve hundred Indians of all ages and conditions. On the old Juneau marsh,—where are now Water, Main, Milwaukee, Jefferson and Jackson streets,—Indian ponies would graze in great droves in the earlier years, I am told, it being then a quite dry meadow; but as far back as I can remember it, say 1823, it was flooded, and the home of countless water-fowl. The Spring-street flat, from the river back to the bordering highlands, the Indians had under quite excellent cultivation. There was scarcely a grub to be seen in the entire field. On the lime ridge, there was a big Indian settlement. Some of the Indian families there would raise as much as one hundred and fifty bushels of corn and a considerable store of potatoes; they were quite industrious and counted as honest,—in striking contrast to what we used to call “the Walker-point rogues.” On the Kinnikinnick river, there was a small band of one hundred and fifty or two hundred Pottawattomies. The Walker-point chief of my day was Pauschkenana (The Ruptured). He was a short, thick-set, ugly-looking fellow, with a vicious disposition and a broken nose, in which latter was inserted a piece of lead to keep

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the cartilage in position. He was much feared by the rest of his band, as he pretended to be a sorcerer. He died about 1830. When my father came to Milwaukee, the grandfather of this chief was the head man of the village. On the west side of the Milwaukee, on the Spring-street flat, opposite Juneau's place, the chief was Kenozhaykum (Lake Pickerel); on the lime ridge, Pohquaygeegun

1 See Paquette's description of moccasin game, "Wisconsin Winnebagoes," *post.*— Ed.

228 (Bread)¹ held full Sway; while Oseebwaisum (Corn Stalk) was the chief of the band on the Kinnikinnick. A petty chief called Palmaipottoke (The Runner) was stationed with a small party between Walker's point and the Menomonee.

1 Not to be confounded with Daniel Bread, head chief of the Oneidas near Green Bay.— Ed.

Arriving at Juneau's in September, 1834, I remained with him until the following February, when I went to Chicago, to clerk for Medore B. Beaubien, a merchant there. I succeeded in this new position a Mr. Saxton, who had gone to Racine to do business there. There were several clerks in Beaubien's store, and I was at the head of them. I stayed in Chicago until September, 1836, when the last payment treaty was made. Chicago was very small, then. The principal store was kept by Oliver Newberry and George W. Dole,² on South Water street, corner of Dearborn. Beaubien's store occupied the opposite corner. Major John Greene was commandant at Fort Dearborn, with perhaps one company of soldiers. Gen. Hugh Brady's son was sutler. J. B. Beaubien, father of my employer, lived in the old American Fur company's post, south of Dearborn street, on the lake shore. From a half to three quarters of a mile further along the lake shore, was Col. Thomas J. V. Owen, who was Indian agent and lived in an old log house which served as the agency building. Walter Kimball and —Porter were on South Water street, three or four lots west of the Dearborn street crossing. Peter Pruyne kept a drug store next door to Kimball and Porter. Another man named Kimball had a store further on. Boilvin and Le Beau had quite a large confectionery establishment, corner of Clark and South Water streets. Among the smaller

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shops, I remember: Peter Cohen, clothing and dry goods, two doors east of Newberry and Dole; James Mulford, jeweler, close to us on the same side. The Tremont house was the only hotel. There were, perhaps, from one hundred and twenty-five to one hundred and fifty buildings in Chicago, shops and all, at the time of which I speak. They were mostly unpainted and there was certainly

2 *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii., p. 338.— Ed.

229 no promise of the place ever amounting to anything. On the streets, mud was knee deep; and wagons had often to be lifted out of the mire with handspikes. I am sure that nearly every inhabitant of the place would have smiled incredulously if any one had prophesied that here was to be the great city of the west. Among the people there at that time, were the Kinzies, the Gordons, Hubbards and Shermans. But I was so young that I did not mingle with people generally, and became acquainted only with those among whom I was thrown in a business way.

On returning to Juneau's post, I served as his bookkeeper until December, (1836), when I bought him out. Perhaps it was November, but I think December was the month. The agency had been abolished, and I started in business for myself on the west side of the river, a half block north of Spring street. There had been a big rush to Milwaukee while I was in Chicago, and it continued unabated during the fall of 1836. Some of the men who afterwards became most prominent in its affairs, arrived during this period. George P. Delaplaine, now of Madison, then a young man, became my clerk early in 1837.¹

1 See George P. Delaplaine's statement, *post.*— Ed.

On the 7th of February, 1837, I married, in Green Bay, Rebecca R. Lawe, second daughter of John Lawe, by whom I have had nine children; eight of whom are living. My wife was born in Green Bay in 1815, at the old Lawe trading post, and is still living with me. Our bridal trip was made across the country to Milwaukee, on what was called a "French train." The sleigh was a deep box, six feet long by thirty-five inches broad, which

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slipped easily on the surface of the snow, when drawn by two horses tandem. There were, of course, no wagon roads in those days, but there were two regularly-traveled trails to Milwaukee. The one we took, lead first on a short cut southeast from Green Bay to Manitowoc. At Manitowoc rapids, two and a half miles from the lake shore, the path turned almost due south, striking the mouth of Sheboygan river. Thence, we would proceed up the lake, sometimes on 230 the beach and again on the high land, for fifteen or sixteen miles; thence, west southwest to Saukville,¹ a small Chippewa village, whose chief at that time was Wahmeteegoosh (Little Frenchman); thence directly southeast to Milwaukee, striking the Kilbourn—now the Waukesha—road. This path between Green Bay and Milwaukee was originally an Indian trail, and very crooked; but the whites would straighten it by cutting across lots each winter with their jumpers, wearing bare streaks through the thin covering, to be followed in the summer by foot and horseback travel along the shortened path. The other trail was by way of Fond du Lac, taking advantage of the military road along the east shore of Lake Winnebago; thence, south-southwest to Watertown; thence, east to Waukesha, and coming into Milwaukee on the Kilbourn road. The time occupied in traveling from Green Bay to Milwaukee was four days, either by foot or by French train,— the distance being estimated at 125 miles.

1 On the Milwaukee river, about twenty-five miles above its mouth. In 1846, William Payne erected grist and saw-mills, and started a village there.— *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ix., p. 394.— Ed.

My establishment in Milwaukee consisted of two sections,—one, a miscellaneous store for the use of the general public and the other a room where Indians could be separately waited on. In June, 1837, I sold out to James Russell, of Danville, Ill., and spent the summer in Green Bay and Mackinaw.²

2 In the MS. Vieau papers, in the archives of the Society, is the commission of A. J. Vieau as “first lieutenant of the 9th company of the 3rd regiment, composed of the original county

Library of Congress

of Milwaukee.” It is signed by Henry Dodge, territorial governor, at Mineral Point, June 1, 1887.— Ed.

I ought to mention, here, that just before the time I opened my place in Milwaukee, in the fall of 1836, I became interested in the first store in Waukesha county,—on the old Kilbourn road. The firm name was McDonald, Maliby and Vieau, and our store was on the Nathaniel Walton farm, near Prairieville,—afterwards the village of Waukesha. We had a good stock of goods of a general character, amounting, I should say, to some \$5,000 or \$6,000. In the summer of 1837 we sold out to Solomon Juneau, who, I think, brought the goods back to Milwaukee and disposed of them. Thus I am entitled to the credit of helping establish the first store in that section.¹

¹ Western Hist. Co.'s *Hist. Waukesha Co.* (1880), p. 628, says: “The first store was erected by Solomon Juneau, not far from the present location of St. Joseph's Catholic church, in Waukesha. Juneau hired a clerk to run it, who dealt mostly in Indian goods and ‘wolf tobacco.’ This tobacco was also for the Indians, and was so named because it was said to be strong enough to kill a wolf. The store Was opened in the winter of 1836–37. Mr. Juneau sold goods here before that, however.”— Ed.

In the fall of 1837, I returned to Milwaukee and spent the winter in helping to collect the county taxes.² The next spring I went into the lumber business and served as auctioneer. In the fall, I moved to Port Washington³ with a small stock of Indian goods and was appointed postmaster. A little settlement had been established here by Wooster Harrison and other Michigan City speculators, but the place had been starved out and practically abandoned. When I reached there, there were perhaps a dozen empty houses and stores, and a small deserted saw-mill. A post-office having been established, somebody had to hold the office of postmaster, so I took it for the winter. The only mail that ever arrived there during my term was for either my family or the family of Asa Case, up at Saukville. There were no other white people in that region.⁴

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2 From documents in the Vieau collection, it appears that the narrator was commissioned early in December, 1837, both as tax collector for the town of Milwaukee and as collector of county taxes; as town collector, he was given five per cent, on all of his collections and levies.— Ed.

3 Then simply Washington. George C. Daniels named it Port Washington, in 1844. The financial crash of 1837 killed the place, which had been established by Harrison's party, on the "boom" basis, Sept. 7, 1835.— Ed.

4 West. Hist. Co.'s *Hist. Washington and Ozaukee Cos.* (1881), p. 508, says that Case had a trading hut at Port Washington, at that time; and that Aurora Adams kept a tavern there, as a half-way house on the trail between Sheboygan and Milwaukee. No mention is made of Vieau.— Ed.

In the spring of 1839, I closed up my post, bought a lot of sugar from the Indians, loaded a boat with the sugar and furs that I had collected and went up to Milwaukee, where I disposed of my venture, having had an excellent winter's trade. I had started in with only \$700 worth of goods. While at Port Washington, I would take in loads of turkeys, venison and other game by ox-team to Milwaukee, in which enterprise I was particularly successful.

When I left Milwaukee for the Port, my frame house in the former place was rented from me by Gov. Harrison Ludington, then a young man, newly married. With the results of my venture I now built two new houses and had money enough left in the fall of 1839 to go into business with Solomon Juneau, who had traded but little since I originally bought him out. In the spring of 1840, we dissolved partnership and divided our stock. That summer I bought and handled lumber from Two Rivers and other points, and dealt, as well, in dry goods, groceries and Indian supplies. This store was on the west side of East Water street, between Huron and Michigan.¹ I thus continued in trade in Milwaukee, and made money, until the fall of 1843, when I went to Two Rivers, [then called Twin Rivers] and took

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possession of John Lawe's old saw-mill there.² The place was then a small fishing village of some eight or ten houses, with perhaps twenty-five inhabitants. A part of the time I ran the mill myself, but leased it for the most part,—at first to Bascom and Ward; then, in 1844, to Daniel Smith of Manitowoc; in 1845, to H. H. Smith of Milwaukee, who finally bought the plant, about 1846. I also did some trading with the Indians while at Two Rivers.³

1 Among the Vieau MSS. is a lease, wherein A. J. Vieau agrees to rent “the store room in the west side of the building,” on lot 1, block 72, “town of Milwaukee, on the west side of the river,” belonging to W. T. Beebee, for \$9 per quarter, for one year from May 15, 1840.— Ed.

2 Erected in 1836. This old mill was said by a writer in 1881 to be “the sole representative of the lumber business in Two Rivers; it is still standing, but idle.” The builders were Robert M. Ebberts and John Lawe, of Green Bay; it was the nucleus of the town of Two Rivers, and the first white settler there, Oliver Lougrine, was the man who ran the mill. Lawe also entered a large tract of land on which the settlement was founded.— Ed.

3 From the Vieau MSS. it is ascertained that during the winter of 1846–47, the narrator was also postmaster at Two Rivers. Oscar Burdicke appears to have been the mail-carrier between Manitowoc and Two Rivers, at this time, his compensation being the net revenue of the route.— Ed.

233

I then opened a farm of three hundred and twenty acres between Neshoto and Two Rivers. After a couple of years, I went to live in Neshoto village; was chairman of the Manitowoc county board and held other local offices. In 1851, I removed to Ashwaubenon, or South Fort Howard (private land claim No. 21, west side of Fox), where I still live. During the winter of 1851–52, I established a store at Cooperstown (now New Denmark), one-half way to Manitowoc. But it was a failure and I brought the goods back to Green Bay and sold them at auction. In 1858, I started a store in the Bay Settlement near the Catholic church,

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some nine miles northeast of here. After a season or two I retired to my little farm,—private claim No. 21, west side of Fox river,—and have been here ever since.

You have called my attention to the statement in the *History of Racine and Kenosha Counties* [West. Hist. Co., 1879, p. 286] that “a Frenchman named Jacques Jambeau” established a trading post “as early as 1832, at what was called Skunk Grove, in the northwestern part of Mount Pleasant township, Racine county, and there conducted a thrifty business With the Indians.”

My father was called Jean Beau, by the Indians, as I have said before, and this was frequently corrupted by Americans and Englishmen into Jambeau. Now, this early trader at Skunk Grove was not my father, as one might suppose, but Jacques Vieau, Jr., my brother, who came to be called Jacques Jambeau, as the Indians have a habit of naming sons after the father;—all of us Vieaus being called by them Jean Beau, or Jambeau, after our father, who was very popular with the Pottawattomies. My brother Jacques, whether called Vieau or Jambeau, has been frequently confounded with his father by writers on early history.

I do not know when it was that my brother Jacques went out to Skunk Grove, with my brother Louis as his partner, to trade and live with the Pottawattomies, among whom 234 they married. But I do know that they never had what might be called a regular trading post there. They carried on farming as well as trafficking, in a small way, at the Grove, and afterwards claimed their place under the preëmption law. When the Pottawattomies were removed, in 1837, Jacques and Louis sold out their claim and emigrated with the Indians to Council Bluffs, and then to Kansas, where they both died.

I ought to tell you the tradition that exists among the French Creoles of Green Bay, as to the naming of Ashwaubenon creek and town. A prominent young Ottawa Indian arrived from Mackinaw, in early days. He was the son of a chief at L'Arbor Croche, near Mackinaw, and came here with Jacob Franks, in 1795. He was apparently much attached

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to the whites and their habits, was peaceable, intelligent, brave and handsome. Upon the arrival of the young Ottawa at Green Bay, he courted the acquaintance of Ahkeeneebéway (Standing Earth),¹ who was an old Menomonee chief on the west side of the river, in what is now Fort Howard; the latter took the new comer into his family and made much of him, for he had pleasing ways and was indeed a fine fellow, as Indians go.

¹ Standing Earth was the father of Mrs. Joseph le Roy, hence the great-grandfather of the narrator. See *ante*, p. 220, note 3.— Ed.

The Chippewas lived on Lake Shawano, in those days. Occasionally they would come to Green Bay on a spree, for the Menomonees and Chippewas were always friendly. One day in the month of June, a year or two after Mr. Franks came, a number of young Menomonee squaws went out blueberrying. They had quite a frolic among themselves, but finally one of them was missing. The girls made a diligent search for their comrade, but finally gave up in despair and were obliged to return to their village and report the loss to her parents. For several days, the search was repeated, until at last a trail was discovered, going westward.

Then the old warriors declared that the girl had been kidnapped ²³⁵ by the Chippewas; and so it proved to be. Old Standing Earth at once sent runners through his village and soon there was a crowd at the council house, where the pipe of deliberation was smoked and the affair discussed in all its bearings. It was concluded that a party of fifty warriors should be sent to the Chippewa village on Lake Shawano, to demand the captive and bring her back. Standing Earth, presiding at the council, called for volunteers, asking those who wished to go upon this expedition to come over and sit down by his side. It was not long before there were enough for the purpose. The young Ottawa had been the first to respond. Then said Standing Earth, "It only remains for me to select a leader for the party;" and turning to the Ottawa, he continued, "My son, you shall take charge of this party and whatever you do will be right." The Ottawa, much confused, replied, "My father, I do not know as I am worthy of undertaking such a responsibility; you have other warriors, and

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perhaps I ought not to accept; but if it is your will, I will accept and do the best I can." Standing Earth insisted, and all the warriors were glad that the young man was to be their leader.

The party started out. They reached Lake Shawano a little before night and slept in the bush a half mile from the Chippewa village. At daybreak the leader said to his warriors, "Keep still. I will myself go into the village. Do not stir till I give the war whoop. But when I do give it, then strike, cut and kill. Meanwhile do not stir." So the brave Ottawa crept through the bushes, in the early morning, when the Chippewa hunters had gone out into the woods to kill game for the morning meal. Softly he slid into the silent village and lifted the mat over the door of the first wigwam he came to. Peering in, he could see nothing of the missing girl. And so he lifted the mats and peered in at the doors of several lodges, as he crouched and crept along, until at last he was rewarded. She was sitting at the further end of a long lodge. Several old women were squatting around a fire, between him and the object of his search. He dropped the mat behind him and quickly stepping up to the girl motioned her to follow him. While he was passing out with 236 his prize, the women did not stir from their places, but they gave him vicious sidelong looks, full of hate and silent threats. He paused for a moment, on the outside, much tempted to go back and tomahawk them; but he refrained from doing so, and rejoined his party with the girl.

At Fox Hill, two miles west of the Fox river, they were met by a large party of welcoming Menomonees, whom runners had notified of the result of the expedition. That night, there was great jollification among all the Menomonees hereabouts.

A council was held, the following day, in the presence of all. Old Standing Earth gave to the brave Ottawa a new name,—Ashawaubomay, meaning "Side looks," in remembrance of the ugly glances which the old Chippewa women had given him. His name, up to this time, had been Little Crow. Standing Earth, who was noted for his sagacity, greatly praised the forbearance displayed by Ashawaubomay in not tomahawking the old women and thus opening a bloody quarrel between the Chippewas and Menomonees; he then said: "My

son, you are a young man; I wish to see you prosper; you are entitled to choose two of the prettiest squaws in the village. Now choose!" Thereupon Ashawaubomay replied: "If I was a double man, I would want two wives; but being single, I want but one." Standing Earth smiled and said: "Choose, then!" And Ashawaubomay then declared, "I take your youngest daughter, Wahbenukqua (Morning Star)." There was great rejoicing in the camp when Standing Earth ordered his beautiful daughter brought forward, and told her that Ashawaubomay was henceforth to be her husband. That the young chief might not be without a home, Standing Earth gave him a grant of land, running from the Ashwaubenon river to the foot of Depere rapids, a mile long, on the west side of the river, and running back some three miles. Part of this claim, Ashawaubomay afterwards gave to Mrs. John Lawe; and other portions to Mrs. La Rose and Mrs. Franks. All of these formally located their claims and they were ratified by government.¹

¹ On Isaac Lee's map of the land-claims at Green Bay, in 1821, *Amer. State Papers—Public Lands*, iv.—the creek is styled "Chewabiney river," and the territory described in Mr. Vieau's story is there platted as claims Nos. 25, 26 and 27, held by Thérèse Rankins, Thérèse Larose and Susan Larose, respectively. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x., pp. 93, 94, for reference to Achoabeme, probably the hero of this tale.—Ed.

237

The morning after the council, Ashawaubomay and his beautiful young squaw went in a canoe up the river, to the south side of the creek, quite near its mouth, and located. They raised a large family of children and lived as nearly like whites as possible. They were warm friends of old Judge Charles Reaume and lived with him much of the time. Ashawaubomay was indeed a fine Indian,—quite like a white man. He was buried on his little farm, on the shore of the creek.

Some fifteen years ago, I attempted to give the name of this Ottawa Indian to the town in which I live. But the county board got the name all mixed up, and the town goes by the title of Ashwaubenon, which doesn't mean anything at all. But such has been the fate of

too many geographical names, of Indian origin, when falling into the hands of people in authority, who have no care for historical accuracy.

ANTOINE LE CLAIR'S STATEMENT.

FRAGMENTARY NOTES TAKEN BY LYMAN C. DRAPER.¹

¹ In my trip to Missouri, Kansas, Illinois and Indiana in May, June and July, 1868, I was not able to transcribe all the notes I took in rough pencil form—hurrying, as I had to do, from place to place, and had time to copy only a part as I took them. These fragmentary statements by Le Clair, whom I met at Portage des Sioux, Mo., May 27, 1868, I now transcribe in the order in which I took them. There is no attempt at a connected narrative form.— L. C. D.

Francis le Clair, son of Antoine le Clair, was born at St. Josephs, Michigan, in 1795; — his brother, Antoine le Clair, late of Davenport, Iowa, was two years younger.²

² Antoine le Clair, Jr., was United States interpreter at the Sac and Fox Indian agency at Rock Island, in 1833. In August of that year, he served as interpreter between Black Hawk and J. B. Patterson, when the latter secured Black Hawk's *Autobiography*.— Ed.

Antoine le Clair, St., was a native of Montreal; he first located as a trader, at a crossing place just above the old fort, called Para Vache,³ or Cattle Yard (Cowpens), about thirty miles above the mouth of the St. Josephs river—and near there, a little above, was the Pottawattomie village, La Terre Coupee. He there married into a prominent Indian family, about 1792. The elder Antoine le Clair was a blacksmith by trade; but did not work at the business, except for a few years before his death, at Portage des Sioux, Missouri—where he died about 1821, some fifty-five years of age. He was somewhat less than six feet in height—well-built, and a successful trader.

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3 At Para Vache, the roads from Chicago forked— one leading to Fort Wayne, the other to Detroit.—L. C. D.

In 1800, Antoine le Clair, Sr., removed to Milwaukee. No traders were then located there. There probably had been such, however, who would remain during the winter and then return to Mackinaw. Le Clair took his family and 239 remained permanently at Milwaukee. He located about three miles above the mouth of Milwaukee river, at the foot of the first bluff, on a low prairie, on the northern bank of the river—the side next the lake. There were no signs of cabins in the neighborhood, where whites might have formerly traded. On the bluff were woods all the way to the lake; the low prairie was unwooded. There was a good spring from under the bluff, where the Le Clair family obtained water.

There was an Indian village about a mile below, on the opposite side of the river, called Milwaukee. Onongeesay [Onaugesa], a large, fat fellow, was chief. The Indians were mostly Pottawattomies, though there were a few Ottawas among them, but no Chippewas. The narrator has no knowledge of Siggenauk, or old Senahgewoin, being there—nor indeed did he ever hear of them. He has no knowledge of La Chasse. Onongeesay died about 1807, some sixty years old; he had been a chief for many years. He was a Pottawattomie—a fine and worthy Indian, and much beloved; he was no orator, but a good chief. His brother, Matchesepe (in French, *Mauvaise riviere*, or Bad river), succeeded him; he, however, was not so able a man. The narrator never understood that either had distinguished himself, or taken any part in war. In 1809, Antoine le Clair, Sr., and his family moved away from Milwaukee to Peoria, and had no knowledge of Matchesepe or his band afterwards—either when or where they moved; but the narrator thinks they moved on to Rock river.

About 1802, Joseph la Fromboise came from Mackinaw and settled at Milwaukee as a trader— locating about three hundred yards below the Le Clairs; he had an Ottawa wife, and several children. He and Le Clair were about on an equality as traders—they kept Mackinaw blankets, ammunition, cheap and coarse calicoes, cloths, tobacco,

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pipes, knives, awls, needles and vermilion paint, but no liquor. These articles were exchanged for furs and peltries, which Le Clair took to Detroit, and sold for goods,—while La Fromboise took his furs and peltries to Mackinaw. Le Clair would go to Detroit in the spring, select his goods, and about the month of May a small sailing vessel would leave Detroit 240 with his purchases, and those of William Burnett stationed at the mouth of the St. Joseph,¹ and John Kinzie and Robert Forsyth at Chicago, and deliver them. The vessel would then take the year's gathering of furs, etc., as a return cargo to Detroit. The same vessel probably brought goods for the Mackinaw traders. Thus were matters of transit managed, on upper Lake Michigan, say from about 1800 to 1809.

¹ See Hurlbut's *Chicago Antiquities*, pp. 49–78, for an account of Burnett, and extracts from his letter-book, giving interesting references to Northwestern affairs between 1786 and 1803.— Ed.

La Fromboise, a fine, worthy man, moved away from Milwaukee, about 1807, back to Mackinaw. The narrator knows nothing more of him.

Joseph la Croix, from Mackinaw, came to Milwaukee as a trader, about 1804; he had an Ottawa wife and family, and settled about half a mile above Le Clair's, on the opposite side of the river. La Croix did about the same amount of business as Le Clair. When the latter left in 1809, La Croix was still there. He got his goods from Mackinaw.

One Anderson, an American from Mackinaw, came to Milwaukee about 1806,² and remained for two winter seasons. He was a young man, without a family, and located on a little creek just above the Indian village, on the southern side of the river. Not succeeding very well, in his trade, he returned no more.

² Capt. Thomas G. Anderson. See his narrative in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ix., pp. 153–158; also references to him in Col. Robert Dickson's letters, *post.*— Ed.

Library of Congress

The Indians at Milwaukee would cultivate not to exceed five or six acres to a family,—mostly sweet corn, pumpkins, beans, melons and a few potatoes. They would have to fence in their fields against their horses. They had neither cows nor hogs; they needed no pork as they had game. They would fence rudely, with bushes, poles and brush—sometimes poles fastened to bushes. They used no plows; they would only hoe the ground. There were no buffaloes there, but plenty of deer; very few bear, but no elk. It was a great place for muskrats.

On second thought, one Maronda [Mirandeau], a French 241 Canadian, was living close by where Le Clair settled. He had come from Mackinaw, apparently about two years before—say 1798. He had an Ottawa wife and three or four children, and Le Clair found him there at Milwaukee; he was a good blacksmith, would make hoes, axes, knives, gigs and spears for fishing, and shoe horses for the French traders. He would send by the traders for a small supply of iron, and make his own charcoal. In repairing guns, he was very ingenious. The Le Clairs left him there in 1809. The traders who lived there had one-horse carts,—made there—rough and unironed.

Each trader kept four or five French Canadian engagés, who would cut and haul wood and assist in trading, as well as work in the truck patches. The trader would send some of the more competent and trusty of these men in canoes, with a selection of goods, to different points, more or less distant, to stay all winter and trade with Indians:—or on pack horses over to Rock river, and on Winnebago lake to the Winnebagoes, and return in the spring with furs and pelts.

The Indians at Milwaukee had no fruit trees, except wild plums, which were plenty; there were blackberries, grapes and strawberries, but no raspberries. There were no nuts,—no pecans, no persimmons. The Indians manufactured large quantities of maple sugar for their own use, and for sale; they would live on it fast, and sell to the traders,—the rule in this, as in other things, being first a feast, then a famine. They were improvident, and what they had was soon gone. The Indians had bark lodges for summer; some of these were

quite long, with divisions, and several families lived in one lodge. Narrator thinks there were about thirty lodges, of all sizes, housing perhaps some seventy-five families, with probably two or three gun men to a family—fathers, sons and sons-in-law.

There was no priest located at Milwaukee in those early times, and the traders there had no chance to school their children. There was no Indian town between Milwaukee and Chicago—and no Indian town at Chicago, though there was around there. 16

242

Antoine Le Clair, Sr., left Peoria in the fall of 1812, when the Indians were beginning to be troublesome, and it was dangerous longer to continue there. He went with Major Thomas Forsyth, the Indian agent, to St. Louis, and next spring Le Clair and family went to Portage des Sioux. Le Clair, Sr., and his son, the narrator, were subsequently employed by Gov. William Clark and Major Forsyth, in the Indian department.

Le Clair, Sr., the narrator, and Major Forsyth went with Gov. Benjamin Howard on his expedition to Peoria. Thirteen hundred men went by land and some by water, on keel-boats. There was no fighting. They built a fort at Peoria, and remained perhaps two weeks, when all returned except a garrison for the fort. The Le Clairs went with the land forces—all of whom were mounted—and the militia from Vincennes, Kaskaskia, St. Louis, &c. The provisions were conveyed up the Mississippi and Illinois rivers in the boats.

GEORGE P. DELAPLAINE'S STATEMENT.

IN AN INTERVIEW WITH THE EDITOR.1

1 November 2, 1887. This statement is the result of queries chiefly regarding General Delaplaine's recollections of Solomon Juneau and Andrew J. Vieau. The language and arrangement are those of the editor, but the statement as here given has been read to the narrator and his sanction to its publication given.— Ed.

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I left Cincinnati in December, 1835, then a lad, in the company of Capt. Garret Vliet, a well known surveyor, who was coming to Wisconsin on service for the government. We went to Milwaukee overland via Terre Haute and Chicago. There were only two taverns in Chicago, at the time, and everything was in a decidedly crude condition. I remember one incident, trivial in itself, but illustrative of our experience during our brief stay. The guest who had preceded me in the occupancy of my room in the hotel, had caught a muskrat in the adjoining marsh and taken it with him to his quarters, as a pet. He went off and forgot the animal, which fed upon one of my boots during the night, for want of better provender.

After spending the winter with Captain Vliet, chiefly in surveying around the Oconomowoc lakes, I returned to Milwaukee in the spring of 1836, and entered the employ of Solomon Juneau, as a clerk. Juneau's store, at this time, was on the northeast corner of East Water and Wisconsin streets. Soon after my engaging with him, perhaps in June, 1836, he sold out that plant to a Mr. Prentiss and moved to the west side, on West Water, near Spring street, the new establishment being known as Juneau's "yellow storehouse." I was then placed in charge of the store, in which I slept, although I had my meals with the Juneau family. their dwelling being a nice, large two story house.

244

There were always a good many Indians around Juneau's establishment. He had a rather domineering way with them, but they appeared to hold him in high esteem and to regard his word as law. They called him "Salomo," the nearest approach they could make to Solomon. The relations between Juneau and the Indians were of a decidedly fraternal character, despite his top-lofty manner toward them, and the severe lectures which he administered to those who were habitually tipsy. Juneau was six feet tall, well-framed and fine looking, with expressive eyes—a perfect Adonis; he had curly, black hair and was a man of imposing presence. While not educated, he was a pleasant talker, and simple in his tastes and habits. His wife, a half-breed, was a very excellent woman, and their home, of which I saw a great deal, possessed quite as many comforts as those of their

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English and American neighbors. He had generally to entertain Indians with a free hand; and almost every night, in the trading season, there were at least half a dozen camped out on the floors of his living rooms. When parties of Indians would come in to Milwaukee to trade, it was no uncommon experience to have all the squaws quartered in the Juneau parlor, while the bucks camped just outside the settlement,—say a block or two up the river. Juneau was an unworldly, confiding man, and land speculators frequently took advantage of him, obtaining parcels of his land in Milwaukee in return for deeds in various fictitious “paper” towns throughout the new territory.

I remember Andrew J. Vieau very well, indeed. He and I were good friends in early days, but I have not seen him for twenty-five or thirty years past. I see that in his narrative¹ he speaks of buying out Juneau in November or December, 1836. I recollect Vieau as a fellow clerk at Juneau's, but cannot remember that he bought out his brother-in-law, but perhaps he did—it is a long time ago. I do know that I continued on, at the same store, until the spring of 1837, and that Vieau was there all of the time, and Juneau frequently. It may be, as Vieau states, that he was the proprietor,

¹ *Ante*, p. 229.— Ed.

245 during the last half of my engagement. Louis Franchere was Juneau's confidential clerk and occupied a room over the store. He was a bachelor, aged about fifty, and a finely-educated man. Upon leaving Juneau, I went to clerk for Lindsey Ward, in his general store on East Water, a few doors below Wisconsin street, and there I staid until I came to Madison, where I arrived June 2, 1838.

I have a distinct recollection of most of the old-timers of the Wisconsin metropolis in 1836–38, as given in Buck's *Pioneer History of Milwaukee*: for instance, A. O. T. Breed, Prentiss and Weeks, Daniel Wells, Jr., George and Talbot C. Dousman, Levi Blossom, Elisha Starr, Horace and Enoch Chase, Capt. James Sanderson and George H. Walker; George S. Vale, who kept a tavern, over which was suspended a huge triangle, which would be vigorously sounded at meal times; Patrick Rogan, afterwards the Watertown pioneer,

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and George Reed, who was Juneau's attorney. Bartlett S. Giblett, a man then some forty years of age, clerked, I think, for Breed, and afterwards returned to his home in England, where he secured a place in the London postoffice. Francis W. Heading was my chum, in those early days in Milwaukee; we had made maps together, before I went to Juneau; he was a fine man in every respect and remained in Milwaukee until 1839, when he, too, returned to his home in England; he married in England, later, and had an office in Mark Lane, London, being one of the firm of Goggs, Heading & Co., wine merchants; he died seven or eight years ago. George O. Tiffany, who was deputy postmaster under Juneau, married Elisha Starr's sister, and lives in Los Angeles, California, now; he kept a diary of local events, when I knew him;—if it could be produced, at this time, it would doubtless prove of rare interest. Samuel Beach was one of the remarkable young men of Milwaukee, then,—a tall, fine-looking fellow, whom I much liked.

I have distinct impressions, too, of La Tendre, a half-breed who had once been a voyageur but was now a runner, being occasionally employed in that capacity by Juneau; he was bright-looking, active, but not very intelligent, although Juneau trusted him implicitly,—often giving him heavy loads of specie to carry overland to Chicago. I remember that he once brought one thousand dollars' worth of specie,—the most of it silver,—all the way from Fort Dearborn, Chicago; it weighed sixty pounds and was not a burden that could well be distributed over the body. The Indians would not take bank bills, hence the necessity for this large mass of coin. I think that some of the money was used in paying government annuities to the Indians, it being sent to Juneau for distribution,—the rest of the specie consignment being used in Juneau's fur trade. La Tendre's method of running was to hold up both hands close to his shoulders and go at a dog-trot. In this way, he is said to have averaged forty miles per day.¹

¹ Andrew J. Vieau writes as follows, under date of Fort Howard, December 8, 1887, in answer to a query about this runner: "Jean Baptiste Letendre was a Canadian Frenchman,—not a half-breed. He was once my father's hired man; and, next, Solomon Juneau's. He remained in the service of Juneau until the Pottawattomies were removed, in 1837. He

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married a Pottawattomie squaw named Keecheeaqua (Big Woman). By her, he had a son and two daughters. His wife dying in Kansas, Letendre returned to Milwaukee and bought a piece of land near Muskego Center, Waukesha county, occupying his time in farming. The last time I saw him was in 1863 or 1864, at Muskego Center, when he was smart and healthy. I have not heard of him, even, since then.”— Ed.

Jacques Jambeau, or Jacques Vieau, a brother of Andrew, was another familiar character of those days. He was a voyageur and had done some trading with the Indians, but at the period at which I knew him he did not appear to me to have any business. He was then a well-dressed, fine-looking fellow, some forty-four years of age, and was in and out of Juneau's a good deal,—being Juneau's brother-in-law.

PRAIRIE DU CHIEN, IN 1811.

LETTER FROM NICHOLAS BOILVIN, INDIAN AGENT, TO WILLIAM EUSTIS, SECRETARY OF WAR.¹

¹ This letter, written to the secretary of war—Hon. William Eustis—in 1811, by N. Boilvin, a well-known Indian agent, at this time at Prairie du Chien, was found among the papers of Governor Edwards. It is published as containing a description of that old French settlement, at that early period. The statement in the letter of the number of Indians visiting Prairie du Chien annually must excite surprise, and it is evident that there was quite a large commerce there at that time. I was not aware before reading this letter that the Indians at that early period were so extensively engaged in mining for lead ore and in manufacturing lead. The point at which they carried on their operations being described as sixty miles below Prairie du Chien, must have been at the lead mines of Julian Dubuque, where the city of Dubuque now stands. They might possibly have worked also on the east side of the Mississippi river, in what was afterward known as the Galena lead-mines. The earliest discovery of lead-mines in this country was made in this region. On an old French map, published in Paris in 1703, lead-mines (*mines de plomb*) are put down on both sides

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of the Mississippi river at this point. On the east side of the river the designation on the map is put down as being on the “Rivière de Parisien,” afterward known as Fever river. E. B. Washburne.

The letter is taken from *The Edwards Papers* (Chicago, 1884), edited by the late E. B. Washburne. Nicholas Boilvin appears to have first visited Prairie du Chien in February, 1810, but at what time he was appointed Indian agent is uncertain. His father seems to have been a resident of Quebec, during the war of the American Revolution, and to have won a good record by great kindness to a wounded surgeon of the American army who was held captive there. Nicholas came to the Northwest, after peace was declared, and engaged in the Indian trade. Chancing to meet, in St. Louis, the surgeon whom his father had befriended, the former secured for the son the position of Indian agent. When McKay attacked Prairie du Chien, in 1814, Boilvin went upon an American gun-boat, with his family and other American residents in the village, and fled. In addition to his office as Indian agent, Boilvin held the position of justice of the peace under the government of Illinois Territory; having been appointed as such, for the county of St. Clair, May 3, 1809, and for the county of Madison, June 12, 1814. In *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ii., p. 126, there is a humorous story of his manner of administering the law, which is doubtless much exaggerated; very much as Charles Reaume's judicial record at Green Bay has been made the butt of many a careless historical writer's little joke, the better to spice narratives that might otherwise have proved insipid. The truth appears to be, that both Reaume and Boilvin were men of fair ability, faithful to their small trusts and quite on a par with the degree of personal dignity and respectability then in vogue in the two Wisconsin outposts of civilization. Boilvin furnished the war department, at one time, pursuant to instructions, with a Winnebago vocabulary.—(*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x., p. 65.) It appears that, under date of April 25, 1811, about twelve weeks after the above letter was written, Secretary Eustis vested Boilvin with “discretionary power to expend on account of the government as much as should be thought necessary and for which he was to be allowed.”—(*Edwards Papers*, p. 138.) This same discretionary power, the result of a high degree of official confidence in his

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trustworthiness, was confirmed by another letter from the secretary of war, bearing date July 28, 1815. In *American State Papers*, vi., p. 32, Boilvin's account of expenditures in his agency during the first five months of 1812, "for articles purchased, express hire, pay of interpreters, &c.," foots up \$3,255.31. In Canada, Boilvin was "well known to Mr. Brisbois, Sr.," they afterwards being fellow-residents at Prairie du Chien, Boilvin died in the summer of 1827, on a keel-boat, on the Mississippi river, while on his way to St. Louis, and was buried at the latter place. "He was of common height, rather stocky, stooped and bowlegged," and left a son who afterward died in California. In regard to this statement of the year of Boilvin's death, it is proper to say that in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ix., p. 286, it is given, on B. W. Brisbois's oral relation, as 1824; but in *The Edwards Papers*, p. 292, I find a letter from Gen. Joseph M. Street to Gov. Ninian Edwards, dated July 7, 1827, in which he says that Henry Clay had written him, under date of June 10th, to the effect "that Boilvin was dead," and he (Clay) had recommended to the secretary of war the appointment of Street as successor, It is clear that Clay had then but recently heard of the fatal accident to Boilvin, which must, therefore, have occurred in the early summer of 1827. Boilvin's sub-agent was John Marsh. The death of the agent must have been previous to the middle of June, for it appears, by Brig. Gen. Henry Atkinson's report of the Red Bird disturbance, made to Maj. General Gaines, Sept. 28, 1827, that at that time Marsh was in charge of the Indian agency at Prairie du Chien: "About the middle of that month [June] Mr. Marsh, sub-agent, was informed, though the Sioux, that Prairie du Chien would be attacked." At the convention held between Atkinson and the Winnebagoes, at Prairie du Chien, Sept. 9, Marsh witnessed the articles in the capacity of agent. Street was appointed to succeed Boilvin, and arrived at the agency on the first of November, as will be seen by his letter of Dec. 28, 1827, post.—Ed.

Prairie des Chiens is on the left bank of the Mississippi, Illinois Territory, about six miles above the mouth of the 248 Ouisconsin, and 700 miles, by estimation, above St. Louis;1 the distance is probably over-rated as a well-manned boat

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1 I have received a letter from the chief of engineers, U. S. A., dated Washington, D. C., April 23, 1888, making the following official statement: "In a table of distances on maps of the Mississippi river, by Major F. N. Farquhar, Corps of Engineers, the distance between Prairie du Chien, Wis., and St. Louis, Mo., is five hundred and one-half miles."— Ed.

249 is able to ascend from the latter to the former place in twenty days, but it generally takes double the time for a loaded boat to perform the same route. The plat of ground on which the village stands may be said to be an island of about three miles long and a mile broad, but in the season of low water the back channel is dry except where it forms a small pond or lake, which may be easily drained. In fine, the back channel is nothing more than a small creek or bayou.

Prairie des Chiens is an old Indian town which was sold by the Indians to the Canadian traders about thirty years ago,¹ where they have ever since rendezvoused, and dispersed

1 In 1781, exactly thirty years before Boilvin's letter, three French Canadians, named Basil Giard, Pierre Antaya and Augustin Ange, arrived on the "Prairie des Chiens," and the *Hist. Crawford Co.* (p. 280) claims that they were the first settlers in Crawford county. This assertion was also made by Major Z. M. Pike, U. S. A., who, in the course of his expedition to the sources of the Mississippi, visited Prairie du Chien, in 1805, six years previous to Boilvin's account, with the exception that Pike omits the name of Ange, who had left the prairie several years before the arrival of the expedition, and cites Dubuque as one of the original trio, which is clearly an error. Giard had a Spanish claim, three miles square, across the river, the site of what is now McGregor, Iowa; he was a trader, had a Sac woman for a wife, and died at Prairie du Chien, in 1819, aged about seventy years. Antaya was a farmer, and had a Fox half-breed for a consort; he died about 1815 or 1816. Ante was at first a voyageur, but afterwards became a trader, and wandered off to the headwaters of the Missouri, where he traded among the Sioux and died; he was, however, at Prairie du Chien during the treaty of 1825. An extended and learned controversy as to whether a French fort and trading post was established at Prairie du Chien, at least a

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century earlier than the advent of the three adventurers above named, will be found in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x.,— articles by James D. Butler, Consul W. Butterfield, and Lyman C. Draper. — Ed.

250 therein merchandise in various directions. The Indians also sold them at the same time a tract of land measuring six leagues up and down the river, and six leagues back of it. The village contains between thirty and forty houses, and on the tract just mentioned about thirty-two families, so that the whole settlement contains about 100 families.¹ The men are generally French Canadians, who have mostly married Indian wives; perhaps not more than twelve white females are to be found in the settlement.

¹ Pike, in 1805–6 (*Expeditions*, p. 46, appendix to part i.), said that the town proper then consisted of “eighteen dwelling-houses in two streets; sixteen in Front street and two in First street.” These, with other houses, “in the rear of the pond,” and “scattered round the country, at the distance of one, two, three and five miles,” together with three houses on the west side of the Mississippi, made, “in the village and vicinity, thirty-seven houses, which it will not be too much to calculate at ten persons each, the population would be 370 souls; but this calculation will not answer for the spring or autumn, as there are then at least 500 or 600 white persons.” The settlement had apparently not made much progress, between 1805 and 1811.— Ed.

These people attend to the cultivation of their lands, which are extremely fertile. They raise considerable quantities of surplus produce, particularly wheat and corn. They annually dispose of about eighty thousand weight of flour to the traders and Indians, besides great quantities of meal, and the quantity of surplus produce would be greatly increased if a suitable demand existed for it. All kinds of vegetables flourish in great perfection, and such is the beauty of the climate that the country begins to attract the attention of settlers. Different fruit trees have lately been planted and promise to grow well.

Prairie des Chiens is surrounded by numerous Indian tribes, who wholly depend on it for their supplies. It is annually visited by at least six thousand Indians,² and hitherto

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2 Doubtless an exaggeration. Pike, after stating, in 1805–6, that as many as five hundred or six hundred whites rendezvoused at the prairie each spring and autumn, says that in the spring the gathering of the traders and engagés would attract “300 or 400 Indians, when they hold a fair; the one disposes of remnants of goods, and the others reserved peltries.” — Ed.

251 they have resorted to the Canadian traders for goods, because our own apprehended much danger in attempting to carry on a trade with them, particularly as the Canadians generally prevail on the Indians either to plunder them or to drive them away. Only one trader of our town returned into that quarter during the last year.

Great danger, both to individuals and to the Government, is to be apprehended from the Canadian traders; they endeavor to incite the Indians against us; partly to monopolize their trade and partly to secure friendship in case a war should break out between us and England. They are constantly making large presents to the Indians, which the latter consider as a sign of approaching war, and under this impression frequently apply to me for advice on the subject. Hitherto I have been able to keep them friendly.¹

1 Oct., 1815, William Clark, Ninian Edwards and Aug. Chouteau, commissioners to treat with the Indians of the Mississippi basin, reported, from St. Louis, to the secretary of war: “The Indians about Prairie du Chien are represented by Mr. Boilvin (the agent at that place) and several other persons who have lately returned from there, as being in a state of the greatest commotion, occasioned by their divisions with regard to peace with the United States; all of which, together with the conduct of the Sacs [the British band], and the failure of the Winnebagoes, Menomonees, and Chippewas to meet us, is thought by the most intelligent white men who have been in that country, as well as by some of the most respectable friendly Indians, to be the result of the immense presents which the British government have lately distributed, and the constant intrigues of British traders, who certainly have a greater quantity of merchandise on the Mississippi at present than they ever had in any former year; indeed, from accounts from various quarters, it appears

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that they are making the greatest possible efforts to retain their influence over the Indians, and to engross the whole of their trade.” —(*Am. State Papers*, vi., p. 10.)— Ed.

The United States have it in their power by the adoption of one simple measure to turn the current of Indian trade on the Upper Mississippi, and to put an end to the subsisting intercourse between the Canadian traders and the Indians. Prairie des Chiens from its central position is well calculated for a garrison and factory. It affords health, 252 plenty of fine timber and good water. But as the Indians are numerous a garrison at that place will require at least two companies of men. The Sacs, Foxes, and Iowas can be as well supplied at the latter place as at the former, particularly as they have mostly abandoned the chase, except to furnish themselves with meat, and turned their attention to the manufacture of lead, which they procure from a mine about sixty miles below Prairie des Chiens.¹ During the last season they manufactured four hundred thousand pounds of that article, which they exchanged for goods. The Sioux and other Indians in that quarter have excellent mines, and might be easily prevailed on to open them, especially as the profits of this manufacture is much greater and less precarious than the laborious pursuit of peltries. A few tools will be necessary for them, and perhaps a blacksmith to repair them would be of great use.

1 See “Notes on Early Lead-Mining in the Fever-River Region,” *post.*— Ed.

As soon as the Indians in general turn their attention to lead, the Canadian traders will wholly abandon the country, as they have no use for that article, at least in the way of commerce. To introduce the manufacture of lead, requires only the adoption of the measures I have mentioned. The factory at Prairie des Chiens ought to be well supplied with goods, and lead ought to be received in exchange for the merchandise. This trade would be the more valuable to the United States, as lead is not a perishable article, and is easily transported; whereas peltries are bulky, and large quantities are annually spoiled before they reach the market; under such a system, the Canadian trade would be extinguished.

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William Morris, Esq r , of Kaskaskia,2 I have no doubt,

2 Boilvin means William Morrison. who settled at Kaskaskia as a trader in 1790. He was the leading spirit of the firm of Bryant and Morrison; his partner being Guy Bryant, his uncle, a resident of Philadelphia. The firm had an extensive wholesale and retail establishment at Kaskaskia, which obtained supplies from St. Louis, Ste. Genevieve, Cape Girardeau and New Madrid; their trade extended as far off as Pittsburg, New Orleans and the Rocky mountains, and Prairie du Chien was one of their most active posts. Bryant and Morrison's boats were "the largest and best that up to that time had ever stemmed the waters of the Mississippi." Morrison, who had rare executive ability and was one of the most influential and energetic men in the Mississippi valley fur trade, amassed great wealth, for those times; in 1801 he built at Kaskaskia a stone residence and furnished it on a scale of luxury which for a long time quite outrivald anything of the kind in the Illinois country. He died in April, 1837, and was buried at Kaskaskia. His brothers, Robert and James Morrison, followed him to Kaskaskia in 1798 and became prominent citizens there. Both William and James were army contractors. From June 1, 1815 to May 31, 1816, inclusive, James had a contract with the war department for the delivery of army supplies within the Illinois, Missouri and Indiana Territories, at rates varying from 17 to 36 cents per ration.— Ed.

253 would supply the troops at Prairie des Chiens cheaper than anybody else, perhaps at 35 [cents], perhaps at 30, per ration, which is the same price as is allowed for the ration at Fort Madison. This gentleman is as able to furnish as any man in the country, as he is a merchant of extensive business, and has most of the people in his debt. At any rate I am convinced that I can procure the rations to be furnished at Prairie des Chiens as cheap as it (*sic*) is now furnished at Fort Madison. I have the honor to be sir, with esteem,

Your ob t serv t , N. Boilvin .

Washington City, Feby. 2 d , 1811.

Hon. Will'm Eustis, Secty of War .

CAPTURE OF FORT M'KAY, PRAIRIE DU CHIEN, IN 1814.

BY DOUGLAS BRYMNER.¹

1 Adapted, by special permission, from the Report on *Canadian Archives for 1887* (pp. xxvi–xxx, civ–cix), by Douglas Brymner, archivist.— Ed.

With the exception of Bibaud (*Histoire du Canada, Domination Anglaise* , p. 181) none of the general histories of Canada give any account of the capture of Fort Shelby, afterwards Fort McKay, and its retention till the close of the war of 1812. The village of Prairie du Chien, beside which was the fort, is, it may be stated, on the junction of the Wisconsin and Mississippi rivers, and the expedition was sent out by Col. Robert McDouall,² commanding at Michilimackinac, who gave the command to Major William McKay, with the temporary rank of lieutenant colonel. His report to Colonel McDouall, dated 27th July, 1814, and other papers are hereto annexed.

2 See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ix., p. 193, note.— Ed.

Bibaud's account, although short, is substantially correct. In Lossing's *Field Book of the War of 1812*, a paragraph of three lines states the fact of the capture, but the name of the fort, of the village, and of the officer who effected it, do not appear in the index. It is there stated that the force under McKay amounted to seven hundred men, mostly Indians (p. 851). Colonel McKay in his report gives the total number at six hundred and fifty, of whom one hundred and twenty were Michigan fencibles, Canadian volunteers and officers of the Indian department, the rest being Indians, who proved to be perfectly useless.

In the third volume of the *Wisconsin Historical Collections* is a narrative of the expedition, obtained by Lyman C. Draper from Capt. Augustin Grignon, in the spring of 1857, the narrator being then 77 years of age. The narrative differs to some extent from Colonel

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McKay's official report, 255 which being written at the time is more likely to be correct than a narrative given apparently from memory after the lapse of forty-three years. According to Captain Grignon, Colonel McKay had been engaged in the Indian trade from the year 1793; had been for a short time at Green Bay; returned to Michilimackinac, afterwards traded on the upper Mississippi, and then became a member of the Northwest company. "He was," says Grignon, "a man of intelligence, activity and enterprise, and well fitted to command the contemplated expedition against Prairie du Chien."—(*Wis. Hist. Colls.* , iii., p. 271.) The force under McKay, as given by Grignon, may be thus tabulated:—

WHITE MEN.

Joseph Rolette and Thomas Anderson, both traders, each raised a company of militia at Michilimackinac, and among their engagés of 50 men 1000

Of regulars with officers 20

(Michigan Fencibles under Captain James Pullman, not Pohlman, as stated by Mr. Grignon.)

Militia raised at Green Bay, almost all old men unfit for service 30

150

INDIANS.

Three bands of Sioux sent by Dickson from his force 200

Winnebagoes 100

Menomonees 75

Chippewas 25

Grignon says further, that if the force was represented at the time to be larger, it was for effect on the part of the British, to impress the Americans with an idea of their great strength in the Northwest; and on the part of the Americans, in palliation of their loss of Prairie du Chien (*Id.* , p. 272), but it does not seem probable that a commanding officer in an official report would have misrepresented the strength of his force.

In the ninth volume of the *Wisconsin Historical Collections* , the personal narrative and journal of Capt. Thomas G. Anderson are published. Anderson's narrative appears to have been written when he was ninety-one years of age, 256 and many of its statements are at complete variance with all the contemporary documents and with Captain Grignon's account. Written at that age, and fifty-six years after the events it records, the errors in Anderson's narrative are not, perhaps, to be wondered at, but they are nevertheless very serious. Anderson's journal, presumably written at the date it bears, relates to the time he was in temporary command after McKay was sent off to carry out the instructions of Colonel McDouall in other quarters, and before Captain Bulger's arrival. The correspondence between Colonel McKay and Captain Perkins,¹ commanding Fort Shelby, at Prairie du Chien, for the Americans, completely disproves the statements respecting delay on the part of the former in prosecuting the attack. The force left Michilimackinac on the 28th of June, arrived at Green Bay on the 4th or 5th of July, and reached Prairie du Chien on the 17th, at noon. On that same day the following summons was sent:

¹ Joseph Perkins, appointed second lieutenant in the 24th infantry, from Mississippi Territory, Jan. 22, 1813; became first lieutenant Aug. 15, 1813. — Ed.

Old Fort, Prairie Du Chien , July 17, 1814.

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Sir ,—An hour after the receipt of this, surrender to His Majesty's forces under my command, unconditionally, otherwise I order you to defend yourself to the last man. The humanity of a British officer obliges me (in case you should be obstinate) to request you will send out of the way your women and children.

I am, Sir, Your very humble servant, W. McKay , Lt. Col. Commanding the Expedition.

The answer was short and to the point, and appears to have been returned without delay or hesitation:—

Fort Shelby , July 17 th , 1814.

Sir ,—I received your polite note and prefer the latter, and am determined to defend to the last man.

Yours, &c., Jos. Perkins , Capt. Commanding United States Troops.

257

The date on the answer was originally written the 16th, but changed apparently at the time, the ink being identical in color, by the proper figure being written over it. Two day after, the fort was surrendered, the letter from the commander being in these terms:

Fort Shelby , July 19 th , 1814.

Sir ,—I am willing to surrender the garrison and troops under my command, provided you will save and protect the officers and men, and prevent the Indians from ill-treating them.

I am respectfully, Your obedient humble servant, Joseph Perkins , Capt., Commander U. S. Troops.

Col. William McCary, Commanding the Expedition .

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The irritation of the Indians, as is shown clearly from Colonel McDouall's letter to General Gordon Drummond, post, was such as to lead Lieut. Colonel McKay to take every precaution for the safety of the American troops, so that he desired Captain Perkins to delay the surrender.

Old Fort, Prairie Du Chein , July 19th 1814.

Sir,—I will thank you to prolong the hour to march out of your fort till eight o'clock tomorrow morning, when you shall march out with the honours of war, parade before the fort, deliver up your arms and put yourself under the protection of the troops under my command.

I am Sir, Your obedient humble servant, W. McKay , Lt.-Col. Commanding Expedition.

It may be stated, as the most positive evidence of the correctness of the dates here given, that the correspondence [in the Canadian archives] is in the respective handwritings of Lieut. Colonel McKay and Captain Perkins, the original letters sent by McKay being of course retained by Perkins, but the copies preserved in the Canadian archives were made by McKay's own hand, whilst the answers are the originals, as is also the report sent to Colonel McDouall. 17

258

All the evidence, official and unofficial, shows that no injury was sustained by the Americans, McKay having informed the Indians that any attempt at violence would be sternly repressed, even were it necessary for the white troops to fire on them.

In a memorial from Captain Bulger, addressed to the duke of York, dated the 5th of July, 1815 (Canadian archives, series C, Vol. 721, pp. 62 to 67), asking for promotion, he states (p. 65) that in October, 1814, he was appointed by Colonel McDouall to take command at Prairie du Chien, and left on the 29th, the journey occupying a month. The instructions, not dated but indorsed as given on the 29th, the day Captain Bulger left, are in Colonel

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McDouall's own writing; the latter and other correspondence down to the time when the post was given up are among the papers in the archives acquired from A. E. Bulger, of Montreal, son of Captain Bulger. These have been arranged and bound, and can now be easily consulted at Ottawa.¹

¹ Mr. Brymner writes me from Ottawa, under date of April 7, 1889: "I have only been able very roughly to estimate the number of words in the Bulger papers, which appear to be forty thousand or thereabouts."— Ed.

The following letter to Governor Clark,² or officer commanding at St. Louis, contains the closing records of the occupation of Prairie du Chien by the British forces:

² Gen. William Clark, governor of Missouri Territory. He was born in Virginia, Aug. 1, 1770, the youngest of six brothers, four of whom became famous in the Revolutionary war,—one being George Rogers Clark, the captor of Kaskaskia and Vincennes. In 1784, William went with his family to the present site of Louisville, Ky., where his brother, George Rogers, had built a fort. At the age of 18, William was appointed an ensign; March 7, 1792, became a lieutenant of infantry; in September, 1793, was made adjutant and quartermaster of the 4th sub-legion; resigned on account of ill-health in July, 1796. In March, 1804, President Jefferson made him a second lieutenant of infantry and assigned him to duty in Capt. Merriwether Lewis's Rocky-mountain exploration to the mouth of the Columbia river, Clark being practically the military director of the expedition. January, 1806, he became first lieutenant, but resigned from the army, Feb. 27, 1807, and officiated as Indian agent until congress appointed him brigadier general for the Territory of Upper Louisiana. During the war of 1812, he declined to accept the command then held by Gen. William Hull. In 1813, President Madison appointed him governor of Missouri Territory, which office he held until the organization of the state in 1821, when he was defeated in his candidacy for governor of the commonwealth. In May, 1822, President Monroe appointed him superintendent of Indian affairs at St. Louis, and he continued as such until his death, which occurred in that city, Sept. 1, 1838.— Ed.

Fort McKay, Prairie Du Chien , 23 rd May, 1815.

Sir ,—I have now to acknowledge the receipt of the two despatches sent to me some time ago, viz.: one from His Excellency Governor Clark, the other from Colonel Russell, answers to which it was not in my power to get, conveyed to Saint Louis without imminent hazard to the person carrying the same.

The official intelligence of peace reached me only yesterday, upon which I adopted the most prudent, and at the same time decided, measures, to put a stop to the further hostilities of the Indians; and I most ardently hope, and strongly believe, that the steps I have taken will be attended with the good effects which the British Government and that of the United States are so desirous of.

I propose evacuating this post tomorrow, taking with me the guns, &c., captured in the Fort, in order that they may be delivered up at Makinac, to such officer as the United States may appoint to receive that post. My instructions were to send them down the Mississippi to Saint Louis, if it could be done without hazard to the party conveying them.

My motives for immediately withdrawing from this Post, will be best explained by the enclosed extract from the instructions of Lieut. Colonel McDouall commanding at Michillimakinac. I have not the smallest hesitation in declaring my decided opinion that the presence of a detachment of British and United States troops, at the same time, at Fort McKay, would be the means of embroiling either one party or the other, in a fresh rupture with the Indians, which I presume it is the wish and desire of both Governments to avoid.

Should the measures I have adopted prove in the smallest degree contrary to the spirit and intent of the Treaty of Peace, I beg that it may not be considered by the Government of the United States as proceeding from any other 260 motive than a desire of avoiding

Library of Congress

any further trouble or contention with the Indians, and of promoting the harmony and good understanding, so recently restored to the two countries.

I have the honour to be Sir, Your most obedient servant, A. Bulger , Capt.

Commanding a detachment of the British troops on the Mississippi.

To His Excellency Governor Clark, Or Officer commanding at Saint Louis .

COLONEL M'DOUALL TO GENERAL DRUMMOND.

Michilimakinac , 16 July, 1814.

Sir ,—I beg leave to acquaint you that on the 21 st Nov. I received information of the capture of Prairie des Chiens on the Mississippi by the American Genl. Clarke who had advanced from St. Louis with six or eight very large Boats with about three hundred men for the purpose of establishing himself at that post by building a Fort the situation being very eligible for that purpose. As the greater part of my Indian Force was from the countries adjoining La prairie des Chiens, they felt themselves not a little uneasy at the proximity of the enemy to their defenceless families, but on the arrival next day of the Susell or tête de Chien,¹ a distinguished Chief of the Winnebago Nation (who came to supplicate assistance) & on his mentioning the circumstances of its Capture, particularly the deliberate and barbarous murder of seven men of his own nation, the sentiment of indignation & desire to revenge was universal amongst them; all were bent upon returning for the deliverance of their Wives and Children, & to drive from their Country these unprincipled Invaders whose appetite for encroachment grows by what it feeds upon and can never be satisfied.

¹ See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ix., p. 300.— Ed.

I saw at once the imperious necessity which existed of endeavouring by every means to dislodge the American Genl from his new conquest, & make him relinquish the immense

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261 tract of country he had seized upon in consequence & which brought him into the very heart of that occupied by our friendly Indians, There was no alternative it must either be done or there was an end to our connexion with the Indians for if allowed to settle themselves by dint of threats, bribes, & sowing divisions among them, tribe after tribe would be gained over or subdued, & thus would be destroyed the only barrier which protects the great trading establishments of the North West and the Hudson's Bay Companys. Nothing could then prevent the enemy from gaining the source of the Mississippi, gradually extending themselves by the Red River to Lake Winnipic, from whence the descent of Nelsons River to York Fort would in time be easy. The total subjugation of the Indians on the Mississippi would either lead to their extermination by the enemy or they would be spared on the express condition of assisting them to expel us from Upper Canada. Viewing the subject in this light I determined to part with the Sioux and Winebago Indians to give them every encouragement and assistance, & even to weaken ourselves here, rather than the enterprise should not succeed. I appointed Mr. Rolette and Mr. Anderson, & Mr. Grignon of Green Bay to be captains of volunteers, the two former raised 63 men in two days, whom I completed, armed and cloathed, the latter takes with him all the settlers of Green Bay. I held several councils with the Indians on this important business. The solemn & impressive eloquence of the tête de Chien, excited a general enthusiasm, & never was more zeal or unanimity shown amongst them, this chief is scarcely inferior to Tecumseth, & I doubt not will act a distinguished part in the campaign; he was particularly urgent with me for two favours—the first—one of their Fathers officers to command the expedition,—the second—one of their Father's big guns to strike terror into their enemys—the latter request had been repeatedly made by most of the Indian chiefs, & I agreed to let them have the three pounder I brought from York, chiefly from the novelty of the thing among the Indians, & the effect it will have in augmenting their numbers, I attached to it a Bombadier of the 262 Royal Artillery & a sergeant, corporal & twelve smart fellows of the Michigan Fencibles. I next appointed Major McKay to command the whole, with the local rank of lieutenant colonel, & in thus acceding to both their requests the chiefs told me they had not a wish ungratified, that

Library of Congress

they & their young men would die in defense of their gun, but as to McKay they had not words to express the fulness of their delight & satisfaction; he is certainly well qualified for the task he has undertaken, being determined yet conciliatory, well acquainted with the language & mode of managing the Indians, & familiar with the place intended to be attacked.

Everything being prepared, Lt. Col. McKay sailed under a salute from the Garrison on the 28th ultimo, taking 75 of the Michigan Fencibles and Canadian Volunteers & about 136 Indians. He arrived at Green Bay about six days after, at which place such was the great zeal displayed, that his force was immediately doubled, but as every arrangement had been made previous to his departure for the junction of the Winnebago & Follsovine¹ Indians at the portage of the Ouisconsing River, I have scarcely a doubt but that his force at that place will beat least 1,500 men, besides being afterwards joined by the Sioux from River St. Peters & other tribes. Upon the whole, this rapid advance of Genl. Clark's upon the Mississippi, may ultimately prove a lucky circumstance, it has already tended to unite the Indians in the common cause, & tribes who before have cherished an hereditary enmity for nearly centuries have, on this occasion, forgot their ancient feuds, & vie with each other who shall be foremost in chastising the merciless invaders of their country; the horrible cruelties which the enemy in their late operations have been guilty of, has roused such a spirit of vengeance amongst them that I am apprehensive if they do not effect their escape, neither the Genl. or his troops stand much chance of being able to recount the tragic particulars that will ensue. This Ruffian on taking the Prairie des Chiens, captured eight Indians of the Winnebago Nation; they cajoled them at first with affected kindness, set provisions

1 Folles Avoine, or Menomonees.— Ed.

263 provisions before them; & in the act of eating treacherously fell upon them & murdered seven in cold blood—the eighth escaped, to be the sad historian of their horrible fate! The tête de Chien has told me this story, unable to support his indignation at their being butchered like so many dogs. An even has happened since of so aggravated a nature as

Library of Congress

must awaken in the breast of apathy itself, every latent quality of revenge and shut the gates of mercy upon these relentless assassins. Col. McKay writes me that Genl. Clarke invited, & by much promises of friendship got hold of four more of the Winebagoes; he shut them up in a log house, & afterwards shot them thro' between the logs. One of them was the brother of the Susell or tête de Chien! Another Victim was the wife of *Le Feuille* , the first Chief of the Sioux, who was with me here. After a recital of these atrocities it is scarcely necessary to ask if the enemy are likely to meet with mercy, but do they deserve it? By this time Col. McKay is near his destination. *If successful and the thing is practicable* , I have directed him to descend the Mississippi and also to attack the Piorias Fort¹ on the Illinois River.

¹ Fort Clark, at Peoria, built by American troops under Gen. Benjamin Howard, in the autumn of 1813.—See Reynolds's *Pion. Hist. Illinois* (ed. 1887), pp. 408, 409.— Ed.

I have the honour to be, &c., R. McDouall , Lt. Col. Comg.

To Lt. Genl. Drummond .

COLONEL M'KAY TO COLONEL M'DOUALL.

Prairie du Chein, Fort McKay , July 27 th , 1814.

Lt.-Colonel R. McDouall, Commanding Michilimackinac and its Dependencies, &c., &c .

Sir ,— I have the honour to communicate to you that on my arrival here the 17th inst. at 12 o'clock, my force amounting to 650 men, of which 120 were Michigan Fencibles, Canadian Volunteers and Officers of the Indian Department; the remainder were Indians that proved to be perfectly 264 useless. I found that the enemy had a small fort, situated on a small hill immediately behind the village, with two block houses perfectly safe from Indians, and that they had six pieces cannon and sixty or seventy effective men, officers included. That lying at anchor in the middle of the Mississippi, immediately in front of the fort, a very large

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gunboat, called Governor Clark, gunboat No. 1. She mounts 14 pieces cannon, some six, three, and a number of cohorns, is manned with 70 or 80 men with fire-arms, and measures 70 feet keel. This floating blockhouse is so constructed that she can be rowed in any direction, the men on board being perfectly safe from small arms while they can use their own to the greatest advantage. She goes remarkably fast, particularly down the current, being rowed by 32 oars.

At half past 12 o'clock I sent Capt. Anderson, with a flag of truce to invite them to surrender, which they refused. My intention was not to have made an attack till next morning at daylight, but it being impossible to control the Indians I ordered our gun to play upon the gunboat, which she did with a surprising good effect, for in the course of three hours, the time the action lasted, she fired 86 rounds, two-thirds of which went into the Governor Clark. They kept up a constant fire upon us, both from the boat and fort; we were about an hour between two fires, having run our gun up within musket shot of the fort, from whence we beat the boat out of her station. She cut her cable and ran down the current and sheltered under an island. We were obliged to desist, it being impossible with our little barges to attempt to board her and our only gun in pursuit of her would have exposed our whole camp to the enemy. She therefore made her escape.

I immediately sent off a canoe with three men, an loway that came from Mackinac with me and two of six Sauks that joined me in the Fox River. I gave them four kegs gunpowder and ordered them to pass the gunboat and get as soon as possible to the rapids at the Rock River, where it is generally believed the gunboat will run aground, and have all the Sauks assembled to annoy the men and prevent their debarking to get firewood, &c. The next morning I 265 despatched two boats under Capt. Grignon with one officer and 26 men to go in pursuit of her and observe her motions. They fell in with her the day after leaving this, but having only small arms could do her no injury. Capt. Grignon summoned her to surrender to no purpose; he, however, followed her up till within a league of the rapids, when they met another of the enemy's gunboats, tho smaller, arranged in the same manner as the Governor Clark. The wind favouring her she made after our boats, but

Library of Congress

could not overtake them. She in a short time threw her anchor and Capt. Grignon very improperly made the best of his way here, since when I have had no news from there, notwithstanding I have despatched canoes almost daily ever since. On the nineteenth, finding there was only six rounds round shot remaining, including three of the enemy's we had picked up, the day was employed in making lead bullets for the gun and throwing up two breastworks, one within 700 yards and the other within 450 yards of the fort. At six in the evening, everything being prepared, I marched to the first breastwork, from whence I intended to throw in the remaining six rounds iron ball red hot into the fort in order to set it on fire, the only apparent recourse. At the moment the first ball was about being put into the cannon a white flag was put out at the fort and immediately an officer came down with a note and surrendered. It being now too late, I deferred making them deliver up their arms in form till morning, but immediately placed a strong guard in the fort and took possession of the artillery. From the time of our landing till they surrendered the Indians kept up a constant but perfectly useless fire upon the fort; the distance from where they fired was too great to do execution even had the enemy been exposed to view.

I am happy to inform you that notwithstanding every man in the Michigan Fencibles, Canadian Volunteers and officers in the Indian Department behaved as well as I could possibly wish and tho' in the midst of a hot fire not a man was even wounded except three Indians, that is one Puant, one Follavoine and one Sioux, all severely but not dangerously. I beg you will excuse my not having it in my power 266 to give you a full account of the things taken in the fort, for a man having to do with Indians in my present situation is more tormented than if in the infernal regions. One Lieut. 24th U. S. Regt., 1 Militia Capt., 1 Militia Lieut., 3 Sergts., 3 Corporals, 2 Musicians, 53 Privates, 1 Commissary, 1 Interpreter, 2 women and 1 child—1 iron six-pounder mounted on garrison carriage, 1 iron three-pounder on field carriage, 3 swivels, 61 stand arms, 4 swords, 1 field carriage for six-pounder and a good deal of ammunition, 28 barrels pork and 46 barrels flour. These are the principal articles found in the fort when surrendered.

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I will now take the liberty to request your particular attention to Captains Rolette and Anderson, the former for his activity in many instances but particularly during the action, the action having commenced unexpectedly he run down from the upper end of the village with his comp'y thro' the heat of the fire to receive orders, and before and since in being instrumental in preserving the citizens being quite ruined by pillaging Indians—and the latter for his unwearied attention in keeping everything in order during the rout and his activity in following up the cannon during the action and assisting in transporting the ammunition. Lieut. Porlier of Capt. Anderson's company, Lieuts. Graham and Brisbois of the Indian Department, Capt. Dease of the Prairie du Chien Militia and Lieut. Powell of the Green Bay all acted with that courage and activity so becoming Canadian Militia or Volunteers. The Interpreters also behaved well but particularly Mr. St. Germain from the Sault Ste. Marie and Mr. Renville Sioux Interpreter; they absolutely prevented their Indians committing any outrages in the plundering way. Commissary Honoré who acted Lieut. in Capt. Rolette's Company whose singular activity in saving and keeping an exact account of provisions surprised me and without which we must unavoidably have lost much of that essential article. The Michigan Fencibles who manned the gun behaved with great courage, coolness and regularity. As to the Sergt. of Artillery too much cannot be said of him for the fate of the day and our successes are to be 267 attributed in a great measure to his courage and well managed firing.

I am sorry to be under the necessity of reproaching some of the Indians, but Puants particularly, for shameful depredations committed during the action on the 17 th and since. Many of them (Puants) in place of meeting the enemy immediately on their arrival ran off to the farms, killed the inhabitants' cattle and pillaged their houses even to the covering off their beds, and leaving many without a second shirt to put on their backs. Even in the village they did the same outrages, breaking to pieces what they could not carry away. This prevented the Militia joining me, being absolutely obliged to keep guard over their houses, &c.

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The Sioux, Soteux,¹ Court Oreilles and part of the Follavoines though perfectly useless obeyed my orders pretty well, but the Puants behaved in a most villanous manner and were I permitted to decide their fate should never receive a shilling's worth of presents from Government, on the contrary I would cut them off to a man. They despise the idea of receiving orders from an officer that does not hold a blanket in one hand and a piece of pork in the other to pay them to listen to what he may have to say, audaciously saying they are under no obligations to us but they have themselves preserved the country. The moment they had finished pillaging and got their share of the prize they marched off, except about ten men who are this instant in the act of cutting up the green wheat, which if they do not desist I shall be obliged to confine them to the fort, not only for the good of the citizens but for our own safety as provisions will be very scarce till after harvest.

1 Sauteurs, or Chippewas.— Ed.

Since the surrender of the Fort and the departure of the Puants the inhabitants have all come forward and taken the oath of allegiance, and are now doing duty on patrol or otherwise as required.

As to going down the Mississippi and returning by the way of Chigago as was originally intended, is now rendered impracticable for the present--no dependence whatever to be placed in the Indians except the Sioux, the others having 268 abandoned me immediately on the receipt of their share of the prize, my trifling force of Volunteers cannot warrant anything honorable by making that tour.

I beg to remark that in case the intention is to retain this place, a reinforcement of Fifty regular Troops would be necessary, a quantity of ammunition, agreeable to a list herewith, for the guns, and pork for their provisions. As to flour plenty of that article can be procured here in a month and a half from this. My reason for making this remark is that my decided opinion is that from this to the fall an attack may undoubtedly be looked for from below, and if four or five of these floating blockhouses come up armed, as the Governor Clarke

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was, our present force is certainly not equal to prevent their repulsing us unless more particularly favored by providence than before.

As soon as I can get certain information of the enemies situation, and if I find they are fortifying themselves anywhere from this to Fort Madison, I will go down and try and dislodge them. But if I am convinced there is no danger by leaving this, I will as soon as such news may be ascertained go into Mackinac. But not otherwise.

It was with much difficulty I preserved the prisoners from the Puants, but having made use of supplications, then threats, &c., till at length they became less violent, and at last by keeping a strong guard over them, the Indians went off doing them no injury.

My intention was to have kept the prisoners here till I got certain information from below, and if the enemy came here and fired a single shot, to have sacrificed them to the Indians. But I am sorry that circumstances oblige me absolutely to send them to St. Louis. By keeping them here any longer would cut me quite short of provisions, and as to sending in to Mackinac, a sufficient force to guard them would leave me quite destitute of resources in case of an attempt from below, I have therefore determined to send them off to-morrow morning and let them take their risk under a small guard. The enemy had three men wounded in the Fort, two severely but not dangerously, the other slightly, and report says five men were killed and ten wounded in the 269 gunboat, but more surely must have been killed and wounded from the great number of shots that went into her. I take the liberty to refer you to Robert Dickson, Esquire, for his opinion respecting my information of the Puants.

Report says that 400 Cavalry are about this time to leave St. Louis for here; if so, they will give us our hands full.

I send this by Indians express to the Green Bay from whence I have directed Mr. Porlier to send off a canoe to Mackinac. I adopt this method being the shortest route, from here

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by land the Indians will reach the Bay in four days and four from that to Mackinac, which is the shortest passage that can possibly be expected.

My force here at present amounts to about 300 strong, that is 200 Michigans, Volunteers and Militia and 100 Sioux, Soteux, Court Oreilles and Puants.

I have the honor to be, Sir, Your most obedient humble servant, W. McKay , Lt.-Colonel Commanding.

Supplement.— After my despatches were gone about ten minutes a few Sauks arrived from the Rapids at the Rock River with two Canadians and bring the following information. On the instant six American barges, three of which were armed, were coming up and camped in the Rapids that night; that in the course of the night the party of Indians having the four kegs gunpowder I sent from this on the 17th reached them. The barges being camped at short distances from each other, they on the 22nd early in the morning attacked the lower, they killed about one hundred persons, took five pieces cannon, burnt the barge, and the other barges seeing this disaster and knowing there were British troops here run off. This is perhaps one of the most brilliant actions fought by Indians only since the commencement of the war. I think now there is little danger here for the present, but I have not the smallest doubt but an attempt will be made either this fall or early in the spring. I will send off to-morrow for the cannon, the size cannot be properly ascertained but from the description the Indians give 270 there are 2 three-pounders and 3 mortars. The Sauks, Renards and Kickapoos were engaged in this action, they lost two men and one woman killed. To give an idea how desperate the Indians were, the women even jumped on board with their hoes, &c., some breaking heads, others breaking casks, some trying to cut holes in her bottom to sink her, and others setting fire to her decks. As one of the barges was making from shore the loway that came from Mackinac with me jumped on her deck and with his hatchet cut a hole and fired his gun among the Americans in the boat, then plunged into the river and made his escape ashore.

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Those Indians came here for a supply of ammunition. I send them off to morrow morning with ten kegs gunpowder and a few presents of goods, &c. It is very fortunate that I received your reinforcement of gunpowder at the Bay, the demand for that article has been very great, as also for tobacco, but now both are nearly out. I shall now go to work and have the fort, &c., put in as good repair as circumstances will admit.

I was taken very ill last evening with a swelling on the right side of the head, and has kept me in a violent fever ever since. I believe it is what in Canada is generally called the *mumps* .

I have the honor to be, Your very obedient and humble servant, W. McKay , Lt.-Colonel Commanding.

Fort McKay, 29 th July, 1814.

Lt.Colonel McDouall .

DICKSON AND GRIGNON PAPERS—1812&—1815.

The following letters are selections from a large number of early documents secured by the editor, while in Green Bay, Fort Howard and Kaukauna, during the summer of 1887. They throw much light on the history of what is now Wisconsin, during the war of 1813–15, and supplement the Lawe and Grignon papers published in Vol. X., *Wisconsin Historical Collections* , pp. 94–121. The letters of Robert Dickson were found in the papers left by John Lawe, of Green Bay, the bulk of which were presented to the Society by James M. Boyd, of Kaukauna, Judge Lawe's son-in-law and the executor of his estate. The letters by Louis Grignon are taken from his letter-book, kept in French, and presented to the Society by Charles de Langlade Grignon, of Green Bay, Louis's grandson.

COLONEL DICKSON¹ TO JACOB FRANKS.²

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1 Col. Robert Dickson had long been a trader at Prairie du Chien.—(*Wis. Hist. Colls*, x, p. 213.) During the war of 1812–15, he was engaged as Indian agent for the British, for the Western district.— Ed.

2 An early Green Bay trader, uncle of John Lawe. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii., p. 247, note 2; iii, p. 250.— Ed.

Michi ma Oct, 2 d 1812.

Dear Sir ,—My last respects were by the folsavoines³ to you sinse which I have been still detained here waiting for the goods which after many delays are at last arrived & I have with much difficulty obtained a tolerable Assortment. You will of course take the Articles you require for your part of the Country & be guided by appearances. It will be necessary for Mr. [John] Lawe to make use of all dilligense to get to the Prairie [du Chien] as the season is much advanced, he will give you all the News. I was glad he came in here as it is of the greatest consequence the River

3 Menomonees.— Ed.

272 St. Peters should be well supplied. I am in expectation of hearing from the Commandant something respecting your flour it is rather singular the manner he has acted with you. There have come up five Canoes of presents for the Indians. We have done everything in our power to send them out, among the Indians but I am afraid we shall not succeed. I expect to leave this in a few days & shall go down as fast as I can to Montreal. I am fully determined to come to a final Settlement with the people in Montreal. Wilmot left this on the 18 th of last month. I trust I shall be able to make a favorable arrangement & throw off the Shackles that have so long fettered us it is high time. We have no chance of doing any thing in the Country in the way we have been, this some time past. We are as yet quite in the dark respecting Politics, nor can any one form an opinion respecting the duration of the War. I shall from Montreal write you & if any thing of consequence has then

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transpired I shall have letters sent you by Express from Detroit. With best wishes for your health and that of your Family I remain

Dear Franks, Yours truly, R. Dickson.

Mr. J. Francks .

Indorsed: "Mr. Jacob Franks, La Baye, Oct. 1812."

DICKSON TO FRANKS.

Michilimackinac , OCT. 14 th 1812.

Dear Sir ,—I have been detained here sinse Mr. Lawe left this, owing to the King's Vessell having run aground at the [MS. obscure]—but she is now free and will get off this evening. And this time I trust that we will get at last to La Baye as the season is fine. We will still be in good time. No News by the Vessells. A Canoe from Montreal arrived here on the 11 th Inst. I received a letter from Mr. Pothier¹ who informs me of Mr. Gillespies Arrival there. An Attack on the lines was expected in the beginning of this month the Canadians are all hearty in the Cause. Regular

¹ Agent of the Northwest Fur company.— Ed.

273 troops were daily expected from England. No idea can at present be form'd respecting the duration of the War. Mr. Ogilvy met with an unfortunate accident, his horse having fallen with him, his life is in danger which I am sorry for. I shall lose no occasion that may offer of writing you. I enclose you Jean Veau's¹ Note which was forgot. I owe the Baker here near 400 lbs. flour. I have directed Mr. Oliver to pay him which you will please return; also 100 lbs. I owe a man here named George. The pease have been placed to your credit with Mr. Crawford he has left some Articles for you which you will find here.

¹ Jacques Vieau. See *ante*, p. 220, note 5.— Ed.

Library of Congress

I am in hopes that that you will come in & see what is going on here. If Mr. La Suassage is with you please remember me to him.

With best wishes for your health & prosperity, I remain, Dear Sir, Yours very truly, R. Dickson .

Jacob Franks, Esqr .

DICKSON TO JOHN LAWE.²

² Then a lieutenant in the Indian department, under Dickson.— Ed.

Sandwich , Aug 31 1813.

Dear Sir ,—When Mr. Grignon³ arrives at La Baye with the gunpowder for the Indians you will take the necessary precaution to get intelligence of what is doing in the Mississippi. Should the Americans have come up you will endeavor by all means to get the Indians to drive them down again.

³ Louis Grignon, also a lieutenant in the Indian department under Dickson. Grignon's uniform coat, used at this time, together with his commission, are on exhibition in the Society's museum.— Ed.

Wishing you well I remain, Dear Sir, Yours truly, R. Dickson .

To Mr. John Lawe, La Baye . 18

274

LIEUTENANT GRIGNON TO DICKSON.

[Translated from the French by Emma A. Hawley.]

Library of Congress

McKinac 18 Sept r 1813.

Dear Sir ,—I have received since your departure your orders to me. I hope you are aware that I will execute them to the best of my ability.

I have kept the Indians quiet, following your orders with great care. The men who have been here a long time whom I have been able to see, have aided me in keeping the Sioux contented and I have succeeded in making the others follow their example. But too much has not been done. I have much fear at times, that is to say of embarrassment by the Indians, and even by the interpreters who have no fear of them.

There is always lack of money, lack of money.¹

¹ While sorting Louis Grignon's papers, in the Society's archives, in the spring of 1888, a clerk discovered among them three pieces of paper money, of the sort paid to the creditors of the British government in Canada and the Northwest during the war of 1812–15. These were probably the earliest forms of paper currency ever in actual circulation within what is now Wisconsin. Following is a fac-simile of the form issued by the commissary at Michilimackinac, the bracketed portions having been written in with a pen:

Deputy Assistant Commissary General.

A second form is as follows, the blanks having been originally filled in with pen, but the writing fluid has since faded out:

Grignon had doubtless received this paper as pay for military services, and failed to redeem it before the close of the war. Despite the word Bon, which, repeated seventeen times in a variety of types, makes up a border at the left-hand side of the Quebec bill, given above in fac-simile, these promises to pay were sadly at a discount during the war, and it was probably not worth Grignon's while to attempt getting his money on them.— Ed.

Library of Congress

By your letter you believe me to be at La Baye. It is not possible that I can leave without orders. The order has come. the Sioux go today and I go tomorrow with Thomas as you have ordered. There remains only the goods of the Gov'ment which have not yet arrived.

275

I will not tell you that I am well, for I always enjoy good health. I will deliver to Mr. Askin the barge [obscure] before I go.

I am Sir, Your ob t Servant, L. Grignon .

To R. Dickson .

GRIGNON TO DICKSON.

[Translated from the French by Emma A. Hawley.]

La Baye 5 October 1813.

Sir ,—I depart today to follow my route with the powder alone.

I have consulted with Mr. Cass & I will leave with him the powder for the Chippewas & Oatawas. Finally I depart desiring only to do my full duty and that you will be satisfied. But I may be deceived in some of these things as I have no positive knowledge. I believe the couriers run 276 great risks in the Mississippi, but I hope for the best. If any thing happens I will send you the news immediately.

The Sioux have exhibited great discontent, particularly the son of L'elle rouge, but I think from the speech of Petit Corbeaux,¹ who I believe is the best disposed, that the least may be expected. L'elle rouge is for whipping the Sauteaux.²

¹ Little Crow.— Ed.

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2 Chippewas.— Ed.

I am, waiting for the pleasure of seeing you in good health,

Your servant, Louis Grignon.

Mr. Robert Dickson .

DICKSON TO GRIGNON AND LAWE.

Winnebago Lake Nov. 13, 1813.

Gentlemen ,—I have been directed by Capt Bullock³ Commandant of Michilimackinac to procure Beef Flour & pease for his garrison from Le Baye. You will therefore deliver Serg t McGalpin what you can collect taking his Receipt for the same. The price agreed for with you is what is given for the same kinds of provisions at Michilimackinac. You will please furnish the Detachment of Michigan Fencibles with provisions while at La Baye & for their route to Mackinac sending in an account of the same & also what else may be necessary for their voyage.

3 Richard Bullock, captain in the 41st foot.— Ed.

I have the honor to be, Gentlemen, Your most obedient humble Servant, Robert Dickson , Agent & Superintendent to the Western Nations.

N. B. Put the Beef in Barrels.

Messrs. P. Grignon & J. Lawe, La Baye .

DICKSON TO LAWE.

Nov r 13, 1813, Lac Puants .

Library of Congress

Dear Sir ,—I received both your letters with the receipt for the Goods enclosed which was right except the Ommission of Six Medals.

277

I have had a most miserable time in the Rapids had Jean Veau & the Baye people not come with me, I should [have] never got up. But I have a fine prospect before me hunger & cold, all the small Lakes are frozen but I trust a Southerly wind will unthaw them. I send you by Jean Veau a Bale Carrot Tobacco 1 pa Blankets & a Dozen Sissors. Our men left a pkg. of Ball which if found Jean Veau will deliver you. There is a pec of Linen for Mrs. Lanchevin—please give Petite from your goods one pr. 2 pt Blankets a gun six pounds Powder Ball shot two yds. Grey Coating one Blankets Strouds & some small Articles. Also old Mr. Rheume apr Blankets & a Capot—the other a Capot.

Mr. Ducharme

1 pr. Blankets

1 pr. small "

6 lb. Powder

1 Carrot Tobacco.

6 lb. Ball

1 Blanket & Strouds

I did not intend to give you this trouble but I have not a moment to spare. I will return you these articles. I send you an additional kg of Gunpowder by Jean Veau. I can hardly hold my pen for cold. With Best Wishes

I am Dr Sir, Yours truly, R. Dickson .

Library of Congress

N.B. You will please clothe Wechemquae's Children I have given for him his wife.

Mr. John Lawe, La Baye .

DICKSON'S ORDERS TO LAWE AND GRIGNON.

Green Bay , November 26, 1813.

Orders To Lieut. John Lawe [and] Lieut. Louis Grignon .

Gentlemen ,—From some occurrences that have lately taken place—it will be necessary for you to act in your public capacities with the greatest vigilance. All persons holding improper language to Indians or others, you will immediately seize & confine. If any reports of consequence come to your knowledge from any Quarter you will give me the earliest information. Should any of the three prisoners 278 or others of the Soldiers desert, you will send a party of Indians to bring them back, dead or alive; when any of the chiefs come to this place you will urgently hold the same discourse to them as I have sent by Lt. Chandonnet [Chandonnai]¹ to Millwackee.

¹ *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x., p. 112, note.— Ed.

Having the greatest reliance on you both for your honor & integrity I remain fully persuaded that you will act with the greatest Energy in the defense of the best of Kings and Our Glorious Constitution.

Y r humble Servant, Robert Dickson , Ag t & Superintendent to the Western Nations.

DICKSON TO LAWE.

Garlic Island Dec r 5, 1813.

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Dear Sir ,—I only got here the third day after leaving you at Mr. Jacobs we followed the track of the men with the Oxen, who got lost, such a road I never saw in my life. I left the two horses at the Puant Rapid,² but Back deserted & Rangé found him on his way to la Baye at the Chute of Grand Konomie.³

² Winnebago rapids, now Neenah.— Ed.

³ Grand Kackalin, now Kaukauna.— Ed.

Nothing new here, I found the Grand Soldat waiting my arrival with other Indians two Puants have just arrived from the Detour de Pin. All quiet on the prairie. I hope that Mr. Jacobs has got Mascas fifty Bushels of wheat & pair of Oxen. There must no toll be paid at the mill. I will account to you for it and be so good as [to] tell Rabbis that he must not cheat the King, although he may cheat all the rest of the World which I am convinced he does. I have given an Order on you to them Indians for two Blanketts, 2 pts 1 strouds a Capot & Shirts. An old fellow and family at the River de Pomme⁴ Naicetoche & his Son were here, two rogues but I received them tolerably well, I only told them that if any Indians next Spring spoke in favor of our

⁴ Apple river.— Ed.

279 Enemies, that I was determined to make an example of them. I would wish you and Mr. Grignon to consult about getting four resolute Indians to sett out for Mackinac with the prisoners. McGulpin & two other men will accompany them. Mr. Pulman¹ now goes down to arrange matters. I will thank you to shew him any attention in your power.

¹ *Wis. Hist. Coils.*, x., p. 500.— Ed.

With best wishes for yourself & family, I am Dear Sir Yours truly, R. Dickson .

Mr. John Lawe .

DICKSON TO LAWE.

Winibago Lake Dec r 19 1813.

Dear Sir ,—I received your separate favour of 9 th & 13 th Inst, and have been so much harrassd by one thing & another since that I have had not a moment to answer them. I sent off Sixteen men yesterday for the Mississippi. Duncan Graham² followed this evening.

2 *Wis Hist. Colls.*, ix., p. 467.— Ed.

I have seen all the Indians of the Rock River & a good number from the Ouisconsin. The Court Orreilles,³ about Twenty, have been here & received presents. but I shall give nothing indeed to any one from that side except to Mishelle Boyer if he come here. They are a sett of Vagabonds without Courage or probity.

3 A band of Chippewas.— Ed.

I send you two white fish netts 3 lb Nett Thread & 6 lb Sturgeon twine. I will send you more as soon as I find it also Salt how much I cannot say having no Stillyards. Mr. Pulman went down yesterday with the Soldiers, you must do the best you can to feed them, if your Provision fails & the people refuse to sell, you must seize what is necessary in the King's name. I would by no means wish to proceed to extremities, but his Majestys soldiers must be furnished with Provisions. I sent Mr. L. Grignon 16 lb sturgeon twine & 8 lb Nett thread the other day—I will tell you my reason for doing so when you come up.

280

I hardly know what to say respecting Mr. Masca's¹ wheat his mode of selling it is quite new & he deserves credit for his ingenuity, but I cannot allow myself to be so greatly imposed upon. His offer is like selling a loaf of Bread reserving all the Crust & as much of the Crumb as he chooses to take. Had I accepted his offer, Masca & Rabbee would have

Library of Congress

settled the business handsomely. If he will sell his Wheat without any further Stipulation at Three dollars a Bushell take it—if not we shall keep our Eye on it when Hunger will make us keen. We will try to do without his Oxen for the present. My respects to Mr. Masca.

1 C. B. Masca, the nickname for Dominique Brunette, Sr., a resident of Green Bay, on the west side of the Fox.—(*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x., pp. 136, 138.) He appears to have been a miller.— Ed.

It gives me pleasure to learn that the Sturgeon have be gan to appear at La Baye. We are going to pierse the Lake tomorrow. I trust that our Fishery will be productive else we shall look blue before the Spring. On my arrival here from below had been eating pease without grease for sometime. I gave them as much Beef as they could eat & stuff—they only swallowed the moderate portion of 150 lbs. for their Breakfast. Thank Heaven they are now dispersed. There came some time sinse four Otoways & a woman here & I cannot prevail on them to move off they will neither hunt or fish and I cannot see them starve. My Provisions are very low. I send for two bags of Pease & two hundred Flour. L t Pulman is to give two men to assist them to the Small lake. I hope the ice will be strong enough for Sleighs towards the end of the Month. I should be sorry to be deprived of the pleasure of seeing the People New Years day.

Endeavour to discover who gave the Indians Rum. I shall take care they will not follow that practise long. Whoever exchanges or buys any Articles given by his Majesty as presents to the Indians shall refund the same when demanded & if refused shall be compelled by Force. You will tell the Indians to take back their property immediately.

When Mr. Grignon & you come up we shall fix on the proper manner of sending the Prisoners to Mackinac. I am 281 sorry that the Mill is nearly Stopped, but we must do as well as we can. Give the Soldiers Wheat & let them grind it with a hand mill if to be got.

I regret Wasson—you acted right in having him decently inferred. Tom & Williams letters have been received—my respects to the Ladies for their dilligence. I now send four deer

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Skins to make me a Capot—they are not well [prepared] & not yet smoaked let them take measure by Chapeu's¹ Capet only a little larger & something longer. Please furnish an Otter or two for the Capes—Borders & Cuffs. You see I will be very fine, & I promised you know who a green Blanket which I now send. Please give it to her. I forget her Name or perhaps I never knew it. This is the tenth letter I have wrote to day, & a pretty long one. I will write you tomorrow by Mr. Le Salliere² try to procure two Horses to go to Millwackee & return.

1 Stanislaus Chappeau, a Green Bay trader.— Ed.

2 Le Sellier, an old Canadian voyageur, who was Major Long's guide in 1823.—(*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x., pp. 72, 504.)— Ed.

I remain, Dear Sir, Yours truly, R. Dickson .

My Compts to Chapeu.

Addressed: "Lieut nt John Lawe, La Baie. P r Dabin & Lalarné."

DICKSON TO LAWE.

Winebagoe Lake Dec r 20, 1813.

Dear Sir ,—I wrote you last night by my Men, this will be handed to you by Mr. La Saliers who goes to Millwackee. You will please deliver to him Two Kgs gun powder 50 lbs each Two Bags Ball & One Bale of Carrot Tobacco one Blanket 2 Pts & a Kettle. I will replace the Tobacco as I know you will be Short of that Article; Endeavor to send him off as soon as possible. Nothing further occurs to me at present.

I remain Dear Sir Yours truly, R. Dickson .

P. S. You will give them Provisions for the Voyage.

Library of Congress

Lieut. John Lawe .

282

DICKSON TO LAWE.

Winebago Lake , Dec r 25, 1813.

Dear Sir ,—I received yours by the Men with the Provisions. I have been eat up lately and as you say it is lucky the Ice would not allow the Beef coming up else it would have gone with the Rest.

Michelle Boyer has been here. I told him to see the Indians at Millwackee know that they can only expect Amunition & Tobacco from you. It would require a Ship load of Goods to cloathe them all.

I expect you and Mr. Grignon at all events in the last of the year. I shall return with you & we shall send off to Mackinac soon as possible. Mr. Palman writes that some of the gentlemen are unwell & cannot come I am sorry for their misfortunes, but hope that they will recover.

I am most heartily tired of this distributing of Goods and wish for the Spring. I hear nothing but the cry of hunger from all Quarters. I think if we can come across an American Convoy of provisions, it will go hard but we shall take it. If you come up in a Cariole bring a few potatoes & a pec of Beef. The Otoways stole the Quarter of Pork I got from Mr. Chevalier¹ & my Larder is not well stocked at present. My respects to Mr. Pulman he is to come up with you. I am glad that you take care of him. Not a Sturgeon yet but live in hopes.

¹ Barthelemie Chevalier, a south-side settler at Green Bay.— Ed.

I had letters from the Prairie three days ago. All quiet there the Saukes have all quitted the Americans. An Envoy from the Spaniards, I believe Mr. Henry, has been among them. I tell

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them to strike on the Americans & Both the Spaniards & English will support them. Inform Mr. Grignon of this news as I do not write him please give my respects & say that I shall be glad to see him with you, with the Compliments of Season. Accept of my sincere wish for your health & that of your Family.

I remain Dear Sir Yours truly, R. Dickson .

P. S. Remember me to Mr Jacobs. I expect him with you if not sick.

Lieut. John Lawe .

283

GRIGNON TO CAPTAIN ASKIN.1

1 Capt. John Askin. of the British Indian department, at Michilimackinac.— Ed.

[Translated from the French by James D. Butler.]

Bay, 10 January, 1814.

Sir ,—

* * * * *

I have had the honor and pleasure to receive your letter of the 4th inst. which informed us of the disaster and sad situation of the army of Gen. Proctor. A young Menomonee taken prisoner in the same engagement was released after 24 days imprisonment. According to letters he carried and which we intercepted, the intention of the enemy was to come and attack Mackinaw last autumn. Lack of provisions had stopped them. But in the early spring they would come. To permit of the prisoner of whom I have spoken is “By order of Gen. Cass.” I suppose he commands at Detroit. He had obtained his release on condition that he would return and bring an answer to the letter.

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On the side of the Mississippi, according to the news which Sacs & Foxes who come from Ft. Madison bring is that a Capt. of Gov. Howard was to come to Prairie du Chien with an army of 2700 men. Many think this is not their plan, for soon after we learned that they had gone up the river Des Moines and built a Ft at Pees and then that they had come down the same river.

* * * * *

Sir, Your very Obedient Servant, Louis Grignon .

Mr. John Askin, McKinac .

DICKSON TO LAWE.

Lac Puants , Jan y 13 1814.

Dear Sir ,—I got here in One day from La Baye with ease,—I send you by Jean Veau 1 Bale Tobacco some Tea & Three dress'd Skins for a p r Capotes for me. No news here. Take care of yourself beware of getting cold continue drinking the Spruce but not too much of it. I forgot the 284 Copy of one of my Montreal Letters for Messrs McGill &c please look for it and send it me.

I trust that the Express for Mackinac is off, as there is every appearance of fine weather. I have very little flour I am obliged to keep the Indians from Starving, no fish. If Beaupre is alive Five days hence it will be a wonder. I look on him & Men all ready for the other World. I can not assist them, as we have nothing ourselves. Please get Mascas wheat made into flour that is to be sent here what I have is hardly eatable being quite Black. Write me by any opportunity.

I am Dear Sir Yours Truly, R. Dickson .

Lt. John Lawe .

DICKSON TO LAWE.

Winibago Lake 20 th Jan y 1814.

Dear Sir ,—I received yours by Dabin yesterday with the copy of the letter I had forgot.

This will be handed to you by Thomas¹ who I sent to La Baye with some of his people that they may get some provisions, they are in a starving condition here. They are on the Lake from Morning till Night but spear little or nothing. Please furnish them with Ten Bushells of Wheat, & procure for them a Cow, Ox or Bull. I only mentioned the Wheat so if you can find an Animal let them have it. Since my arrival from La Baye I have consumed almost all the provisions. There was only a little of the Flour Black it was when Jean Veau was here. White or Black you must contrive to get me a little, hunger is not nice respecting the quality. No News as yet from the Prairie. I am getting impatient. I always dread some Roguery in that Quarter. I am pleased you got the Express off in the time you did, as they have had good weather. I think by this time that they are near Mackinac.

¹ Thomas Carron, or Old Tomah,— Ed.

Beaupré was here with Alexis on the 18 th he will live some time longer as he has received some provisions. I 285 gave him Sugar & Tea as he was quite destitute, not with the view of having it paid or returned.

Alexis goes down in a day or two & I will send a couple of Men to grind the Flour, if not already done. Respecting the Sturgeon a Cart load would be highly acceptable.

I send for yourself 15 y ds of Flannell & the Linen I promised the Fete Jaune and five dressed Skins to Mr. Pulman.

Library of Congress

That Scoundrel Kus agent imposed on me I thought I had seen him at La Baye when questioned he denied having been there. I may see him again.

Mr. Thierry has been sick since the first of the year—but I believe that he will get over it.

I am sorry to hear that Mr. Grignon is ill. please tell him that I will assist him with Medicins, or my advice if I can be of service. I am unacquainted with the Nature of his disease.

I am glad to learn that you are no worse. take care & Stop taking the Pills whenever your gums feel sore. I am convinced that you will send soon news for the better. I will write you as soon as I hear from the Messrs. Pothier.

Mr. Le Saliers is an excellent hand at the great guns.

I had a most lamentable Epistle from Mr. Chandonet, with an Empty kg—saying that there was not a drop to drink my health on New Years day, I am sorry that they must still continue in purgatory, however, they will rub up something on the old Score. They all drank enough last year for Two to come.

May your health & that of Your family be preserved—My respects to Lt. Pullman Lt. Grignon & Chapeu. Write me all the News, big & Small.

I remain Dear Sir Yours faithfully, R. Dickson .

Lt. John Lawe .

DICKSON TO LAWE.

Winebagoe Lake , Jan y 23 d 1814.

Library of Congress

Dear Sir ,—I told you in my last by Thomas that I was in daily expectation of hearing of some roguish tricks from the Mississippi, nor am I disappointed as you will see by the inclosed packet.

286

You will show the letters to Lieut. Grignon and send them back by my men.

The Sioux have behaved like villains as they are, they must soon suffer for their villainy.

The Sauteux behave with great moderation, but I think they will soon return & cut off the Sioux—which they deserve—The All Rouge is at the bottom of this & got the Sauteux killed on purpose to prevent any Sioux coming this way. You will see the patriotism of Mr. Rollette¹ by his letter. The flour was at Six dollars when Duncan arrived & he raised it to Ten. I must do for the best—provisions must be had at the end of our guns one way or other.

¹ Joseph Rollete, a Prairie du Chien trader.— Ed.

Dease² has acted very improperly in not delivering the parole, to the Sauks & Renards from the puants, when he receives Orders he is not to deliberate about consequences, it is with me that the responsibility remains. They all seem to bear an inveterate hatred to the puants, tis true they are vagabonds but let the people of the prairie recollect that if the Americans are not with them the obligation is due to the Puants.

² Capt. Francis Michael Dease, sub. Indian agent under Dickson, and captain of the Prairie du Chien militia.—(*Wis. Hist. Colls*, x., p. 298, note).— Ed.

As for the Sissitons & Yanc Tong³ they may take their own way they are of little consequence in the present state of Matters. I am sorry that Mr. Anderson⁴ makes any advances to the Tonere Rouge⁵ on Gov t acc t as he will not be paid.

Library of Congress

3 Sioux tribes— Ed.

4 Capt. Thomas G. Anderson.— Ed.

5 Referring, doubtless, to the Ttonnerre Noir (Black Thunder), mentioned in Anderson's Journal.—(*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x., p. 207.)— Ed.

I wish he had remained eating Beef last summer he would not have injured our cause in the manner he did.

Mr. Aird⁶ pleads hard for the Tobacco the puants stole from him but I am afraid that his demands will end in smoke. His opinion respecting the Sioux is a very just one.

6 James Aird, a trader at Prairie du Chien. See *Id.*, ix., p. 294; x., p. 503.— Ed.

287

Please send by my men One bag of Flour if ground. I am out of that Article almost, about 25 lbs remaining. Try if possible to procure some bushells of Pease from Mr. Grignon or Mr. Lanchevine.¹ I have not five days provisions for our men if you get provisions forward them in a Sleigh. Mr. Buckatte will be soon with us he is more trouble than the Embargo. Give Mr. Pulman Sergt. Roy's letter & beg of him to send an Order constituting him Sergeant from his having this.

1 Langevin, husband of Domitilde, daughter of the elder Langlade.— Ed.

Two Sauk Indians are here. I wish Thomas should see them before their departure. At least One half of the Sauks are below with the Americans—although the people of the prairie tell me they are all above.

I am sorry that I forwarded any letters from Mackinac to the prairie, as Mr. Barthe² says flour will be worth fifteen Dollars in the Spring to Mr. Rollette. Government is at a great

Library of Congress

expense in supporting individuals and the Trade & it appears that some so far from promoting the interest of the Government when in their power throw obstacles in its way.

2 Louison Berthe, interpreter.— Ed.

If God spares my life untill Spring I shall do my duty rigidly without respect to persons. I shall forward no more private letters unless open. May you be prosperous & happy—

I remain, Dear Sir, Yours truly, R. Dickson .

Lieut. John Lawe .

DICKSON TO LAWE.

[No date, but apparently written in January, 1814.]

Memorandums—To send by Lieut. Pullman to Mackinac One Ox-fat.

Thirty Five Barrels Flour.

Lt. Chandonnet & Mr. Thierry to go to the Manistique with Mr. Pulman, two men for them—to collect sturgeon.

288

To ask Lt. Grignon if he can send Barrels for the flour, if not to furnish them.

To ask Mr. Porlier for the flour he promised to send—probably he has not the quantity as he told me he had none for sale.

To send up four Men to take down the Boat with Two hundred flour & provisions for the Men.

Handcuffs.

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Newspapers for Mr. Dease.

R. Dickson .

Lieut. Lawe, La Baye .

DICKSON TO LAWE.

Winebagoe Lake , Jan y 27, 1814.

Dear Sir ,—Old Iskikinaibé came here with a cloud of demands on me, he picked up two women on the way who had been already cloathed & wanted another Cloathing for them & his wife, if I mistake not his wife got two Blankets & Strouds and other things; he also got a gun at La Baye; he wanted also a Kettle & payment for Twenty bags of Corn De Pin got from him at Chicago; he is an old fool, but as he has suffered in the War I will thank you to give him two bushels of wheat. I am waiting Thomas arrival to send off the Sauks. I am quite out of all kinds of provisions except potatoes & corn.

Three heads of Oxen & their trotters. The Indians get no fish. I hope that you have procured the pease for me. I expect Thomas to-day.

I remain, anxiously wishing for the Spring, Yours truly, R. Dickson .

N. B. I gave the old fellow a Carrot Tobacco & half ax.

Lieut. John Lawe .

DICKSON TO LAWE.

Winebagoe Lake Jan y 31, 1814.

Dear Sir ,—I received your seperate favors by my man Mr. Powell,¹ and I have hardly time to give you an Answer,

Library of Congress

1 Capt. William Powell.— Ed.

289 having been pestered with the Indians from Millwacke a parcel of vagabonds—some of them have been twice here & once at La Baye. Give them not an awl in future. Thomas informs me that Michelle Boyer was at La Baye, he is a rascal he was better served than any Indian that came here.

I send Three men to bring up wheat & a Mill for Ten days if to be procured; we are absolutely without provisions. I have wrote Mr. Grignon to request him to lend me a few Bushells pease & I will return him Corn, this I hope he will do as he must have a few Bushells on hand.

Send two Sleighs. Mr. Powell will return, he takes down a keg of sugar & a little paper for you.

Mr. Powell has seen the state of my Larder. What a prise for Beef. Necessity has no Law, I will write you fully by another occasion. I send off the Sank to-morrow. If you cannot get a Sleigh by fair means press one for the King, horse & owner. I thank you for the fish try & get me some more. Send me Twenty Five Bushells Wheat, Mill or no Mill we will pound it. Comp to all friends—it is difficult to know who are so at present. Keep taking the pills, drinking spruce.

Wishing you health, I am, Dear Sir, Yours truly, R. Dickson .

Lt. Lawe .

DICKSON TO LAWE.

Winebagoe Lake Feb y 4, 1814.

Dear Sir ,—I must begin by telling you my wants which are many. I am now entirely destitute of provisions. Since Mr. Powell left me upwards of forty Sauks came here, having

Library of Congress

eat nothing for Two days, & had not Askin taken up his Cache & given them full avoins they must have perished, they are gone off well pleased and proud immediately to find their countrymen in the Missouris. I shall now give you a detail of other matters which I have learned by letters & papers which the Two prisoners Demonchell & Ribeau came with to the Prairie du Chien. They were prevailed on by Boilvin¹ to carry dispatches first to Peoria &

¹ Nicholas Boilvin, American Indian agent at Prairie du Chien.— Ed. 19

290 from there to the prairie. They were on their route secured by the Sauks and were in great danger of being killed by the Kickapous.

They have given every information I could wish & seem decent Men & were prevailed on for the Sum of One hundred dollars each to run the risque they have done, you will give them in charge to Lieut Pullman to be victualled as the Soldiers and allowed to walk about during the day but regularly to repair to the Barracks at Sun Sett. Demonchelle is unwell please give him some stomactic Medecines.

I have told them what they must expect if they attempt to escape;—Boilvin & Jacrot have addressed two flaming Epistles to the people of the prairie—exhorting them to claim the protection of the great republic before it is too late & a great deal of ether stuff, but their main object is to discover whether there is any risque in their ascending the Mississippi this Spring. Brisbois¹ & Rollette laugh at their folly. Rollette has behaved very well as he has communicated all he knows respecting the Indians, he says La Feuille² received the powder &c with great joy and said that notwithstanding the ungrateful behaviour of his Nation he was happy that I thought of him and that he trusted their future behavior would be better. L'Aile Rouge gave Wampun to the Yanctongs inviting them to go with him to St Louis this spring saying that his people had relieved Aligné de Perch and that the English could not make head against the Americans. So much for that rascal.

¹ Michael Brisbois, Sr., of Prairie du Chien.— Ed.

Library of Congress

2 La Feuille, or Wabasha, a Sioux chief.— Ed.

Fort Madison was evacuated & burnt late in the season & all the other Forts have been abandoned except one newly erected at Peoria where there are One Hundred men. The Poutewatamie's to the number of Thirty families are near the Fort & go in and out as they please leaving their arms at the gate. Gomm & the Perdrex Noir with Eight others went down in a boat late in the season with a party of Soldiers to St. Louis. The Poutewatamies have always been villians to both parties & will continue so untill the end of 291 the Chapter. I will soon work them a [plot] they are little aware of.

The Creeks have one & all raised the Hatchet against the Americans, and have tottally cut off a Fort of 420 people fifteen miles below fort Stoddart. This occasioned all the Troops to be sent below. St. Louis might be taken this spring with 5 or 600 men it is unfortunate that we are required in another Quarter we should find something worth fighting for there. I suspect that the attack meditated by the Americans against Montreal last fall has completely failed. General [James] Wilkinson who commanded the Army of 6000 that was to descend the St Lawrence was said to be unwell, & on the 14 th of October, he was at Grenadier Island in Lake Ontario—he was to co-operate with General [Wade] Hampton & another General who had only 8000 betwixt them if this is there whole force the Sword & the severity of the Season must have accounted for them long ago.

From all appearances even from the Democratic papers, The Americans tremble for the consequences of the War in Europe.

They already figure the Russians & Cossacks at their doors. The Emperor of Austria has joined the Russians & Prussians & Swedes & their Combined forces amount to 540,000 men. There has been a dreadful battle at Dresden in Saxony it is reported that Gen l Moreau who had accepted of a Generals Commission in the Russian Service had both his Legs carried off by a Canon Ball in that Battle. Lord Wellington had taken the two

Library of Congress

important Fortresses of Pampeluna & St. Sebastian, and was advancing into France. I think that Bony¹ must be knocked up as all Europe are now in Arms.

1 Bonaparte.— Ed.

The crisis is not far off when I trust in God that the Tyrant will be humbled, & the Scoundrel American Democrats be obliged to go on their knees to Britain,—I should have gone down to see you but cannot for several reasons leave this place at present. Honory² has been un well with

2 Lewis Honore, interpreter.— Ed.

292 a Complaint in his Stomach I will thank you to send me by Mr. [Aeneas] La Rose some Friars Balsam or Turtington Peruvian bark & some of the Bitters Mr. Franks used. he has been very ill.

I am sorry to distress you by sending so many men to you but necessity has no law—I must have provisions nolens volens.

The Indians have speared only One Sturgeon these Six days past. I wait for the return of the Express from Mackinac before I send to the prairie, thank heaven provisions are to be had there—All have left at present is 8 handfulls foll avoin—10 lbs Flour—2 Shanks Deers legs three frozen Cabbages & a few potatoes. The Sauks swept every thing I had & I was obliged to feed them with Sugar.

I hope that the Express will arrive in a few days & bring us good news. I think we shall do some thing this Campaign. We shall have powerfull reinforcements from England. The Spaniards have landed in the Floridas a great force & the British have declared all the southern states to be blockaded so that Neutrals cannot get into any of their ports—Never did War rage as it does at present, the World seems convulsed, thank providence Oar Country is still preheminent & will I trust continue so. Comp ts to all friends.

Library of Congress

With best wishes for your health & your family, I remain, D r Sir, Yours truly, R. Dickson .

Lt. John Lawe .

DICKSON TO LAWE.

Winebagoe Lake Feb y 6 1814.

Dear Sir ,—I received yours of the 6 th Inst. and are happy to have received a supply of Provisions it was high time as I had nothing remaining.

I have sent back all the Bags as you wished and I have arranged with Masca & Mr. Lanchevin to bring up the remainder of his wheat as I shall want it all, when the Soldiers come up to assist in going to the Portage when the river is navigable. I have also purchased a young heifer 293 from Masca which will come up on her feet. You must do the best you can for Beef & flour for the Fencibles.

I shall take great care of the Mill & the Sieve & I thank you for having sent them.

I have no Cartridge paper or I would send it to Mr. Palman. My Capot is a famous one and fitts me to a hair. Thank your girl for the trouble she has had in making it so well. I would not change Coats with the Grand Turk. I will give nothing more to the Indians of Millwackee they are a sett of Imposters. I have directed Chandonnet to keep the Keg of Powder & bag of Ball he has remaining. I expect News from Mackinac soon. God send us something good. I am in great hopes that we will do something this Year, but we want a General or two from Spain. There are men who can both plan & fight. I will write you in a few days. I want to get quit of the people, Indians, &c. Adieu.

Y rs &c. R. Dickson .

Lieut. John Lawe .

DICKSON TO LAWE.

Winebagoe Lake Feb y 14 1814.

Dear Sir ,— I send this by two Indians, going to La Bay to get their Axes mended which you have done for them. Askyahr, Sen., goes with them, to bring up an Ox or Bull I have bought from [Joseph] Ducharmes Indian relations. Should he want assistance to bring up the Beast, please ask Mr. Pullman for two of his Men to assist.

The Six Indians went off yesterday, I am convinced that they were sent by some one employ'd by the Americans. I have discovered that the Grand Puant, a Poutewatamie Mr. Salieres friend came here with an intention of cutting us off but his heart failed him. When he requested me that his young men should dance, then I refused. He had previously to his setting out from his lodge sent round Tobacco to the young people about Millwackee to come here with him to dance. Perhaps he may come this way again—if he does he will not return. By the Conversation the Indians of his party held with the Folls avoins Band, Grand Calumet, I 294 can easily see that the Indians on that side wish us no good, but I will frighten them out of their Wits in a Short time. In three hours time I can collect One Hundred indians here & we have Spies gone beyond Millwackee. The follsavoines behave with Spirit & Judgement, it is fortunate for us there are such Indians in such times.

I shall send a strong party of Puants to Peoria about the beginning of next month & Messieu Les Pou¹ will get into a Scrape one way or other. I expect to hear from you to day. My respects to Mr. Pullman & Chapeu, best wishes to yourself & family.

1 Pottawattomies.— Ed.

I am Dear Sir Yours truly, R. Dickson .

Lt. Lawe .

DICKSON TO LAWE.

Lac Du Puants Feb y 26 1814.

Dear Sir ,—I got here very snug the second day finding we should be late I remained the night I left you at the Kakalin, where we were hospitably entertained. I kept Baptiste in expectation of hearing from the Mississippi, but in this I am disappointed. I beg that the Express may be forwarded with all possible dispatch. I have written to Capt. Bullock that if any thing new had transpired since I left La Baye, that you & Lieut. Grignon would give him information. I have yesterday received Accounts of the Poutewatamies intending me a visit, under pretext of going to strike on the Americans, I am well prepared come when they chuse. I send by Baptiste two Kettles the largest for the Brisques and the other for Madame Chevalier. Scarlet-Ratten for George & two rolls Ribbon for your girl. I am still troubled with Indians a squad of Puants arrived today & some who have been already here. A Sateux came here to-day with Pepeck I shall give him his presents tomorrow. I trust the Sleighs are on the way—the weather is hard. Write me by every opportunity—Next time I shall write you more at length. With wishes for your health & that of your family

I remain, Dear Sir, Yours truly, R. Dickson .

Lieut. Lawe .

295

GRIGNON TO J. B. BERTHELOTTE.

[Translated from the French by Emma A. Hawley.]

La Baye 1 March 1814.

My Dear Sir ,—I have received your favor dated the 31 st of January, in which I was much pleased to learn of your enjoyment of good health.

Library of Congress

I will inform you that we have the news from St. Louis by two Couriers, that Mr. Boilvin and Jarot have dispatched post-haste to La Prairie Du Chien two newspapers, one of which from Washington gives news greatly to our advantage. I can not enter into details as it is very probable that you may have known all this longer than we have, and that Mr. R. D[jickson] will send the papers to McKina [Mackinaw].

It is very probable that you will see the good Couriers who brought the news from beyond Prairie Du Chien, which Mr. Boilvin and Jarot heard about. The people beyond Prairie Du Chien who have surrendered to the Americans & are contented are told of the bad treatment experienced by Messrs. Cabonné & Chenié by the Americans. I have talked with Mr. Louis Gravelle two times explaining it & he told me he was looking for all means of satisfaction & not to be disturbed. I wait thus for new orders.

I pray you to send me yet an other pound of tea, if you have any more, by the Indian named Niguno-quom. I feel sure that you will be interested in all the news, and believe me

Your very obedient servant, Louis Grignon .

To Jean Bt Berthelotte, Michilimakinac .

DICKSON TO LAWE.

Winebagoe Lake March 3 d 1814.

Dear Sir ,—The letters which you sent by Boneterre¹ & which ought to have come first to hand, came last which prevented me sending the deer Skins for the people going

¹ Augustin Bonneterre, a Green Bay settler.— Ed.

296 express but I hope that you have been able to get them off before this. Jean Veaus Voyage here was certainly well meant, but had I listened to him & his report respecting the Indians, it might have been attended with the most fatal effect to myself & others. Lieut

Library of Congress

Grignon seems much vexed that Mr. [MS. obscure] should have neglected calling for his letter for [obscure] he was acquainted so to do, & it being really of great importance, I wish this matter cleared up to my Satisfaction. In the enclosed Statement respecting the Conduct of the Poutiwatami [Pottawattomie] nation last year & their subsequent behaviour here, you will judge for yourself, but had you been acquainted with the full extent of their villainy you would never have said from Mr. Jean Veaus report that What had been said of the Poutiwatamies was mostly false. I hope that you are now convinced. Mr. Augustin Grignon will inform you more fully respecting this business. I recommend to you to be particularly attentive to the motions of the Indians on the South Side of the River and note down the different Reports from thence.

I send you by Mr. Grignon a pec of Strouds & five p rs Blanketts & 14 Nett Thread. As soon as the weather is fine please send up Morneau do not forget the Nails & Oakhum if to be had. I am impatient to hear from the Mississippi & still more so from Mackinac. I shall not determine what I shall do in the Spring untill I hear from both places.

In my letter to Capt. Bullock after the receipt of yours by Mr. Jean Veau, I mentioned to him our people being still safe at Millwackee but by no means contradicted the Reports in Circulation respecting the Poutewatamies. I told him I should do every thing to avoid hostilities for the present but I believe the greater part of that nation our Worst enemies. I think that you gave into what Jean Veau said without weighing matters sufficiently. He was Eighteen days on his Voyage from Millwackie to La Baye. if the Indians had bad designs they would have concealed them from him. He was not unacquainted with the Situation of affairs at Peoria—& probably he might be tempted to conceal the Part the Old Faline acted—being a relative of 297 his wives. I am particular in stating these matters as in these times we cannot be too much on our Guard. Thank you for the Tobacco you sent me. I have got a Bull from Mr. L. Grignon which Mr. Augustin [Grignon] will bring up. This Cold weather sharpens the Appetite.

With best Wishes to yourself & Family, I remain Dear Sir Yours truly, R. Dickson .

Library of Congress

Lieut. Lawe, La, Baye .

DICKSON TO LAWE.

Winebagoe Lake March 4, 1814.

Dear Sir ,—Please let the Blacksmith mend these Indians axes & some other triffling work—let each have a pair of Spears. In writing you Yesterday I forgot, talking to you about Mascas Account—please give year receipt for the Amount & specifying the articles for the use of Government. I have no mint here. The people seem very anxious about the payment of what they advance Government, it is perhaps the only real property they may have. Perrot is in a hurry & has waited [for] me to write this.

Yours adieu, R. Dickson .

Lt. John Lawe .

DICKSON TO LAWE.

Winibagoe Lake March 9 th 1814.

Dear Sir ,—This will be handed you by the Soleil who came here yesterday with two Men. I refused giving him any thing as he brought nothing to shew from you, he says he has received nothing from you, if this is true please give them as you have done to others. I received your letter by Mrs. Beaupré with the Trousers Caps &c. which we thank the Woman for the trouble she has taken. I would send you the Deer Skins by the Indians bat shall wait another opportunity.

I do not think there was any thing improper in L t Grignons inquiring why his letter was not taken up by Jean veau, as I had requested him to write me on a particular 298 business—had it been my case I should have in order to justify Myself have acted as he has done; I hope that there will be no misunderstanding for the future. I sincerely believe you are both

Library of Congress

doing for the best in forwarding the service—and I should be extremely Sorry that at a time like this, the utmost cordiality should not subsist. I would by no means wish you to give way to what is right but you know the suaviter in modo is necessary at present—enough of this.

Pierre Le Clair arrived here two days ago & brought me a letter from La Salieres of 3 d Inst. L t Chandonnet had left Millwackee five days prior to that—& must be near La Baye if not arrived.

There is nothing new— but from what I have learned, the statement I made to the Commandant of Mackinac respecting the Indians is correct.

I have learned some particulars also respecting the Intention of the Indians who came here Some time ago which further convinces me of their bad intentions at that time. I am pleased that you got off the Express at the time you did—they must now be near the Manistique.

No News yet from the Mississippi. I am afraid some accident has befallen Duncan [Graham] he was not used to be loitering so long. The Season is advancing fast this last fall of Snow will accelerate the breaking up of the Rivers. I will thank you to send up Morneau immediately as I intend to be prepared to move one way or other soon. The Express from Mackinac is late, but I trust that we shall have good news when it comes. My Compts to L t Pullman.

With best wishes for yourself & family

I remain, Dear Sir, Yours truly, R. Dickson .

Lt. Lawe .

P. S. Had I not received the supply of wheat you sent I believe one half of the Indians would have perished, it is mostly gone. I have been obliged to feed the people forty miles

Library of Congress

around me & have had other visitors in abundance. I am now looking out for Ducks and the poissons Dorr. We have not seen a Sturgeon's Snout these ten days. The Bull 299 is almost devoured, I shall send for no more Beef happen what will. Hunger is staring us in the face, but Providence will not abandon us.

Y rs R. D.

DICKSON TO LAWE.

Winnebago Lake March 10 1814.

Dear Sir ,—By Baptiste I received yours of 13 th Inst yesterday with a very seasonable Supply of Provisions—three bushells remain at Mr. Grignons & if you find an occasion send two Bushells more there which will make something of a Load to come here I will in a day or two send you the bag of Duck Short if I have sufficient of that kind.

Your observation respecting the Indians staying in their sugar camps is very just, but in the spring they can fish & dig roots; if I can procure a sufficiency of Provision to keep them Ten days after our Arrival at Mackinac I think that by that time we will have supplies. However we cannot regulate anything at present. As we shall be early in the Lake we shall find Sturgeon & Trout &c. in abundance and perhaps Pidgeons, we cannot starve.

No News from the Prairie. I am now uneasy respecting Duncan, as he is accustomed to be dilligent. I am well satisfied that the Thirty Indians did not pay me a visit. I have too many here already, and all Starving. I think that the Weather is now going to improve it is high time. Please tell Mr. Pullman, Lancette has his tent Tea Kettle & frying pan. I will send him the Hallyards by another opportunity. I have got quit of near Thirty Indians this morning who were stopped by the bad weather, but there are a sett of miserables whom I am obliged to feed remaining here. I am heartily tired of this kind of Life—anything for a Change.

Library of Congress

With best wishes, I remain, Dear Sir, Yours truly, R. Dickson .

Lt. Lawe .

300

DICKSON TO LAWE.

Lac Des Puants 11 th March 1814.

Dear Sir ,—Dire necessity compells me to send to you for Ten Bushells Wheat. The Indians are all starving. I have had Crowds from all quarters. We have a party out in search of a Family who were left in the middle of a Prairie a Old Man a Woman & three Children. Some of them I think are dead. I have learn'd from the Indians that the Express for Mackinac put back but I hope that it is not true. I send three men to assist in getting a load to the Cockalin & Mr Grignon will take it from thence. If you have a Quarter of Beef please send it. The Bull was not Beef only Bone. No News. I send you some deer Skins. No News from the Prairie. curse on their Negligence if no Accident has happen'd. Send Morneau with the Men & a few tools for making oars. With best wishes, I remain

Yours truly, R. Dickson .

Lt. Lawe .

P.S. Please show Lt. Grignon my reasons for thinking the Pows [Pottawattomies] & others ill disposed.

If you can spare Baptiste please send him with the Load to the Kakalin as the River will soon be impracticable for Sleighs. I am really vexed to be obliged to send for more Provisions but Necessity has no law. I shall move from this as soon as I can one way or other as the Puants are beginning to draw round me & one had as well be in hell as with them.

Y rs R. D.

The Indians are hurrying me & I want to get quit of them.

DICKSON TO LAWE.

Lake Winebagoe March 31 1814.

Dear Sir ,—I received your letter of 19 th Inst. I intended sending you the Gazzettes long ago—but the heavy fall of Snow rendered the Roads almost impassible and otherways I had my Men occupied, making Oars &c.

301

I intend leaving this, as soon as the ice gives way, which will be five or six days at most—& proceeding to the Portage to meet the provisions there—& from thence I shall go in a light Canoe to the Prairie & immediately return from thence, in this way I shall lose no time. I could have wished to have seen you before I leave this but the Country being covered with Water would in your present situation be injurious to your health. I have asked Mr. Grignon & Mr. Pullman to come up, & by them I shall write you what is to be done.

I trust the Mill is going. I shall ask you for no more provisions as I am convinced your stock is nearly expended, but I must keep my word in sending what I promised to Mackinac. If the people who desired me to send flour to be return'd have it ready all is well, but there is so much shuffling among them I do not know who to trust. Write me by Mr. Pulman your Opinion of this matter.

Get all the Wheat you have ground. I will return you what you want for Mr. Franks family. The flour must go to Mackinac the first boats—happen what will. I hope that your Cattle are at La Prille. I have had an offer from Mr. P. Grignon of a Barrel of Pork the fat of a Cow & 2 bags flour for Goods to be sent after the fair[?]. I will eat Bull frogs before I buy any more bad Beef at 30 c and I will starve or plunder rather that be imposed on in the price of

Library of Congress

Provisions. In asking exhorbitant prices for Provisions for the use of Government, people are not aware of what they are doing, but they will learn something about that matter.

Send me a bag of large Shott. I will send you Duck which is the only kind we have. I have a bag of Wheat at the Kakalin. We kill Decks in great abundance & can live if it pleases God without 30 c Bone.

Morneau is a fine specimen of La Baye, he is without exception the most lazy mortal I ever met. I take three Boats to the Portage & two go to La Baye. I will send you directions by Mr. Pulman how they are to go from there.

The more I reflect on the News we have received the more important I find them, the consequence to the World is beyond all Calculation. Never since the formation of the 302 [page torn] were such splendid events achieved for the benefit of Mankind. [I am still] pestered with Indians. I had a [visit from the] Millwackee Chiefs yesterday, they [have had] no News as they say from [the Prairie] this Winter.

Please let Mr. Grignon see all the Gazzettes [sent to] the Gentlemen, but in six days hence [I] would like to take them to the Prairie, tell me what is going on.

With belt Wishes for yourself & family, I am, Dear Sir, Yours sincerely, R. Dickson .

Lieut, Lawe .

P. S. The Renards have been lately here, they with the Sauks are playing a double game, but I have given them a severe lesson & chastisement will follow. More if they do not act as they ought.

DICKSON TO LAWE.

Winebagoe Lake April 4 th 1814.

Library of Congress

Dear Sir ,—As the River is open to this Lake I wish you to come up with Lieut. Pullman as soon as possible, in Order to arrange Matters in general for the Spring. The Boats from the prairie will be at the portage in Eight days—Mr. Grignon is not yet arrived here. You will ask Mr. Porlier, what quantity of Flour he can lend. I will be able to return it in five or Six days at most. Mr. Morneau has mended the Boats & he will also repair those lately gone down to La Baye. Please bring up the gazzetts. In expectation of seeing you in four days I am, Dear Sir,

Yours truly, R. Dickson .

Lt. Lawe .

I will thank you to bring up the Grease &c.

DICKSON TO LAWE.

Portage Ouisconsin April 24, 1814,

Dear Sir ,—I got here yesterday & have in spite of all I can do been detained here to day. I leave this tomorrow 303 & hope to be at this place Nine days hence. I have brought the Puants to their senses & hope to do as much to others where I am going. You will furnish Lieut. Pullman Thirty Barrels flour independant of his provisions for men & self. I have directed Lieut Grignon to make every exertion to send in Indians with Lt Pullman & Lt. Chandonnet, have all in readiness for my Arrival as I shall pass but a few hours at La Baye. You will consult with Lt Grignon.

* * * * *

1 The letter is mutilated here, and undecipherable.— Ed.

Let us make every exertion to be prepared to meet the Enemy. With best wishes,

Yours truly, Robert Dickson .

Lieut. Lawe .

ORDERS TO THE LIEUTENANTS.

Orders.—The Lieutenants of the Department will assemble at the Interpreters tomorrow morning presisely at Five O'Clock & will direct them to give in a regular roll of all the Indians on the Island, spesefying those arm'd & unarm'd with their usual places of residence. No provisions will in future be issued to any Indians without the Interpreter is present & under whose direction they are placed. All Indian Canoes Arriving are to be immediately reported to me by the Lieutenant on duty. In future all Officers of the Department will assemble in every day at 10 O'Clock at the Superintendants House.

R. Dickson , Ag & Superintendant.

Michilemackinac, June 28 th 1814.

GRIGNON TO LOUIS CRAWFORD.

[Translated from the French by Emma A. Hawley.]

La Baye Verte 6 September 1814.

Sir ,—I cannot give you the satisfaction of any news only the rumor which the Indians have brought that the Americans are coming up the Mississippi. I do not believe it at all because the thing is too sudden.

304

I will send you a memorandum paper, which I would like you to attend to if it does not put you to any inconvenience.

Library of Congress

Oblige me by writing what you hear on the subject of Peace as it concerns me greatly.

I have need of a barrel of salt, would like you to re supply me if you can succeed in getting it here.

I will not weary you longer; With perfect Esteem & Consideration, Sir,

Your very humble Servant, L. Grignon .

To Louis Crawford, McKinac .

GRIGNON TO CRAWFORD.

[Translated from the French by James D. Butler.]

La Bay Verte 6 September 1814.

Sir ,—

* * * * *

Nine men from the shore by Milwaukee arrived here yesterday. They came on their way to get [as a convoy for] powder and ball, and said the other Indians called for them to meet the enemy who were on on their way to build a fort at Chicago.

* * * * *

With esteem and consideration, Sir, Your very Humble Servant, Louis Grignon .

Louis Crawford, Esq., McKinac .

GRIGNON TO DICKSON.

Library of Congress

[Translated from the French by Emma A. Hawley.]

La Baye 28 September 1814.

Robert Dickson, Esq. Agent & Superintendent of the Nations of the West, Michilimakinac .

Sir ,—I have nothing that merits your attention to mention. The Indians to the number of 15 lodges are camped here waiting resolutely for you, others are assembling here from all around, though I have said to them to assemble elsewhere as I thought you would be inconvenienced very much here. My brother has informed you of the situation, and the behavior of the Indians.

I am commencing to be very anxious not having heard any news from you, everything must be quiet around Millwaukie.

No news from the Mississippi.

I am, Sir, Your obedient servant, L. Grignon .

GRIGNON TO ASKIN.

[Translated from the French by Emma A. Hawley.]

La Baye Sept r 28 1814.

John Askin, Esq. Michilimakinac .

Dear Sir ,—The motive which induces me to write is to exempt myself from the title of idler.

I can give you no news all is quiet. I believe the Indians of the Illinois river have made several assaults upon Fort Clark but at present their treachery has been discovered.

Library of Congress

The country around is very much devastated. About 100 cattle since spring, in connection with the Indians, have done great harm to the crops; several fields are entirely bare in their finest parts. The headstrong men of La Baye who remained out on the prairie say that the wheat is completely ruined in the fields. The Indians have stolen at their leisure not finding any one to oppose them.

L. Grignon .

GRIGNON TO COLONEL M'DOUALL.

[Translated from the French by Emma A. Hawley.]

La Baye 14 Oct r 1814.

Lt. Colnl R. McDouall, Commanding Michilmakinac .

Sir ,—I have the honor of addressing you through Mr. Dickson, who returned with the goods that you remitted to my care for me to dispose of & take in charge.

I should have desired to fulfill your wishes at least in part had I not been prevented in advance by the impossibility of 20 306 building in so short a time, as the Season is so advanced that it renders the return of your Soldiers impossible.

I have communicated to Mr. Polier the steps that you have taken for the indemnification of him against the damages caused to the Inhabitants of the place & he requested me to give you his most respectful thanks in the name of the Inhabitants.

At the requisition of Capt. Anderson please furnish to Capt. D. Graham whatever he requires.

There will be presented to you an account of Messrs. P r & Agt. Grignon¹ which I have signed, I beg you to see that they are paid.

Library of Congress

1 Messrs. Pierre and Augustin Grignon.— Ed.

There is annexed what has been furnished at the requisition of Lt. Pulman who left here before the arrival of Mr. D[ickson.]

I have the honor to be, Your very Obedient Servant, Louis Grignon ,

DICKSON TO LAWE.

Bute de Mort Nov r 20 th 1814.

Dear Sir ,—I send you by Mr. Grignon one Roll Tobacco, & the two kegs of Spirits I owe you for what the Indians got at La Baye. You will please give Brisque² something for his Children. Assist Boneterre & Petite to the first give him two Bottles & Something for his Children & Tobacco to the other give him a Nett if you can spare one I would not find the twine. Let Lieut. Grignon have Twenty pounds Tobacco. I will Send you Authority from Capt Bulger & myself to draw on the Commissary at Mackinac for the Amount of the Wheat you furnish & also the others.

2 Brisque Hyott.— Ed.

Tell Jean Veau I shall do my utmost to assist him to retain his house. The Stove that I got at the Mill is cracked & much broke I will put him [the stove?] in the Doctors hands and report the state of his health from time to time. God send us soft Weather otherways we are in a fine way only four days provisions, the Men have play'd the Devil 307 with the provisions in the Rapids. I shall write you by Periche¹ & send you what I promised you from thence. I am just leaving this & the Indians are flocking round me & the time is pressing. God keep you in health with your family.

1 Perrische Grignon.— Ed.

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I am Sir Yours Sincerely, R. Dickson .

Lt John Lawe .

DICKSON TO LAWE AND GRIGNON.

Prairie Des Chiens Jan y 17 th 1815.

Gentlemen ,—You are hereby directed, to forward the express by Mr. La Rose, to McKinac with all possible expedition employing Active indians for that purpose with a person of confidence. La Rose returns immediately here, to this place.

You are hereby enjoined to pay due attention to the Orders that you may receive from Lt. Col. McDouall, and to be ready in the Spring to proceed to McKinac with the indians you may be able to prevail upon to accompany you. Lt Colonel McDouall will send you indian Corn for their provisions if he thinks proper so to do, if not do as well as you can.

I have the Honor to be, Gentlemen

Your very Hble Serv t R. Dickson , Agt & Supt for West n Inds.

Lieuts Lawe & Grignon, La Baye .

GRIGNON TO M'DOUALL.

[Translated from the French by Emma A. Hawley.]

La Baye Verte 2 Feb r 1815.

Lt. Colnl. R. McDouall, Commanding McKinac .

Library of Congress

Sir ,—I present to you on this occasion an account of provisions made by Mr. Pierre Grignon upon my requisition, pursuant to the orders which I have received from you concerning different articles which are for issue.

308

You will find a strange charge of a barrel of powder which I have borrowed with the idea that it could be returned with that which the Superintendent would bring, but the thing was not so easy to do. I have conceived that the intention of your orders admitted it might be included in the account of Provisions & I flatter myself that there will be no difficulty about it in paying the contractor.

I continue, Colonel, to be at your orders. I have been greatly honored by those which I have received, & if I have not filled them with sagacity according to your ideas, I have desired to do so. I have the honor to be,

Sir, your obed t serv t , L. Grignon .

DICKSON TO LAWE.

Prairie du Chien Feb y 21 1815.

Dear Sir ,—I received your letters by La Rose—and I was not surprised at the distressed State of the Country, but I am truly astonished at the behaviour of the Messrs Grignon in withholding the Wheat they had promised to the Government. Captns Bulger and Anderson go to La Baye to sett these Matters to rights, to meet the express from Mackinac, & to procuring Gunpowder—Send me such as you can spare of that Article as you will soon have a Supply from Mackinac.

If you have any remaining of Mr. Franks you will of course sell it to the Gov t .

Library of Congress

Send me also half of Your Tobacco. We are in want of every thing here. If you have or can procure Two Gallons Spirits—Pulman joins me in this request—Anderson will give you all the News & will also inform you respecting your Accounts against Government so that you may get paid at least for your wheat immediately. I wrote yesterday to Mr. Aird & told him that you was well. Sell the Horse as well as you can,—you know I am in want of Cash.

I can not say any thing respecting the probable movements of the Enemy in the Spring as we have yet no certain information. Our Situation is rather critical untill we get a 309 sufficient supply of Gun Powder. Should the Enemy not ascend the Mississippi I shall lose no time in going in to Mackinac & a little further as soon as possible as it is impossible for me to reside in this Country another Year without adequate Supplies.

I have also a few other trifling matters to put in Order. Write me fully respecting the Indians from Millwackee & St Josephs. You must certainly have learn'd Something from that Quarter.

There is no occasion for me to say any thing more at present as Capt Anderson will give you all the News of this place, and any assistance in other Matters, in his power.

With best Wishes for your health and that of your family

I remain Dear Sir Yours Sincerely, R. Dickson .

Lt. John Lawe .

DICKSON TO LAWE.

Dear Sir ,—I have been very busy, and will write you more next time—tell me, know, if you have Gunpowder remaining & how much. Take care of the poor people I recommended to your Care. I believe I forgot petite.

Library of Congress

Y rs R. Dickson .

Lieut John Lawe .

Send the Flints.

Indorsed: "Fort McKay, Prairie du Chien, 1815."

GRIGNON TO DICKSON.

[Translated from the French by Emma A. Hawley.]

La Baye Verte 28 February 1815.

Robert Dickson, Esq., La prairie du Chien .

Sir ,—I take this occasion to address you these lines. I am mortified that I have learned nothing to communicate, not having as yet any news here from any where.

The last report we had was from the Puants of Fon du Lac who say there is a rumor in Miliwaukie that a party from the borders of Fort Wayne have reported that they 310 have killed 8 Americans, and also that the Americans have taken 100 Indians Prisoners.

Mr. Lasaliere has not yet given us any news more than what I have mentioned.

I have the honor to be Your very humble servant, L. Grignon .

GRIGNON TO ASKIN.

[Translated from the French by James D. Butler.]

La Baye Verte , 23 March 1815.

Library of Congress

Capt. John Askin, of the Ind. Dept., McKinac .

Sir ,—On the 20th instant I had the honor of yours dated on the 7th in which you inform me of the wishes of the commandant, in addition to the orders which I have received from him dated on the 4th of March 1815.

The Indians at present are far off and scattered in quest of good fish, however I have spared neither presents nor indeed pains in endeavors to execute orders according to the ideas of the commandant and of yourself as given to me.

I would not wish to trouble the commandant with a letter but beg you to have the goodness to pay him my humble respects and the assurance of every exertion on my part in conformity with his orders.

Capt. Bulger, our commandant, left yesterday with Capt. Anderson of the Ind. Dept. L t . Lawe and I went to escort him as far as the Du Peres rapids.

He was obliged to make all persons sell him a hundredth part of the grain in their possession in his attempt to make out supplies for Indians on their passage to Mackinaw. This place is destitute of provisions. Many of the inhabitants, as I believe, will not be able to sow their fields for lack of seed grain, and as I think no body is in a condition to aid them in this matter. I beg you to excuse my writing and my bad style. My respects, etc., for your Lady and her daughter.

Begging you to accept my wishes for your health, I am, Sir, your very Obedient Servant, L. Grignon .

311

N. B. As to private affairs, I am very sorry that I have failed [to receive] supplies, during the two past years, for I assure you that the bit of merchandise I have held in reserve these

Library of Congress

three years is worth its cost and interest. This year I purpose to go to Montreal, if I possibly can, and the journey be practicable.

DICKSON TO LAWE.

Prairie Du Chien April 10 th 1815.

Dear Sir ,—I received your letter by the Express. This goes by Thomas whom you will take care of. I expect to be with you on the 2 d of May. I would long ago have wrote you fully but for obvious reasons have deferred it untill I see you—all I say is I have been treated by the Agents of government with the vastest ingratitude but a short time will put all to rights, they Will find my loss when I am gone. I will never serve under Col. McDouall he has put that out of my power but the day of retribution is at hand & if common justice is done me he must go to the wall he is a weak vain foolish man. I wish that I had no worse to say of him, but I shall endeavor to prove him what he really is peace is at hand. I have received glorious news for myself. I shall leave this country without regret but for the poor people of the department whom I esteem & love, you will hear of the fatal Accident that befell peer La Rose, I regret him as a Brother lost. I warn'd him of little Canoes; he was drown'd with his brother in Law on the 3 d Inst.

Duncan Graham is going down to the Sauks; was there not favorable appearances to the termination of his drudgery he would throw up instantly.

All confidence is lost here. It will require able people at the helm; they must keep a good lookout else the Ship is in danger.

I am, Sir, with sentiments of much regard, Yours truly, R. Dickson .

N. B. Our Friend Anderson has this winter acquired never fading Laurels in the school of deceit perfidy & All 312 Kinds of Villainey. I am sorry for him & vexed with myself at not having found him out sooner.

Lt. John Lawe .

CAPTAIN BULGER TO LAWE.

My Dear Sir ,—I shall by next conveyance send you Day lists for the Indian Dep. from 25th Sep. to the 24 Feby, which you will sign & get Lt. Grignon to do the same, an order will at the same time be sent you by the Commissary upon Mr. Monk¹ for the amount of your pay for that period. I shall send you L t Grignon & Interp. Grignon a certificate that you have lodging & fuel money due you from the 26 Oct. to the 24th April, which will enable you to get paid at Mackinac. Mr. Dickson will not be with you for some time— *you must not wait for him the moment you have collected even eighty Indians* , take them in. Barte & Mr. Grignon go off tomorrow morning to join you with the Winebagoes. Thomas with all the Folles Avoines here, go off too,—the Colonel is most anxious for your annual [report] at Mackinac as early as possible. If Mr. Grignon can take in 40 or 50 at first you can try & take in 50 more, others will no doubt go with Mr. Dickson. I would be ob l if you sent an Indian to meet Mr. Dickson at the Portage to tell him how many you have assembled so that he may not ask more to go in than is necessary; if an opportunity offers for Mackinac before you join yourself to Mr. Grignon, Send my letters.

1 G. H. Monk, deputy assistant commissary-general at Michilimackinac.— Ed.

Believe me y r sincere friend, A. Bulger ,

Cap n Com g Fort McKay & on Mississippi.

Fort McKay 11th April 1815.

My respects to Lt. Grignon, Mr. Porlier—Mr. Jacob.

Indorsed: "Lieut. Lawe, Indian Dept., Green Bay. A. A, Bulger."

BULGER TO LAWE.

Private & Confidential .

Fort McKay , Apl 1815.

My Dear Sir ,—As Mr. Dickson may most likely be at the Bay before you leave it for Mackinac, I must give you one piece of advice, which I trust you will attend to.

I gave you power when I was at the Bay to purchase any indispensable article which you might require for the public service, but this must not *on any account* , be construed into a permission to purchase any thing which Mr. Dickson may order. To avoid any future difficulty which may arise in the payment of accounts contracted by his order, I wish you, on the receipt hereof, to provide what you think you'll want, and by no means to make any purchases after Mr. D. joins you. It is solely for your sake that I give you this notice, as my name must not be shown for any thing Mr. Dickson may choose to purchase.

Mr. D. will be at La Baye about the last of this month. I expect Mr. Grignon every moment with the powder, he shall remain here one day to rest himself, the next day he goes off with Barge the interp r to take the Winebagoes to you. If the Indians are ready you must not wait for Mr. Dickson, 150 will be sufficient in all to take in.

We have lost poor Larose, who was unfortunately drowned 2 days after I arrived crossing the river. I am really sorry for him as his place cannot be filled, his loss is indeed irreparable. You will be badly off for an interpreter & had better take his brother Alexis in with you. Tell Mr. Grignon that Mr. Dickson will be able to arrange the accounts he has against him when he gets to the Bay.

Maynard arrived here this day from the Rock river, he says the socks [Sauks] have taken a prisoner on the Missouri, (Blondeau's nephew), & killed one, (an American) which makes the ninth they have killed lately. I expect the young man here every day.

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Reports from below say the Spaniards are certainly coming to St Louis by way of the Missouri and that they are cussedly afraid at St. Louis, they also say the Spaniards are 314 close by New Orleans. The socks are in great spirits; as soon as the person arrives I intend sending Graham down with 400 D [\$400] & 800 Ball with a Blacksmith to remain with the socks for a few months.

You have no occasion to keep any Indian goods but the powder, Balls, flints & Tobacco, every other Article of Indian goods belonging to Gov t you will pack up in a case (including the Arm Bands & Gorgets) & leave with Mr. Porlier to forward us to this place by the first opportunity. The sugar if you have got it for me, leave also with Mr. Porlier to forward me. I am going to inclose you a doubloon to pay you for the Cloth, but must appear to lend it. I express it by Mr. Dickson; don't forget to ask Mr. Barthelot if he has recd the money I. Thompson owes me, & if not speak to T—about it. If Mr. Barthelot has recd it, tell him to give it to you after paying himself the small am t I owe him; if you receive any of it, I will tell you what to buy for me at Mackinac. I will write you again by Mr. Dickson, excuse this miserable scrawl, being pressed for time.

Believe me Y r sincere friend, A. A. Bulger .

Tell David not to forget the sagenash [English], & the sagenash won't forget him.

GRIGNON TO BARTHELOTTE.

[Translated from the French by James D. Butler.]

La Baye Verte 18 May, 1815.

Dear Sir ,—

* * * * *

Library of Congress

We know nothing as yet of the news except that by the Gazette we see that we are ceded to the Americans.

* * * * *

I am, Sir, your very ob t Serv t , Louis Grignon .

Mr. Jean, Bt. Barthelotte, McKinac .

315

GRIGNON TO DICKSON.

[Translated from the French by Emma A. Hawley.]

La Baye 29 May 1815.

Dear Sir ,—you will receive inclosed in this the receipts of Capt. Porlier & of Capt. Grignon for 25 pounds of powder which I have delivered to them following your commands. I have put in your care several Articles for the Sacks, consisting of one pound of powder one pair of darts 2 measures of tobacco & and one and a half bushels of wheat for them to take with them to McKinac.

I have not a single particular to communicate to you. The Indians of the river, the Sacks, have asked for permission to go to the Americans at Peorya, my reply has been that I was very much surprised at such a request. They have been impatient because they could not go because their father was going to make terms of Peace with them.

I learned yesterday that it was about 7 days since the Indians were at Lac du Elambeaux having passed Lac Chawounon [Shawano] with 100 men for me to conduct to Makina with la Boull at the head of the party.

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I have asked for Thomas to make known my departure to him. I know that you have told him to wait for you. I do not wish him to come with me. Mr. Aird left here yesterday with Mathew & I go tomorrow.

Wishing you the best health & prosperity I am

Your servant & friend, L. Grignon .

To Robert Dickson .

LETTER-BOOK OF THOMAS FORSYTH—1814–1818.1

1 Major Thomas Forsyth had been for several years engaged in the fur trade,—on Saginaw bay, at Chicago, on an island in the Mississippi near Quincy, and at Peoria,—and had acquired much influence over the Indians of Illinois, especially the Pottawattomies, previous to his appointment as government Indian agent for the Illinois district, at the outset of the war of 1812–15. His headquarters were at Peoria. Upon the close of the war, he served as agent for the Sacs and Foxes, closing his official relations with them previous to the Black Hawk outbreak of 1832. In *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vi., p. 188, will be found a sketch of his career; and in the same volume (pp. 188–219), there are given the journal of his notable voyage from St. Louis to the falls of St. Anthony, in 1819. and a letter of his to Governor William Clark, of the same year. Further biographical material may be obtained in Scharf's *Hist. St. Louis*, pp. 1293, 1294; Reynolds's *Pion. Hist. Illinois* (ed. 1887), p. 247; Hurlburt's *Chicago Antiquities*, pp. 469, 470, and miscellaneous references in Washburne's *The Edwards Papers*. In 1868, Major Forsyth's son, Robert, permitted the Society to make a complete transcript of his father's letter-books, covering the period, 1814 to 1823. The selections given in vol. vi, of these *Collections*, above cited, are the only publications from these letter-books, thus far made. There are now selected such portions of the first book as refer to the war of 1812–15. They throw new light on this interesting period of our history, and are given in this volume, wherein the British operations are so

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fully set forth in the reports and letters of McDouall, McKay, Dickson and Grignon, as showing the other side of the picture,—the means adopted by the Americans to keep the Illinois Indians in line with our interests and prevent them from co-operating with the savage allies of England. In this important work, Forsyth's services are shown to have been of great value.— Ed.

GOV. NINIAN EDWARDS'S2 INSTRUCTIONS TO FORSYTH.

2 Governor of Illinois Territory from 1809 to 1818.— Ed

Elvirado, Iowa Terr. , May 16, 1814.

The object of my wishing you to return to Peoria, is the preservation of peace between us, and the Potawatomes. As however experience has fully convinced us that there can be no neutrality with savages, in the vicinity of conflicting powers, and as we have found them faithless in all their promises, it becomes equally our interest and our duty, 317 to abandon former, and adopt new measures. You will therefore use your utmost exertions, to engage them in a war. You will insist upon their striking a blow upon some of our enemies as a proof of the sincerity of any promises or professions they may make. In pressing this step upon them, you will shew the necessity for it in consequence of their repeated breaches of their promises. To induce them to comply, you will endeavor to convince them of the justice of the Views of the Government in regard to them, remove all their jealousies about our cupidity for their lands, state that I alone have a right to purchase them, remind them of my declarations to them on that subject, of my conduct in this particular since the Administration of the Government has been in my hands, and of my private and deliberate opinions about that subject, which you will know, and by the aid of these circumstances and other suggestions that will naturally present themselves to your mind, you will endeavor to impress them with an opinion that a change of policy, in this particular, is to be expected.

Library of Congress

You will endeavor to shew them how much more they risk than other Indians by continuing the war with us. This you will do by shewing them that they are personally more exposed in consequence of being nearer to us, and that their country suiting us better than any other would be the first to be taken.

You can press upon them the late overture of the British for peace with us, the probability of that event, and the consequences of their being left to contend with us without British support.

You will try and convince them of the force and resources of our country, shew how dreadful the conflicts with the Creeks have proved to them, and remind them of the second article of the armistice, which obliged them to take up the tomahawk on our side, of the situation of the hostages and the necessity of redeeming them by an act that could not be considered equivocal.

There would certainly be no disposition to keep those hostages, if the Potawatomies would join us in the war, and upon the exhibition of proof that they had struck a blow, 318 and have killed our enemies, a number equal to that of the hostages i should be decidedly in favor of giving up the latter, but upon no other terms.

Any reasonable expence that you may incur in getting them to strike a blow upon the enemy, will be paid by the Government, and they shall further be well supported with ammunition &c., but it must be distinctly understood, that professions only, are not to be relied upon, half-way measures must be abandoned. We must take a firm ground and make them feel what we will do. They must not permit the Kickapoos to reside with them.

FORSYTH TO EDWARDS.

Fort Clark , May 29, 1814.

Library of Congress

According to your instructions, I sent for Gomo¹ and other chiefs from the head of the [Peoria] lake, and informed them of the necessity of striking a blow against our enemies: and until that was done, their friends which are now at Belle Fountain as hostages, would not be delivered up.

1 In November, 1810, Gomo, "chief of a band of Pottawatomies," gave information to Indian Agent William Clark, at St. Louis, of murders committed by two men of his nation.— (*The Edwards Papers*, p. 57.) See also, *ante*, p. 290.— Ed.

Gomo asked me, if I had delivered his talk which he gave me last month: I told him I had. He then enquired what the answer was. I told him, there was no answer sent. He (Gomo) then told me that it was impossible for them to make war with tomahawks alone, and observed that all the Potawatomie hostages that was given to Gen. [William H.] Harrison have been liberated, and says he knows nothing about the second article of the armistice wherein it says that they, the Potowatomies and others were to make war against the enemies of the U. States.

Gomo says that [Col. Robert] Dickson has gone back to. wards Mackinaw, that an armament was ready to leave Detroit some time ago, to go up and take Mackinaw, but on hearing of a very large British force arriving near Detroit 319 by way of the River Thames, as also another by way of the Lake (Erie perhaps) in boats, the expedition was deferred until another time: that Tecumseh was actually killed last fall on the Thames with one of his brothers. He heard of the expedition under Gov. [William] Clark some time ago at the mouth of Rock River, that he (Gov. Clark) will have many Indians to encounter, and recommends strongly a garrison to be made at Prairie du Chien. He also says that the Indians are quarreling among themselves, that is to say, that the Sioux, Iowas, Winnebagoes, Folio Avoines and Rock River Saukies are for war, the Ottowas, Chippeways, Potawatomies, for peace. Gomo observes, that the Indians that go to Fort Wayne are very well used and that they get provisions and presents: that a great number of Indias were to have made [a] village with them at the head of the Lake, but the killing o

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f the Kickapoo some time since, has dispersed them to different parts of the country. He is very uneasy about his friends at Belle Fontaine,¹ and told me, he was certain, that his brother was dead.

1 In Monroe county, Ill. See Reynolds's *Illinois* (ed. 1887), p. 255.— Ed.

Having sent for the Indians to come to this place, I had no doubt but that a few, (say three or four) would have been allowed to come into the Fort,² but the commanding officer will not allow any one to come in, the day being blustry and surrounded by a concourse of people, asking a thousand questions, and he (Gomo) having had one of his ribs broke latterly in a drunken frolic, it was impossible to do anything complete. I do not see what use I can be here, if I am obliged to go out in bad or good weather, the distance of two or three hundred yards to discourse with an Indian who may wish to come with any information that he may have for me to hear. Without this plan is altered, we will no doubt, lose the good will of the Potawotomies of this country, for you know very well, it requires time and a little smoking with Indians, if you wish to have any discourse with them.

2 Fort Clark, at Peoria. See *ante*, p. 263, note.— Ed.

I shall await with patience your answer.

320

FORSYTH TO EDWARDS.

Fort Clark , July 6, 1814.

Since my last letter to you by Lieut. Rector,¹ this post has been visited by many Indians from the head of the Lake, and upper parts of this river: indeed, they are here daily, bringing in to trade, Meat, Fish, &c. which is of very great assistance to the garrison of this place. We see none but Potawatomies. All the Kickapoos that are in the country being with

Library of Congress

the Saukies on Rock River, and come over occasionally to the Potawotomie villages to steal horses.

1 Stephen Rector, third lieutenant in the rangers.— Ed.

I was informed by Seigar, a Potawotomie, that some Saukies from Rock River, who were on a visit to their friends on the Missouri, on their return, killed a man, or men, not far from the Saline, on the Missouri.

On the first of June, Gomo, with others arrived here and informed me that there was a great force of British on the river S t Clair, about thirty miles above Detroit, and another British army on Lake Erie, moving upwards towards Detroit. On the 2 d ult., two of the Panther's sons came in a great hurry, and said they were sent by Gomo, to acquaint the garrison that a canoe with several Indians was seen the evening before, passing the head of the Lake, and were supposed to be enemies; but a few days afterwards, they came to this place, and proved to be Kankakee Indians who came down to trade. These Indians said that Nesscotinaineg, the fellow who defeated Capt. [William T.] Cole's party in Loutre settlement in 1810,² and murdered the two families near Vincennes in the spring of 1811, had stolen thirty horses from the settlements near Vincennes last winter, and I have no doubt but what it was this fellow with others of the Wabash, who wounded N. Rector, last month.

2 July 20, 1810, Cole and three other men were murdered on Salt creek, in the St. Charles district, by a party of Pottawattomies under the influence of the Prophet and living on the Wabash, in Illinois Territory. It was information relative to this affair that Gomo gave to General Clark, *ante*, p. 318, note.— Ed.

On the 15 th Gomo with some of his friends came to trade, ³²¹ and informed me that an Ottawa Indian had arrived in twenty days from Detroit, and says that the American and British armies were engaged on Lake Erie below Malden, that the Americans were busily employed at Detroit in building boats, and he, (the Ottawa Indian) was informed

Library of Congress

that the Americans meant to evacuate Detroit as soon as their boats were built; that General Harrison was killed, that all the Indians were invited to a general council at or near Greenville in Ohio, that none but one Potawatomie hostage had as yet returned, that the British have eight Vessels on Lake Huron, and that Mackinaw has been reinforced by many troops from Canada, that Dickson had been found much fault with by his Government, and he is to be superceded by another Englishman. Also many Goods &c are to be sent to Green Bay for the Indians, and he (Gomo) is of opinion that the British will build a Fort at Green Bay, that great preparations were made at Mackinaw to defend that place, and the Village was burned, that the British had received many troops in Canada (among whom are many Black troops) since last year, and they (the British) are sending them upwards, that there are many Chippeways from Lake Superior at Mackinaw, and that Dickson took on from Green Bay a large party of Folle avoines to Mackinaw.

Gomo says he has been informed that the British have one hundred sail of vessels on Lake Ontario, but also says it is too many, and cannot be true.

June 20—I was informed by Indians who came to trade, that an Indian who had been to Rock river after stolen horses, had arrived at Gemo's Village, and brought news that Governor [William] Clark's¹ men had killed two Winnebagoes near the mouth of the Wisconsin river, and that he (Gov. C—) was busy building a Fort at Prairie du Chien, and had sent one of his boats down to S t Louis.

¹ For sketch of Clark, see *ante*, p. 258, note.— Ed.

June 23—Two Potawatomies came from the head of the Lake to inform us, that a party of four Winnebagoes and one Chippeway had been seen a few days ago above the head of the Lake and said they were a war party, and must now be near this place.

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June 24—Como arrived with others from hunting, and brought a quantity of meat to sell. He says that Quashquamie brought news from St Louis, that Gomo's brother who is a hostage at Belle Fountain, was to be hung the day after he left.

July 2—Gomo, Black Patridge and several others came to this place, some on a visit, and many to go down the river, a hunting, and I have told them to hunt on the west side and by no means to cross over on the east side.

Gomo and Black Patridge told, that runners had arrived with news from Green Bay and Detroit and informed me as follows: That 400 British troops have landed, and are building a Fort at Green Bay, and they (the British) have brought to Green Bay a large quantity of Merchandise for the Indians, that a British agent, Chandonet,¹ came to the mouth of St Joseph's river, to council with the Indians, and did ask them (the Potawatomes of St. Joseph) permission to build a Fort at that place, that it was simply to be a place of deposit to furnish the Indians with all their wants, that their British Father had many soldiers at Mackinaw, and would build another Fort at Chicago shortly to supply the Indians also with their wants, that in a dispute with a young Indian who was raised by him (Chandonet) and is known by the name of J. B. Chandonett, and is an Interpreter in the service of the U. States, in a dispute as I have said before, the agent Chandonet and his late wife's nephew, and his adopted son J. B. C.—the latter drew a pistol and shot the agent dead.

¹ See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x., p. 112, note, for an account of Chandonnai, father and son; and a statement of the tragedy here alluded to.— Ed.

The news from Detroit is that the Detroit country was to fall into the hands of the British, four days after this news left that place, that the Potawatomes, Miami's, Wyandotts, Delawares and part of the Ottawas will not interfere in the war, but would remain at peace. A Potawatamie who resides among the Saukies on Rock River, was some days ago at the head of the Lake on a visit to his relations, and brought news that Gov. Clark had a parley with the Sioux and Foxes at Prairie du Chien, that he (Gov. C.), had built a 323 Fort at Pr.

Library of Congress

du Chien, and had left a garrison of French at that place, and had taken the regulars down to S t Louis.

Como also said that a Potawatamie Indian was hunting on the Mequon some time ago, who fell in with a party of ten or fifteen Kickapoos, and supposes them to be a war party from Rock River, that the Saukies and Kickapoos have made their brags of having killed Americans thrice since winter viz: Boone's Lick on the Missouri, Cape aux Gris, and the other perhaps since I left S t Louis. While I am talking with Gomo, other Indians arrived on horseback, one of which brought in five arrows that he found in the road about three miles from this place. They were known to be Winnebagoe arrows by their make, and no doubt belonged to the party above mentioned. Your Excellency will please remember, that in 1812 I informed you of the promise the British made to the Indians, to send out to Chicago a vessel full of goods to supply their wants: the vessels did not come, and in 1813, Gomo went to Detroit in person, to see about the promised supply of goods. The Indians were given to understand, that it was impossible then (1813) to furnish the goods, as there were so many Indians about Detroit to supply with goods, and that he could not spare any vessel or men, but required the whole to fight General: Harrison.

You may rely upon it, that there is some great plan formed by the enemy, for after the concourse of men belonging to the garrison left us (myself and Indians), I asked Como and Black Patridge as a friend to tell me candidly, if they thought that the British would come to destroy Chicago. They both told me that there was no doubt of it, indeed, I could have wished to have had more talk with them, but the heat was so great, and having sat two or three hours with them on the bank of the Lake, that I was not able to support it, and indeed the Indians complained of the extreme heat, and said it was surprising that a tent or some other kind of shade was not made for them when they came on a visit, as they were not allowed to come into the Fort. Gomo requests that you will allow Heigimaunce and Racoon (now hostages) to return to their friends, and to keep the others.

FORSYTH TO EDWARDS.

Fort Clark , July 31, 1814.

I am sorry to say that on the 9th inst, the day after the Express left this place for S t Louis, I was informed by Indians who were hunting in this vicinity, they saw where a party had crossed the Illinois river over to the East side, as their traces and rafts that they had crossed upon were yet fresh, and it is generally supposed that it was the Kickapoos who were formerly seen on the Mequon, as I mentioned to you in my communication of the 6th inst, which I hope you duly received.

On the 17th inst, two Indians came here to trade, one of which informed me that he had left Milwaukee about the 6th inst; that the Indians of that country told him that the British were building a Fort at Green Bay, and had many Indians of the Sioux, Saukie and other Nations of Indians with them; that Gov. Clark's Army had killed six Winnebagoes at or near Prairie du Chien,¹ and that it was currently reported at Milwaukee that the British were coming the ensuing fall, and build a Fort at Chicago.

¹ See McDouall's report of this affair, *ante*, pp. 262, 263.— Ed.

On the 18th the Little Eagle's son arrived here from the mouth of the Mequon and informed me that he had seen five Kickapoos on their return from war, who told him that they had killed seven Americans near W. B. Whiteside's, and that he had seen a handsome plated bridle that they brought off with them; that the party consisted of ten Kickapoos, and that they had been followed by the Americans, and in an attack they lost one of their party and the others dispersed. Those five suppose that the remaining four crossed below the mouth of the Mequon. On the 26th all the Potawattamies who went down the river in Canoes a hunting, arrived on the way up to their villages. Those Indians told me the same story about the Kickapoo war party, that Little Eagle's son had told me.

Library of Congress

On the 27 th , Gomo arrived from hunting. He told me that what I had previously heard was correct, and on my supposing that the four Kickapoos that were missing, might 325 have also been killed, he said that it was very possible, for if they were not killed, they ought to have crossed all together on their return. Gomo says that this party of Kickapoos are from the old Pemwatome's band who have their village on one of the branches of Rock River, called Pekeetennoe.¹

¹ Pecatonica river.— Ed.

I regret that I did not receive the information about the party of Kickapoos having crossed the river on their way to war, previous to the departure of the Express, as they might have been taken, but on reflection, I hope that the Interpreter who was one of the Express, was informed of it on his way down by the Potawattamies who were hunting along the river, and would be able to give you timely notice. We are all uneasy about the Express men, but if they have taken my advice, I am of opinion that nothing could have happened to them.

FORSYTH TO EDWARDS.

Fort Clark , Aug. 8, 1814.

I wrote you a few days since by two discharged soldiers, and hope you have received it safe. On the 5 th inst., Gomo with four others came to trade. He (Gomo) informed me that an Ottawa Indian had arrived some time ago at Sandy Creek from Detroit and Fort Wayne, and says that the British are in great force at the mouth of the River Thames, that many Indians visited the British army and received many presents from them, and on their return they received many more presents from the Americans in Detroit; that a British officer had been in Detroit from the River Thames; that the American commandant told him not to come on with his army, but to take pity on them and make peace, but that the British officer refused, saying it was immaterial who it would injure, as the British would make war; that all the public property of every description was taken away from Detroit, as also

Library of Congress

all the troops had left that place except one hundred men who were left to deliver up that place 326 shortly to the British; that Fort Wayne was evacuated and all kinds of property taken away, except ten men who are left there for a while, and they tell the indians that they mean to leave that place in a few days.

About the latter end of last month a Kickapoo Indian from Rock River passed through the village of Sandy Creek on his way to the Kickapoos who are now with Gen. Harrison, and there is no doubt but what he is a spy sent on the British. He told the Potawattamies of Sandy Creek that the Fort at Prairie du Chien was taken by Indians and not twenty made their escape in a boat down the Mississippi,¹ and he said that the Kickapoos now with Gen. Harrison must go to the Rock river, and that he was then going to bring them away; that twelve Sauk women were killed by Indians for having lived with Americans.

¹ See McKay's report of this incident in the ' attack on Prairie du Chien, *ante*, p. 264.— Ed.

On my inquiry if the British had gone from Green Bay to Prairie du Chien, Gomo said he had not heard that they had, but observed that I must know that Indians cannot take a Fort without the assistance of Cannon.

FORSYTH TO GEN. BENJAMIN HOWARD.²

² Brigadier general, commanding the 8th military department, including the territory west of the Mississippi. He died at St. Louis, September 18, 1814.— Ed.

Fort Clark , Aug. 8, 1814.

I had the honor to receive yours of the 31 st ult. yesterday Evening by Fourinier, and I hope as yet I have not been wanting as an agent in vigilance, considering the manner I am situated, not allowed to give a pipe of tobacco, a piece of bread or any trifling article to the Indians to gain their good will, without I give it out of my own pocket, but am as I observed before to you to go and meet the Indians a distance from the Fort in all weather,

Library of Congress

there to discourse with them as well as I can in this kind of way, and I defy any agent to do any thing complete. Sometime ago an Ottawa Indian arrived from Detroit and Fort Wayne and says, that all the public property has been taken away 327 from Detroit, and the troops have all left except one hundred men who are left there to deliver up that post to the British who are in very great force at the mouth of the river Thames; that Fort Wayne was evacuated except ten men, and all kinds of property both public and private, had been taken away, and the ten men thus left have told the Indian s that they will shortly go from thence also.

About the latter end of last month a Kickapoo Indian passed through the village of Sandy Creek from Rock River on his way to the Kickapoos who are with Gen. Harrison, to take them all from thence to Rock River, and says the Fort of Prairie du Chien has been taken by the Indians, and not twenty Americans made their escape in a boat, the remainder have either been killed or taken prisoners.

According to agreement, two Guns were fired off this morning to acquaint Gomo that there was an arrival from St Louis, but no person has come down from the village, and as Fourinter appears pressing, I don't wish to detain him any longer.

FORSYTH TO EDWARDS.

S t Louis , Aug. 20, 1814.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 16 th of June on the 18 th inst from the hands of Gen. Howard.

On the 11 th inst, Gomo, with twelve or fifteen other Indians arrived at Fort Clark, and informed me of the disasters that have taken place at Prairie du Chien and Rapids of Lamoine, all of which I am certain you are better informed than I am. On my supposing to Gomo, that the British would shortly come and take Fort Clark, he said, how can they come? You know the waters are too low in the rapids for craft to come down. Suppose

Library of Congress

said I they come down to the mouth of Rock River, you know the distance is not great (90 miles) to come across? true, said he, but I believe their intention is to go down the Mississippi. He informed me that since the affair at Prairie du Chien, the Saukies, Kickapoos, Foxes and Winnebagoes have received from the 328 British thirteen kegs of gunpowder of 100 lbs each, with some goods, and are expecting many more shortly: that the Saukies are in high spirits, and say they only lost one man and one woman in Major [Lieut. James] Campbell's affair;¹ that M r Dickson had been along the north or rather the west side of Lake Michigan, furnishing the different Indians with goods; that he returned from Milwaukee to Green Bay and from thence he was to go to Prairie du Chien to supply the Mississippi Indians with all their wants; that four Osage Indians were about the 5th inst at the Saukie village on Rock River. On my enquiring their business there, Pepper, whom you have seen, said they were married among the Saukies, but my opinion is, that they are arranging matters to join the Saukies in the war against us. Gomo has declared to me frequently that he and his band will not have anything to do in the war: that he was dragged into, it at the commencement, but is now happy that he is at peace, although they are in want of everything and the Indians all about them are plentifully supplied with clothing, &c at Fort Wayne and Detroit by the U. States,—River Thames, Mackinaw, Milwaukee, Green Bay and Prairie du Chien by the British. The whole of the Indians of Illinois river were in their cornfields before I left Fort Clark, and are making their sweet corn. Having received no information of any craft leaving this place for Fort Clark, I thought it expedient for me to purchase a canoe and come down while the weather was yet warm, knowing full well that had I remained there until the cool weather, that the risk would be too great to descend in a canoe, which plan I hope you will approve, it being three months yesterday since I went up, and am again ready to go up in a skiff to make a tour should you think it necessary; as in a skiff I can anchor out, and be out of danger at all times.

¹ *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ii., p. 220.— Ed.

I herewith enclose you a sketch of the place where Gen. [Samuel] Hopkins returned from. The trace of the cart wheel seen there, is the wagon I formerly mentioned to you, and

Library of Congress

instead of a bark house, it was a log house built by a soldier 329 prisoner, with the logs hauled out with two yoke of oxen and waggon taken at Chicago, Aug., 1814.

I herewith enclose an account of expenditures, which I trust you will find moderate.

FORSYTH TO EDWARDS.

S t Louis , Sep. 3, 1814.

I wrote by the mail that left this place on the 21 st ult. which I hope you received safe. You will please observe, that the Indians are all now busily employed with their corn, and as soon as that is done, (which will be towards the latter end of the month) they will remove to their wintering places. I do not see how the Potawatamies of Illinois river can commence their hunt, as they receive no presents, can get no credit and having nothing to purchase ammunition to commence hunting: and as they are surrounded by Indians who receive presents from us and the British, they must and will be obliged to visit the enemy at Green Bay or Chicago, should the latter make an establishment at that place [or] at Chicago, according to the promise to the Indians formerly. It is true that should Mackinaw fall, it may have a great effect, but nevertheless presents are very tempting to the Indians, particularly to those who are naked, for I can assure you that I never saw Indians so much in want of everything, as the Potawatamies of Illinois river are at present.

At the distribution of gunpowder at Rock River which the Saukies, Foxes, Kickapoos &c received from the British at Prairie du Chien, they shewed it to the Potawatamies who were there, and asked them if their American Father gave them any gunpowder, saying you see how our British Father loves his children.

I received a letter from M r J[ohn] Kinzie in Detroit of the 4 th July last, he says he is appointed Indian agent, and is going up to Mackinaw with Col. Croghan,¹ and hoped to be

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1 Col. George Croghan, who fought with credit in the war of 1812–15 and the war with Mexico. He was the son of the famous Col. George Croghan of the Revolutionary war, and a nephew of George Rogers Clark.— Ed.

330 able to write me by way of Chicago. It is true there may be a letter at Fort Clark for me; but really I have not as yet seen anything to make me believe that Mackinaw is fallen, and you may rely upon it, that the British will strain every nerve to hold the posts of Green Bay and Prairie du Chien; as for the late Grenville Treaty, is it to be supposed that the Kickapoos under the Little Deer will make war against Pemwatome's band of Kickapoos on Rock River? No never, in my opinion.

However, time will tell all, and it appears to me that the recent murders near Detroit, is a bad omen.

FORSYTH TO EDWARDS.

S T Louis , Sep. 12, 1814.

The contractor's boat arrived here yesterday evening from Fort Clark, and I am informed by persons who came down from that place, that a runner arrived at Gomo's village from Rock River on Tuesday the 6th inst, and said that the British and Indians were ready to go across and attack Fort Clark, and might be expected there in a few days; that the runner not finding Gomo at home, followed him down to the Fort. Gomo, as soon as he was told the news, immediately returned to the Fort and acquainted the commanding officer of the news. The British and Indians of Rock River had no news of Major [Zachary] Taylor's boats when the Pottawattamie runner left that place, and there can be no doubt but it was the expedition under Maj. Taylor that has stopped them from proceeding across to Fort Clark, but I am fearful that that place will fall shortly, that is to say, as soon as they can dispose of Maj. Taylor's force, who I am told are busily employed in building a Fort opposite the mouth of River des Moines. Whether Maj. Taylor will be able to complete a Fort at that place, is a doubt with me, as the Indians are so numerous about Rock River

Library of Congress

that I think our people will not be able to cut and haul the timber, as the woods will be swarming with Indians as soon as the enemy finds out what is doing. I am also informed that a party of twenty odd Winnebagoes, crossed Illinois river near the 331 forks on their way to Vincennes settlements some time ago, and that several small war parties of the same nation had crossed above Fort Clark, and we may suppose that it was some of those parties who killed the rangers the other day on Silver Creek.

FORSYTH TO RUFUS EATON.

S T Louis , Sep. 18, 1814.

Understanding you are returned a Delegate for this Territory to Congress, and are preparing to set out for the seat of the General Government, it will be perhaps satisfactory to you, to be made acquainted with Indian affairs as relates to this part of the country.

At the commencement of the present war, the whole of the Indian Nations from Detroit to the Mississippi were prepared and ready to raise the tomahawk against us; it is true that the Wyandott's of Brownstown, the Ottawas of Portage River, and the Chippewas of River Huron above Detroit, hesitated to interfere in the war, but the moment those Indians saw Gen. Hull recross Detroit river, they to a man joined the British. The fall of Detroit and defeat of Gen. Winchester's army at River Raisin, raised the spirits of the Indians to such a pitch that they really thought that nothing could conquer them, but Gen. Harrison's army convinced them to the contrary, and many nations asked peace.

During all this time the Saukies and Foxes had an U. States factory to supply them with all their wants, were fed occasionally by and received many presents from the U. States, and in all their talks they professed the greatest friendship towards the Government. Nevertheless I was always of the opinion that if ever a British force came into the Mississippi, the whole of the Indians would join the enemy and I advised it strongly that the Saukies and Foxes ought to be sent into the Missouri, and to establish a Factory with them. This was done, but many remained at Rock River, and was called the war

Library of Congress

party, but after the peace party had resided one winter in the Missouri, the most of them returned overland to their friends on Rock River, as 332 there can be no doubt but they heard of the British being at Green Bay and expected them at Prairie du Chien, which occasioned their return from Missouri to the Mississippi; still, the deceit of these Indians was so great that when Gov. Clark went up to Prairie du Chien they professed the greatest friendship towards the U. States; but as soon as the Fort at that place fell into the hands of the enemy the reinforcements for Prairie du Chien under Maj. Campbell were attacked and driven back by these very Indians that had been so well treated by the United States, and boasted of having committed many murders since the last winter on the frontiers. We see in the public papers that a Treaty has been made with different nations of Indians viz: Shawanoes, Senecas, Delawares, Miamies, Weas, Kickapoos, Pottawatamies, Ottawas and Chippeways, and they have promised to take up the tomahawk against the enemies of the U. States. Is it to be supposed that the Kickapoos under Little Deer, will make war against the Kickapoos of Rock River under the old chief Pemwattome, or that the Ottawas of Portage river will make war against the Ottawas of Lake Michigan, or that the Potawattamies of Elksheart or S t Joseph's will destroy the Potawattamies of Milwaukee, or the Chippewas who reside near Detroit, will assist in destroying the Chippewas of Saginaw or these who live on Lake Huron? no never, it is out of the nature of things that Indians will kill and destroy their friends and relations for the sake of any white people: true the Shawanoes, Delawares, Senecas and perhaps Wyandottes may assist and fulfil their promise according to the Treaty, but for the others, I am doubtful, as they know full well the consequences of a war among themselves. I will here quote you an instance that happened in July last in Illinois river. In a drunken frolic, a Potawattamie Indian killed his brother-in-law who was a Chippeway Indian. The Potawattamie chief had him arrested, taken and sent delivered up to the deceased Indian's friends towards Green Bay, a chief of the Potawattamies accompanied the murderer to arrange the affair by means of presents, which I presume has been settled, as I understand by a late arrival from Fort Clark that he (the murderer) 333 has returned to his friends. Thus you see what pains they take to avoid a war among themselves.

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In March last, I was instructed to get the Pottawattamies of Illinois River to go to war against the Winnebagos on Rock River. The Pottawattamies had to council with the Chippewa's and Ottawas, and when I went up in April they agreed to go to war, provided that the United States would furnish them with arms and ammunition, this answer of the Pottawattamies was delivered by me as Indian agent to the Governor, but nothing has been done and now it is too late in my opinion.

The Pottawatamies of Rock River are curiously situated at present. By the beginning or middle of next month the whole of them must leave their villages as is customary every year, to go to their wintering places. They have perfectly adhered to the armistice entered into with Gen. Harrison as relates to being quiet and not visiting the British, nevertheless now they are on the point of moving to their hunting places, but they have not a pound of gunpowder, many have no arms, nor can they get them, without they accept them of the British, who are now on Rock River and who no doubt know full well the want of the Pottawatamies for these articles, and will make an offer of presents to them, and common sense will tell us that the offer will not be refused.

It appears to me, that we have hardly ever had a council or treaty with any of the Indian Nations, that both parties were contented. Therefore, there must be fault somewhere. It is a maxim with the British Government (and I think a very good one) that no person is eligible for the place of Superintendent or Agent of Indian affairs without he can talk some one of the Indian languages, by which means it is supposed that he is acquainted with the manners and customs of the Indians: certainly it is not to be supposed that a man from the interior of the U. States, who perhaps never saw an Indian in his life before he came to this country, can know how to treat Indians and obtain their good will. It is not to be expected that a man thus situated can know the characters of the different Indian Nations and the characters of the different individuals of the different Nations. I would
334 recommend it for the good of all parties that a superintendent of Indian affairs be appointed and reside at this place, and all Indian Agents to report to him, and he to report

Library of Congress

to the General Government: but in the meantime for the Superintendent to acquaint the Governors of the different Territories of any matters that might relate to their territorial governments, having a proper Sup't with proper agents, Indian affairs could never go wrong, and everything would be perfectly understood between the whites and the Indians; half-way measures in my opinion are the worst kind of measures (as respects Indians) that can be followed. Give them what you promise, never threaten, punish first and threaten afterwards. Indeed, give Indians Indian Law, and you may be assured you are always on the right side. If Indians murder retaliate, if theft by stealing horses, take three or four fold, they will soon get tired of doing mischief and be peaceable, but on the other hand, listen to their complaints and do them justice if any of our citizens have injured any of them let them have redress, by which means a superintendant who understands his duty, with good agents who understand theirs, Indian affairs must go on to satisfaction of all parties.

There is a good deal of talk at present in this place about the British and Indians coming down to attack our frontiers this season, but this I cannot believe, without they had a sufficiency of regular troops to garrison the different places, at this place, S to Genevieve, Kaskaskia, &c. It is true they might come down this season with a very large Indian Army, and carry fire and sword through our frontiers, as they can at any time raise from three to four thousand Indians without including the Sioux, or the Mississippi or any of the Missouri Indians, viz:

Saukies & Foxes amounting to 1200, deduct 200 said now to be friendly in Missouri, remains 1,000

Pottawattamies can furnish 1200 warriors but suppose one-half will not come if asked 600

Winnebagoes will come to a man 400

Folle Avoines will come to a man. They are Dickson's garde de corps, 200

Library of Congress

Ottawas of Lake Michigan in their birch bark canoes can be very easily brought down by the way of Chicago & the Illinois river 80

Kickapoos when altogether 40

Chippeways in and about Green Bay & Milwaukee, without including the Chippewas north of Green Bay and those about the Sault de S te Marie and Lake Superior 200

Total 3,600

335

Making an aggregate of thirty-six hundred on a very moderate calculation: nevertheless it does not appear to me that any invasion will be attempted this season, but if the reports are correct as respects Spain having declared war against us I should not be surprised if the Spaniards came down the Missouri by way of River Platte with a great body of Indians, and perhaps the British at the same time may come down from the Mississippi or Illinois River, who will also bring down another body of Indians, by which means an indiscriminate massacre must take place, for let the British and Spaniards be ever so inclined to keep the savages from killing in cool blood, it will be out of their power from the great number of Indians they will bring with them.

As respects the Missouri Indians, I have been informed by a very intelligent young Spaniard who has been brought up [in] this country that the Indians in that country are numerous, viz:

Osages 1,200

Kansas 300

Otters 200

Library of Congress

Missouri's 300

Mahans 500

Total 2, 500

Making two thousand five hundred warriors who reside between this place, and one hundred miles above River Platte: then on River Platte and its branches there resides the Pawnees 1000

Wolf Indians 500

A banditti of vagabonds of all nations commonly called the Republic 300

1,800

You will please observe that no mention is here made of many other Nations of Indians who reside higher up the Missouri as the Rickarees, Mandans &c &c, as also those who reside between the headwaters of the River Platte and the Spanish Settlements in Mexico, who I am informed are numerous. The Shawnees and Delaware in this territory may perhaps amount to 150 or 200 warriors; Cherokees perhaps 600; the others below such as the Chickasaws, Choctaws 336 &c I cannot even make an estimate, as I have never been in that section of country, nor can I find any person in this place who can give me the necessary information on that head, but should I at any time procure any information that I should think worthy of your notice, I will transmit to you by mail.

Wishing you a pleasant and agreeable journey to the seat of Government, &c &c.

FORSYTH TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.¹

1 James Monroe.— Ed.

Library of Congress

S T Louis , April 13, 1815.

I have the honor to acquaint you that I arrived yesterday from Fort Clark to which place I have been to settle the affair that took place in the month of November last near that Fort, between the Rangers and the Pottawattamie Indians residing on the Illinois river, and I am happy to state that I have succeeded beyond my most sanguine expectations. I herewith enclose a copy of my speech to the Indians for your information, and hope it will meet with your approbation. The Indians received the goods with many thanks, and requested me to return their thanks to all the American chiefs I might see.

From the information that I received from the officer commanding Fort Clark, it appears that those Indians had many opportunities to retaliate, saying at the same time that they were not for War, but for Peace, this you will please observe happened prior to any assurance being made to them that the dead would be covered, as they term it.

I am truly sorry to acquaint you that Gomo, alias Nasima the head chief of the Pottawattomies in the Illinois river is dead. He was a true friend to our country, and was well acquainted with the population and power of the United States, having some twenty years ago visited many of our cities and towns, particularly Philadelphia, New York, Boston &c, and I have heard him speak with delight, of the treatment he received from the late General Washington, then 33rd President. He is succeeded by his brother Petchaho, alias Sinnawchewon, who is also an excellent Indian, and I have no doubt but that he will fill the place with credit to himself and friendship towards the U. States. The above named Petchaho, told me that a half Potawattomie and half Winnebago who resides at Milwaukee, killed a white man near Fort Wayne, and the latest accounts he received from that quarter (which was some time ago) the Indians said they would kill the murderer.

Having taken a letter from Gov. Clark enclosing a newspaper giving an account of the Peace, and directed to any British officer in the Mississippi, I signified to Petchaho a wish to have the latter sent over to Rock River, who immediately offered his services and said

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no person ought to be lazy to be the bearer of such good news, and I hope ere this he is among the Saukies and other Indians on Rock River with the news. I took upon myself to tell him to acquaint all the Indians he might see, that peace was made between the U. States and the British, and if the hostile Indians did not immediately desist from making war against the citizens of the U. States, that a Fort would be built at Green Bay and another at Prairie du Chien, by which means the trade between the Mississippi Indians and British Traders would be totally cut off, and they would become an easy prey to the whites. This language I hope will also meet your approbation. Petchaho also remarked that he was at the mouth of Rock River about a month ago, and saw some of the British there from Prairie du Chien, dealing out considerable quantities of Ammunition to the Indians in that country as presents.

The Black Patridge and Petchaho, the two principal chiefs residing near the Illinois river, requested me to make their situation known as respects the high prices of Goods in the Sutler's store at Fort Clark, and they say that they hope the U. States will take pity on them, and as soon as convenient establish a Factory at Fort Clark for them, also hoping they will be able to get goods as cheap in this way, as they formerly did at the Factory in Chicago.

I have frequently ascended the Illinois river to and beyond 22 338 Fort Clark in an open boat, subjecting myself to the inclemency of the weather at all seasons of the year, and obliged to camp on the banks of the river, where myself and men ran the risk of being killed by any strolling party of hostile Indians, when if I had a sufficient boat I might anchor in the middle of the river and be out of danger from any hostile bands of Indians, and screened from the weather at all times.

I therefore would be glad to know if I could be authorized to purchase a small covered boat for the above mentioned purpose, as other agents in this country in similar situations to myself, have all these things under their immediate directions.

FORSYTH TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

S T Louis , April 30, 1815.

By an arrival from Fort Clark a few days ago, I received information that the Pottawattomies chief Pechaho whom I sent over to Rock River from that place had returned, and told the commanding officer of the Fort that he had delivered the letter (enclosing a paper giving an account of the Peace) to some of the British at Rock River: he also told the different Nations of Indians at that place the consequence that must attend them if they continued the war. The Kickapoo said they were glad to hear of the Peace, and would withdraw from that quarter, but the Saukies and Winnebagoes insisted on carrying on the War. Since which, a man has been killed near Cape aux Gris (no doubt by the Saukies) as many canoes were found by the Rangers after the Indians fled.

FORSYTH TO COMMISSIONERS APPOINTED TO TREAT WITH THE INDIAN NATIONS.¹

¹ William Clark, Ninian Edwards and Auguste Chouteau.— Ed.

S T Louis , May 30, 1815.

Having received my instructions on the evening of the 16th inst, I set out the next day for Fort Clark, at which place I arrived on the 24th inst, and have the honor to report to you 339 as follows: On the day of my arrival a number of Potawattamie Indians came to the Fort to trade &c, among whom was Petchaho, the chief of the Potawatamies living at the head of Peoria lake who I made acquainted with my mission to that country, and enquired of him if an Indian could be had to carry the speeches to the Saukies and Kickapoos residing on Rock River, He told me a Kickapoo Indian that was married into a Potawattamie family could be had for the above purpose. I then mentioned to him the other speeches, and delivered him the speech to the Potawattamies. He said he would return home the next day, (the 25th) and the day following he would send the Kickapoo

Library of Congress

Indian above mentioned off to the Kickapoos and Saukies residing on Rock River, and that he would arrive there on the 28 th or 29 th : that he would take charge of the other speeches and would set out in a canoe with three or four other Indians on the 26 th and expected to arrive at Sandy Creek on the 28 th or 29 th , from which place he would send the Winnebago and Menomonee speeches to Cotton Wood river to a Potawattamie Indian who resides at that place, and as some of the Winnebago and Menomonees live in the neighborhood of that river, he would deliver the two speeches. At Sandy Creek he (Petchaho) would deliver the Ottawa speech to some of that nation who reside at Sandy Creek Village. As the Potawattamies are living over a very extensive country, he will deliver the speech to that nation in two parts, one part to be sent to S t Joseph, Elksheart and Eel river. the other part to be sent to Milwaukee by which opportunity the Chippeway speech would be sent to Sheboygan, to Michael's band of Chippeways.

After explaining the invitation to Pechaho, and many other Indians that were present, I asked him if I could depend on him that the speeches would be sent as directed, he told me that I might téll the American chiefs in this country, that the whole should be faithfully sent, but observed at the same time there was not a sufficiency of time given to the Indians to travel the great distance from their places of residence to Portage des Sioux, and said it would require fifteen or twenty days more. I informed him that I had no doubt 340 but that the commissioners would await their arrival. The chief is of the opinion that all the Indians invited will attend the Treaty: that when the Menomonees heard of the peace (which news I took up to Fort Clark last month) they said it was good news, and if the British wished them in future to make war against the Americans, that they would refuse.

This same Indian told me that one man, one woman and two children were made prisoners in the settlements of Vincennes, that the man was killed on the road as the party were returning home, and that the woman with the two children were some time ago at Milwaukee, and he supposes that those prisoners are still at that place. The partizan of that party who made those prisoners, is a half Potawattamie and half Winnebago, and

Library of Congress

resides at Milwaukee. On the 25th the Black Patridge with his brother in law came on a visit to Fort Clark. He informed me that a letter from the British in Canada passed near Detroit to S^t Josephs, from thence to the Kickapoos on the Vermillion that falls into the Wabash. A Kickapoo Indian took the letter direct to Rock River and delivered it to the British on the Mississippi. The contents of the letter Black Patridge said was as follows:

“When the French left Canada, they requested us (the British) to take care of the Indians. We will do so, and without the Americans abandon all the country on the side of the Ohio river we (the British) will not make peace with the Americans. Take care, you will be invited in the spring to make peace at Fort Wayne, Vincennes and S^t Louis, but don't go for there is a trap laid for you.”

This letter arrived at Rock river about the 25th of March last. The interpreter at Fort Harrison told the Potawattamies rates who visited that place, that the Indians would be invited to receive presents at Fort Wayne, Vincennes and Fort Clark; that covered ways were prepared at each place, and that while the Indians would be receiving their presents, the Soldiers would rush out of the covered way and destroy the whole of them: that a letter said to be written in the French language and sent up in last month to 341 the Indians in the Illinois river by Gov. Edwards, was carried up to a certain Louis Buisson then at Chicago for explanation. After reading the letter, the latter remarked to the Indians that it contained nothing but falsehoods; that the Americans said that peace was made with the British only to deceive the Indians; that if it was true that peace was actually made, the President would have signed the letter; also, if such was the case his brother who is now living at this place would be glad of it, and would have written him by the same opportunity. You will please observe, that this is the same L. Buisson who abused the Indians at Chicago, in May 1813 for not taking myself and others prisoners when we were at Sandy Creek the latter end of April same year, and threatened to report their conduct to the British Father for allowing us to escape, as he said we were spies sent up among the

Library of Congress

Indians by the American chiefs, and received much money from the American chiefs for those services.

As many Indians will come down the Illinois River to the Treaty, I have directed the Pottawattamies to the last, and when any band of Indians come down the river, for them to accompany such band past Fort Clark, without the whole of the more northern Indians come together, in that case the Pottawattamies to join, and all pass the Fort together.

FORSYTH TO EDWARDS.

S T Louis , Aug. 20, 1815.

I have the honor to acquaint you that I arrived from Illinois river yesterday evening, and have the honor to report to you as follows:

That the Indians in Illinois river are perfectly happy that they have made peace with the U. States, saying that nothing shall be wanting on their part to keep an everlasting peace with all the Americans. On my enquiring if the Saukies, Foxes, Winnebagoes, Folle avoines, Chippeways and Milwaukee Pottawatamies would attend the Treaty and make peace, Sinnawchewon informed me that he had not any news from Rock River since he returned home 342 from Portage de Sioux, and therefore could not say any thing about the Mississippi Indians except the old Kickapoo chief Pemwatome whom he says is sulky and will not attend any more on the Treaty. As for the Winnebagoes, Folle avoins, Chippeways and Milwaukee Indians he says it is impossible for them to do anything until the chiefs return from Mackinaw, which will not be until some time in the next moon, but has not a doubt the Shawanoe who went straight home to Milwaukee from Portage do Sioux, will advise the whole of the Indians to make peace with the U. States.

It appears to a certainty, that the British did tell the Indians last spring that they would not give up Mackinaw, but the Indians have been latterly informed that Mackinaw will be given up as soon as the American troops arrive at that place. In a general conversation that I

Library of Congress

had with the Indians, they (the Pottawatamies), observed to me that they did not mean to trouble themselves any more with the Mississippi Indians, but would in future confine themselves to their own private concerns, and to keep at peace with all parties, and will be always ready to listen to the good council of their American Father.

FORSYTH TO CLARK.

S T Louis , Sept. 22, 1815.

In consequence of a conversation that took place a few days ago between your Excellency and myself, I now take the liberty to give you my opinion as respects the method we ought to pursue towards the Indians to gain their good will and friendship, by which means we may be able to procure that necessary influence over the different Nations of Indians, wean them from foreign influence, and make the whole of them dependant on us, until which period we will always have the Indians as Enemies when we are engaged in war with any of the European powers. I have been often surprised, on reflecting that we as Americans, speaking the same language, having the same customs and manners, and having the same means as the British, that we should have so little influence over the Indian Nations, from which it would appear to me that there is a want of something, somewhere. According to the present method of treating Indians, it is in my opinion utterly impossible to gain the good will, or have any influence with them. It cannot be expected that a Governor, who is also Superintendent of Indian affairs (who perhaps never saw an Indian before he came to the Territory he is to govern) can know what course to pursue toward the Indians, or indeed what instructions to give to an agent. Indians are always fond of novelty, and when they hear of the arrival of a Governor to post off to visit their new Father. The Governor not paying that attention to his visitants that they expected, the Indians return home much disappointed, saying that their new Father is a man of no sense, and did not offer them meat or drink, or any tobacco to smoke, by which means the Indians become prejudiced against the Governor, and in the end [this] leads to something serious. You well know that these little civilities shewn at times to the Indians, have had

Library of Congress

good effects when affairs of consequence are to be settled between the whites and the Indians.

The British Government have brought their method of treating Indians to a perfect system; they have [a] well regulated Indian department with a store of goods and a blacksmith at every post for their use. No person is eligible for the place of agent, unless he can speak some one of the languages. It would be supposed that an agent thus appointed is acquainted with the manners and customs as also with the different chiefs and Head Men of the different Nations of Indians.

A British Indian Agent will not think it derogatory to his rank to smoke and converse with Indian chiefs, by which means he cannot be imposed upon by designing interpreters, as sometimes happens with us. It is my decided opinion that our Government ought to establish a distinct department for Indian affairs in this country. A principal agent ought to reside at this place with sub-agents at the different posts or garrisons, whose duty it would be to report to the principal agent only, and from him to the Government. With 344 agents thus appointed, who know their duty, I would venture to say that Indian affairs would go on properly. A Department thus arranged, I would then recommend to treat the Indians well, and give them Indian laws to treat them well. I mean that a few presents be given them every September, so that they might commence their fall hunting, and a little liquor every spring and autumn for a frolic. The sale of spirituous liquors by traders ought to be prohibited, as it is well known they will sell every thing they have for liquor when intoxicated. Listen to their complaints and render them justice; never promise more than you mean to perform; allow them a free trade to all places and encourage as many persons as possible to engage in the Indian trade, so that the Indians may see that they are dependant on us, and keep them from travelling five or six hundred miles to visit a British post where their minds are poisoned and prepared for any event that may be in agitation. To give them Indian law I would only make this difference, give them so many days to deliver up the transgressor, and if he failed then to retaliate, and not allow any traders to go into their country, and there can be no doubt but they will ask for peace,

Library of Congress

and take care that mischief will not again take place, or if it did they would not hesitate to deliver up the culprit. We see few or no American traders in any part of the Illinois country; two reasons may be given for this: first, Indian goods brought into this country are always sold so high and at a very short credit, by which means those who have the means purchase up the goods and hire those who have not the means to purchase, to barter the goods in the Indian country, by which means a cargo of Indian goods that would employ two or three more persons if the credit was extended, fall into the hands of one purchaser who employs only one person and perhaps himself to barter these goods in the Illinois country: second, it is impossible that any individual can purchase goods in this country and sell them as cheap as the factories.

British traders only can oppose the factories from the extensive credit they have, and the superior quality of their goods. There can be no other way of bringing the fur trade through its proper channels, than by underselling the British traders; to shut them out totally, would be making bad worse, as none of our traders or factors will credit the Indians so extensively as the British traders, and it would take such a vast quantity of woollens to supply all the Indians that it appears that it would be many years before everything could be got in operation to content both parties.

Another thing, without you can fully supply the Indians with goods for their furs, they would suppose that the shutting out of the British traders were intended to injure them, and not the whites. Any person conversant in Indian affairs must agree, [that with] a department judiciously organized, furnished with presents for the Indians as above mentioned, having an auxiliary here, merchants who would furnish our traders with goods equal in quality and price to those brought from Canada by which means our citizens would at least have a share in the Indian trade, and stop the baneful influence of foreign emissaries in the character of traders, and a total dependence on us for their supplies, the Indians would never again attempt to raise the tomahawk against the U. States.

FORSYTH TO EDWARDS.

S T Louis , Mar. 31, 1816.

I have to acquaint you that I arrived here last evening from the Illinois river, suffering much from wet and cold during the trip. On my way up I fell in with eight lodges of Kickapoos and Potawattamies at the grand pass, among whom was the Main Pogue, who has lost his hearing in a great measure, and is also otherwise unwell, and I think if he can procure any more spirituous liquor the white people as well as the indians will get rid of a very troublesome character. At Arrowstone creek I found several lodges of Kickapoos who informed me that there were still twenty lodges of Kickapoos under the old chief Pemwatome on the Mississippi: that they could not return home last year for want of horses, and as yet they do not know where they will build their villages; that the Saukies are peaceably inclined on the 346 Mississippi; that a number of that nation who were in Canada have returned home, and the Kickapoos who were also in Canada passed the winter at the Elksheart not far distant from Fort Wayne and are expected home as soon as the season will permit. These Saukies who have been in Canada intend going to Malden the ensuing summer and some Potawattamies who have made indifferent hunts, will also go to Malden to get presents. Thus you see the necessity of a few presents to keep the Indians from travelling five or six hundred miles to visit a British garrison where their minds become more or less poisoned, and are always primed ready for any event that the British may have in agitation.

At Fort Clark I met a Pottawattamie who was in the engagement on the Thames that took place between the American and British armies in the fall of 1813, who saw Tecumseh killed. His story as respects the death of that Indian is as follows: ["] The Indian spies came in with accounts of the American Army being near at hand and where I and others were, we would be opposed to the American horsemen; a Pottawatamie Indian named Kichekemit was on my right, Nesscottinnemeg on my left and on his left stood Tecumseh armed with a sabre and a pair of pistols. We had agreed to fire on the Americans, seize the reins of the bridles and knock the riders off, but the horsemen came up with such

Library of Congress

rapidity and in such numbers that I had time only to fire (but missed) and hide myself in some brush. Kichekemit fell, Nesscottinnemeg run away. I then saw Tecumseh engaged with a foot soldier: the soldier having run his bayonet through Tecumseh's leather coat near the hips, and the latter trying to disengage himself from the Bayonet with his sabre in his hand when a horseman rode up and shot him through the head, and he fell over. An opportunity offered and I made off into the woods where I remained the best part of three days, and then returned to the battle ground. I there found Kichekemit and Tecumseh lying and the whole skin of their heads taken off.["] On my asking this Indian if he was sure it was Tecumseh he saw lying on the battle ground, and if he was not otherwise cut or disfigured not to be known, he observed 347 to me that he lived with his uncle (who was taken on board of the British Fleet by Capt. Perry) at the Prophets town on the Wabash for three years, and was in habits of intimacy with and knew Tecumseh well: that he was not cut nor disfigured, except his being skinned and the breadth of about three fingers and about a foot long of skin and flesh taken from his right thigh. This Ottawa Indian had nothing in view to tell me a falsehood, it was he who commenced the conversation, and I believe he told me the truth. I did not see either the Black Patridge or Sinnawchewon, but saw the Grand Quet and some others at the old French village about Fort Clark. They appeared to be much alarmed about surveying their lands, and as I informed you in a former letter, that the Potawattamies could not settle the business, respecting these lands alone, as the Grand Quet said that the Chippeways and Ottawas must also be invited, indeed it is my opinion that the whole of the Potawatamie chiefs will after they are done hunting, meet and invite the Chippeways and Ottawas to a council, but at the same time complain much that the council fire is removed from Portage de Sioux, which with Indians is a bad omen. It is the opinion of Shawanoe of Milwaukee, that if the Chippeways come down to the Treaty, the Folle avoins and Winnebagoes will also come, otherwise it will be doubtful whether they come or not. Those Folle avoins who have passed the winter in the Mississippi will no doubt come down with the Saukies.

FORSYTH TO CLARK.

S T Louis , June 3, 1817.

According to your instructions, I ascended the Mississippi to Fort Armstrong with the annuities for the Saukie and Fox Indians. I was detained at that place two or three days owing to the Indians being in a frolic. As soon as the Indians were in a situation to do business with, I crossed over to the Fox Village from the Fort and informed the head chief of the Fox Nation that I was sent by you to deliver to them their annuities. Shortly after, the Indians collected and came to my boat when the chief told me that he could not accept 348 of the annuities as they did not wish to part with their lands, saying at the same time that they would do without goods and live on roots rather than part with their lands. I told them that I had not come there to buy any lands from any Indians, but could assure them that what land the United States had purchased of the Indians they would certainly keep, and as they did not see proper to receive their annuities, that I would take them back to S t Louis. To this the Indians made no reply, and returned to their Village. I immediately descended the river to the Saukie Village and on my arrival there informed the chiefs of my business. They requested of me to remain there all night as it required the chiefs and Braves to have a meeting. To this I assented and to my surprise the next morning about 8 or 9 o'clock the head chief of the Foxes with some of his people came to my camp and requested of me to deliver them their annuities. On the delivery of which they complained of the quantity being small. I told the chief that it was all I had for him, that he might take or leave them as he might think proper. He took them saying that the Americans would be angry if he refused.

The Saukie chief sent for me, and I found a large lodge full of Indians, and after being seated some time I was addressed by one of their chiefs saying that ["] this pipe I hold in my hand you see is full of tobacco, and we have not as yet smoked out of it, but we do not say that we will not smoke out of it, but when we do not know, it has been sent to us by the Osages and Kansas Indians to join them in a war against the Pawnees.["] After

Library of Congress

some ceremony I acquainted them with my business, and what had passed the day before between myself and the Foxes. They received their annuities without any hesitation.

On enquiry I found that the whole of the Saukie Nation are now at their old Village on Rock River about a mile from its mouth. They told me that their Village consisted of one hundred lodges, and their numbers were 1000 men without counting many stout lads. Indeed I have seen many Indian Villages, but I never saw such a large one or such a populous one. They appear stationary there and 349 their old lodges are repaired and some new ones lately built, and others building. I enquired of some of the chiefs who came from Missouri about making a new village: they said that they would remain where they were: on my supposing to them that perhaps next year they would remove to the west side of the Mississippi, their answer was, that perhaps they might, but as yet they did not know. The Fox Village is within a few hundred yards of Fort Armstrong across the channel of the river and consists of twenty odd lodges and numbers about two hundred warriors, being about one-half of the whole of the Nation. I was informed that many Saukies visited Malden, and the British agents at that place told them to be quiet and peaceable towards all people, by no means to do any mischief to any of the Americans, saying you complain that the Americans have taken your lands from you and built forts in your country; never mind that, the time will come when they will move off your lands and out of their Forts without any trouble and of their own accord.

The Americans [say], (says the British agent,) that if we gained any advantage over them during the late war. it was because you assisted us; when war takes place again, we will not ask you to assist us, we are strong enough ourselves, but we will not be first to commence another war, it will be another people (perhaps the Spaniards): that they (the Saukies) had been invited to go and settle on or near Red River: that the Hudson Bay Company would furnish them with guns that would kill without powder, as the guns they now use. I found ten Indians, Osages and Kansas at the Saukie Village, and found that they had been invited by the British last year through the medium of the Saukies to visit Malden, and when the news [came] of those Osages being on their way to Rock River,

Library of Congress

eight Indians of the Saukie Nation were immediately dispatched with the news to Malden, and true it was, that they went there and returned home in twenty-six days, bringing a white belt of wampum with them to the Osages, pressing them to go on to Malden. Two of these Osages have come down with me to this place. The remaining eight I left at the Saukie village, and who 350 no doubt will go on, with the Saukies to Malden and Detroit. About one hundred Saukies will go to those places and they were to have started from their Villages on Rock River about the 28th ult. When the Saukies were at Malden last year, the British Agent told them that he had received letters from M^r Dickson in England, and that he would soon leave there to visit his Indian friends on the Mississippi, and would walk more upright than ever, that their great Father over the Great Waters is well contented with M^r Dickson's conduct during the late war, and that he (Dickson) was a greater chief than ever.

On Dickson's arrival at Prairie du Chien a deputation from the Saukie Nation went up to see him.¹ He told them in public that he was immediately returned from England: that their Great Father the King of England bid him tell his red children to be quiet and to consider the Americans as their friends, and by no means to do any mischief to any people whatever, but in private he told them that he would return shortly and go into the northwest by way of Lake Superior and when he would get to Red River, his red face, his red head and the Red River would flame up and burn. In this double entendre something may be surmised, and your good judgment in Indian affairs will put the proper construction on this declaration.

¹ *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x., p. 213.— Ed.

A few minutes previous to my leaving the Saukie chiefs they requested me to represent to you that during last fall and this spring, that white people took and destroyed sixty of their canoes that were left on the banks of the Mississippi, hoping you would make them some recompense for this loss. The chiefs also requested me to beg you would send them

Library of Congress

a blacksmith to mend their guns, axes and hoes. In this way you will render them a great service.

I neglected to observe in its proper place in this report, that Dickson's son who has gone to river S t Peter, now in the pay of the British Government, and Dickson himself, is trying hard (and I think he will succeed) to draw off all the Sioux, Folle avoines and Chippeway Indians to the Red 351 river; part only of the Saukies talk of going, but in my opinion, if any go, the whole of the Nation will follow.

FORSYTH TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.¹

¹ George Graham, *ad interim*.— Ed.

S T Louis , Sep. 29, 1817.

Previous to the late war, my brother² and myself were partners in trade under the firm of Kinzie and Forsyth. We had purchased goods in Detroit on credit to trade at various places, at Chicago and Peoria, the first being the place of residence of my partner, and the latter my place of residence. In June 1812 we shipped on board a vessel at Chicago, for Detroit, furs and peltries to a large amount to pay for the goods we had thus purchased. Mackinaw having fallen into the hands of the enemy early in the war, the master of the Vessel (on board of which our Furs and Peltries were shipped) not knowing of the War or that Mackinaw had fallen into the hands of the enemy, put into that port as usual.

² John Kinzie, his half-brother.— Ed.

The Vessel and Cargo were immediately taken possession of and all became lost. In August following, the troops at Chicago were all killed or taken prisoners by the Indians, and our loss of property there became great, and had my brother not been a man of much esteem by the Indians, himself, wife and children would have fallen under the tomahawk.

Library of Congress

The months of Oct. and Nov. of same year our property was all destroyed at Peoria, first by the Indians and secondly by a party of militia commanded by Capt. Craig of Shawanoe town in Illinois territory, and myself with all the inhabitants then at that place brought down by Craig and his party, after burning many of our houses and keeping much of our property.³

³ See Thomas E. Craig's report of this affair, in *The Edwards Papers*, p. 80. It was evidently written while the author was greatly excited. See also, Reynolds's *Illinois* (ed. 1887), p. 251.— Ed.

These losses have thrown a heavy debt on myself and 352 partner amounting to 12 or \$15,000 for which sum my partner has been sued for in the courts of Detroit since the peace, which judgment is now against us, and I think it but just that we should try and recover as much of the losses as possible. I therefore wish to go on to the city to be there by the next session of Congress, to lay my claims before that honorable body and if possible obtain something for our creditors. Travelling after people who are much scattered and who are acquainted with the circumstances of these losses, to get their depositions has prevented me from going up to my agency, and as it is absolutely necessary for me to go on to the city, I wish your permission for that purpose to lay before Congress my claims, hoping it will meet your approval. If not, I must resign my appointment in the Indian Department, although small as my salary is I have found it useful in my family since I have met with these losses.

Since my appointment (April 1812) I have been a good and faithful public servant, and if I am well informed, this is well known at the city: if I have been misinformed in this respect my fellow citizens of this place in particular can vouch for the services I have rendered my country during the late war, also my capacity as an Agent and standing as an honest man.

Your answer as soon as convenient will be gratefully received.

FORSYTH TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.¹

¹ John C. Calhoun.— Ed.

Georgetown, D.C. , Mar. 19, 1818.

I have the honor to acquaint you that I was appointed a sub-agent in the Indian Department in the spring of the year 1812 with a salary of \$600 per annum and three rations per day, the whole amounting to \$819 per ann., and resided where I had lived many years previous to my appointment at the Village of Peoria on Illinois river. After the commencement of the late war my situation became perilous, yet I had the address to retain the friendship of all the leading men among the Indian s by which mean s I had it in 353 my power to frustrate many of the plans of the British and Indians, and was informed by the then executive of Missouri Territory that a timely letter of mine to him saved the whole district of S t Charles from the Tomahawk and scalping knife. In the fall of the same year (1812) the whole of the Inhabitants of Peoria myself among the number were brought down prisoners by a party of Illinois militia under the command of a Capt. Craig. After plundering and destroying much of our property and the remainder left to the merciless savages who burnt what buildings were not destroyed by Craig and his party who also destroyed all our cattle and cornfields.

In the spring of the year 1813 the then Governor of Missouri Territory appeared very anxious to procure information from the Indian country. I offered my services to the Governor at a time when the Indians [were] killing people daily on the frontiers and when no other person for any consideration whatever could be had to go among the Indians. I ascended the Illinois river to Sandy Creek and remained several days in a camp of upwards 500 warriors and had the address to collect such information as the Governor wished for, and returned safe back to S Louis. In the fall of the same year (1813) I volunteered my services and went out against the Indians under the command of the late

Library of Congress

Gen. Howard. The result of that campaign is well known to the war Department, and if it was beneficial to the country, no fault can be attached to me.

A certain Mr. Dickson, a very active British Agent, hearing of my activity among the Indians and knowing my influence among the different Nations and having found that I had frustrated some of his plans, made great offers to the Pottawatamies to take me a prisoner and bring me to Green Bay. Those Indians refused so to do on account of the friendship that existed between them and myself, but a Winnebago chief accepted the offer of Dickson for me or my scalp, and did actually descend the Illinois river in the month of April 1814 within Six miles of Fort Clark on Illinois river in search of me. I had left my camp to descend the river to Fort Clark a few hours when those same Winnebagoes 23 354 (ten in number) arrived at the same spot that I had left, and I was informed subsequently by the Pottawatamies that this party of Winnebagoes were much dissapointed on hearing of my departure, saying they had pledged themselves to Dickson to deliver to him my person or scalp.

At the Treaty held with the Indians in 1815¹ the commissioners appeared satisfied with my assistance at that Treaty and acknowledged my services in a handsome manner. In the summer of 1816, I was again requested by the same commissioners to assist them in extinguishing the Indian title to what is now called the Soldiers Bounty Lands in Illinois Territory. My exertions in this work were such that had I not interfered I am certain the Indians would never have agreed to part with their lands. However, I must refer you to the Commissioners report of that Treaty, which will speak for itself.

¹ At Portage des Sioux, July 18, 1815. The commissioners were Clark, Edwards and Chouteau.— Ed.

I have been informed by the late Gen. Howard and the present Governors of Illinois and Missouri,² that the services that I have rendered my country from the commencement of the late war to the present date have been duly reported to the War office, and they have

Library of Congress

all obligingly told me that I deserved well of my country. It cannot be supposed otherwise, situated as I was at the commencement of the late war, having the whole of my personal property in an Indian country, but that I must have met with great losses. In this I have had more perhaps than my share. For my partner and self having taken many goods on credit in Detroit in the fall of the year 1811 consequently we owed much money for these goods so taken on credit. During the hunting season that followed, we had collected at our different trading places many furs and peltries which we shipped on board of a vessel at Chicago for our creditors in Detroit, but Mackinaw having fallen into the hands of the Enemy early in the War this Vessel not knowing of the fall of Mackinaw, put into that port as usual. The Vessel and

2 Edwards and Clark.— Ed.

355 Cargo were immediately taken possession of by the Enemy, and our furs and peltries became forever lost to myself and partner.

The dreadful affair that happened to the troops at Chicago in Aug. 1812 occasioned another loss of property to myself and partner. As I before observed, I was brought down a prisoner by a certain Capt. Craig, and between Craig's men and the Indians our loss of property was again very great, and I have now before Congress a petition for loss of property sustained at Chicago and Peoria hoping I will be able to recover something for my creditors, but alas, it will fall short of being sufficient for that purpose, owing to the total loss of our furs and peltries at the post of Mackinaw.

Thus Sir, you are made acquainted with the risks I have run, the sufferings and losses that I have experienced during the late war, and I hope you are already acquainted with my capacity as an Indian Agent and integrity for the good of my country. I am also happy to say, that I have the friendship of the principal inhabitants of the country where I live who can vouch for the truths of the above statements; hoping from the within statements of facts and recommendations from people high in office in the country where I am well

Library of Congress

known, I would respectfully ask that my salary as an indian Agent may be augmented to that of a full Agent's salary with the usual privileges, &c., &c.

Your answer when convenient will be gratefully acknowledged.

PRAIRIE DU CHIEN IN 1827.

LETTERS OF JOSEPH M. STREET TO GOV. NINIAN EDWARDS, OF ILLINOIS.¹

¹ Joseph M. Street was born in Virginia, about 1780, and in the winter of 1805–6 emigrated from Richmond, in that state, to Frankfort, Ky., where he published *The Western World* newspaper, “and for several years took a conspicuous part in the gladiatorial field of Kentucky politics.” In the summer of 1812, he became one of the first settlers in Shawneetown. Ill., and formed a wide circle of political and personal friends among the leading pioneers of southern Illinois. He appears to have always been an uncompromising Whig, in office or out, and conducted an active political correspondence for many years with Gov. Ninian Edwards and others; many of his letters may be found in Washburne's *Edwards Papers*, from which volume the two here given are extracted, as casting interesting sidelights on the condition of affairs in Prairie du Chien and the lead region, in 1827. March 30, 1827, we find him writing from Shawneetown to Governor Edwards, complaining that he has a family of “12 white persons besides myself,” dependent on him for a support which he is “at an entire loss” to know how to provide. It appears that he had been conducting a vigorous correspondence with influential men of his party in Washington, begging for office, but he says that those having influence are “sweet in compliments and but give us hopes,” while those who do exhibit “warmth and feeling” are without influence. His correspondence with Edwards throughout the summer is in the same melancholy strain. He had, after persistent labors, obtained the county clerkship at Peoria, in March, 1827, but the appointment cost him \$40 in traveling expenses from Shawneetown to Peoria and return, while the Office proved to be not worth \$30 a year. During the summer he was appointed by Governor Edwards as brigadier general of the

Library of Congress

state militia, then being organized; but not being called into active service he received no pay. In August, 1827, his efforts were rewarded by a "letter of appointment" to the vacant Winnebago Indian agency at Prairie du Chien — Agent Nicholas Boilvin having been drowned in the Mississippi (*ante*, p. 248), during the early summer. Street resigned his militia office, September 16. He moved to Prairie du Chien on the first of November, and from the letter here given it will be seen that he was at first fearful the senate would not confirm his appointment. The senate did confirm it, however, and he was allowed to retain the post at a salary of \$1,200 per year, with John Marsh of Massachusetts as sub-agent (\$500 per annum), and John P. Gates of Canada as interpreter (\$400 per annum); Thomas P. Burnett became sub-agent in 1830, succeeding Marsh. When the county of Iowa was organized by proclamation of Governor Lewis Cass, of Michigan Territory, October 9, 1829, Samuel W. Beall, Louis Grignon and Street were appointed commissioners to locate the seat of justice. Street did good service during the Black Hawk war, and it was to him that the Sac leader was delivered up, by One-eyed Decorah and Chætar. Street appears to have been fairly successful in keeping the Winnebagoes quiet, during the term of his agency. While not particularly popular with either whites or Indians, he was deemed a satisfactory agent. His letters show him to have been a pompous, garrulous man, and given somewhat to flattery of those from whom he expected favors. Upon the final removal of government troops from Rock Island, in November, 1836, he was ordered to establish a Sac and Fox agency there. In the fall of 1837, he accompanied Keokuk, Wapello and about thirty other Sac and Fox chiefs and head-men to Washington; in the party was Black Hawk, who had, in 1833, been placed under Keokuk for safe keeping. The party was received in the leading eastern cities with much ceremony, Indian deputations to the seat of government being then rare. In April, 1839, Street, pursuant to orders, removed his family from Prairie du Chien, which had till then remained as his home, to Agency City, on the Des Moines river, Wapello county, Iowa. During the following winter his health broke down, and he died at the agency house there, May 5, 1840, aged about sixty years.— Ed.

Prairie Du Chien , Nov., 1827.

My Dear Sir :—I have been here two or 3 weeks and I can assure you I have not been idle, as my official communications would shew. By the same conveyance that takes this letter, a communication *directed to the Secretary of War* , as close written as this, on 3 whole sheets of paper, is sent off. And altho' so newly introduced into the Indian relations, I think you, who are by your knowledge of them and their affairs and countries, so able to judge, would give me some credit for my *tact* , and the easy manner in which 357 I have slid into the spirit of Indian affairs, and took a peep behind the curtain. I am not boasting to the world, but writing to a confidential friend, sure and tried, whose good opinion of me under every difficulty I am striving to justify. I trust that you will never have cause to blush for one, who you so warmly and urgently recommended in highly flattering terms of commendation. I can never cease to remember it.

358

I have very minutely enquired into all the causes connected with the late disturbances with the Winnebago Indians.¹ Hastily I will sketch them to you that you may compare them with your accounts and judge between them. I place great reliance upon my information as it comes from different sources, and fits nicely together. Should you have any varient opinions you would highly gratify me by communicating them. I took occasion in my communication to give that weight that is evidently due to the prompt measures you took in relation to the militia. The Winnebagoes and the whites all admit that they apprehended more from the militia ordered to be drafted than all the regulars. They had set down the draft of $\frac{1}{4}$ the militia of Illinois, as an immense number of *Mounted Riflemen* . They remembered the *Rangers of Governor Edwards* , and that was the force they most dreaded.

¹ The Winnebago war, or "Red Bird disturbance," described at length in preceding volumes of *Wis. Hist. Colls.*— Ed.

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The Indians had been soured by the conduct of the vast number of adventurers flocking to and working the lead mines of Fever River. Those who went by land, by far the greater part, passed through the Winnebago country. Many of them had great contempt for “ *naked Indians* ,” and behaved low, gross, and like blackguards amongst them. The Agent at the mines² granted permits on the Winnebago lands, and numerous diggings were industriously pushed far east of the line between the Ottawas, Chippewas and Pottawatomies of the Illinois, and the Winnebagoes, and great quantities of mineral procured and taken away to the smelters. I should first have called your attention to your treaty of the 24 Aug., 1816, and the treaty of 19 Aug., 1825,³ which together establish the line between the Ottawas, &c., and the Winnebagoes. Take the treaty of 24 Aug., 1816, and lay a map of the country before you, and delineate the

2 The superintendent of the United States lead mines was Lieut. Martin Thomas, who lived at St. Louis. His resident sub-agent, at this time, was Thomas McKnight, who lived at Galena.— Ed.

3 The treaty of 1816 was held at St. Louis, that of 1825 at Prairie du Chien.— Ed.

359 lines as follows: The country of the Ottawas, &c., commences at the Winnebago village on Rock River, 40 miles above its mouth,¹ runs down said river 'till it strikes the line running from the south end of Michigan L. due west to Rock Island,² then up the Mississippi to the southern line of the Prairie du Chien reserve, and along said line east and north to the Wisconsin, then passing southwardly passing on the east of the heads of all the small streams falling into the Mississippi to the beginning. This last line is on a dividing ridge between the Mississippi waters *direct* , and those falling into Rock River. The same treaty makes the unlocated reservations of such tracts of land as the U.S. may choose to locate not exceeding in all 5 leagues square. Then look at the treaty of 19 Aug., 1825 (page 363 of the Book of Treaties), and you will see the bounds of the Winnebago country. Again refer to the map having the last line from P. du Ch. to the Winnebago village in your recollection. Commencing at the sources of Rock River, down the said R.

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to the W. village, 40 miles above the mouth of R. R., *thence along the line of the Ottawas, Chippewas, and Pottawatomies* (above mentioned) *on a dividing ridge passing east of all the small streams falling into the Mississippi*, to the P. du Ch. reserve, thence with the east and north lines of said reserve to the Mississippi, and up the Mississippi to the Bluffs on the east side of said river opposite the mouth of the upper Ioway R., then with said bluffs to the mouth of the Black River, and up said river 'till a due west line from the sources of the west fork of the Wisconsin will intersect Black River, and along said line east to the sources of the W. B. of Wisconsin, down the same and the Wisconsin to the portage, across the portage and down Fox River to the Grand Kan-Kanlin [Kackalin], including the whole of the Winnebago Lake. Leaving an open. line from the Grand

1 Prophetstown, Illinois.— Ed.

2 The language is: "From the southern extremity of Lake Michigan to the Mississippi river." In accordance with the terms of this treaty, the line was run by John Sullivan, a surveyor, in 1818, and his westernmost monument was placed "on the bank of the Mississippi near the head of Rock Island."— Ed.

360 Kan Kanlin to the sources of Rock R. that I can find no treaty closes. From this you perceive that you in the treaty of 24 Aug., 1816, made the only reservations that have been made, and they are *all west of the line of the Winnebagoes. Then we have no colour of claim on the Winnebago lands whatever*. Harrison indeed bought all this land by the treaty of 3 d Nov., 1804, from a point 36 miles up the Wisconsin to Lake Sakægan,¹ at the head of Fox River of the Illinois. This includes the whole mining district, 80 or a hundred miles east of the mouth of Fever River. But in the treaty of the 19 th Aug., 1825, the commissioners recognize and establish the right of the Winnebagoes to this land, and make no exception or reservation except at P. du Ch. This closes all our chance of claim. This is the treaty *you said you had never noticed, and that you would have opposed its ratification had you considered its provisions*. The Winnebagoes complained of the trespass of the miners, and the open violation of the treaty by the permits of Mr. Thomas, the Ag't. No notice was taken of it and the diggings progressed. The Indians

Library of Congress

attempted force which was repelled, and very angry feelings produced. Under this state of excitement some of them left the neighborhood of the mines and went above this place, as it is supposed to consult some chiefs and influential men there, and to invite the co-operation of the Sioux, at any rate the lower band of Sioux with Wabasha. They were met there by a Sioux Indian called Wawzéekootee, or he that shoots in the pine tops, who told the Winnebagoes that the U. S. officers had delivered up several Sioux Indians to the Chippewas, who cruelly murdered them and cut them to small pieces, amongst whom was one innocent Indian; and that the 2 Winnebagoes, in confinement for previous murders, were at the same time butchered by the whites. Now, said he, go and revenge their death, and the moment you strike a blow, the Sioux will help you to kill all the whites above Rock River. Two Winnebagoes who had invited the Sioux of Wabashaw's band, then offered a string

1 Doubtless Pewaukee lake. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ix., 130–134, for opinions as to the identity of Lake Sakægan.— Ed.

361 of wampum, and asked the help of the Sioux. They all refused but pine tops, and he repeated the assurances —“Go strike the first blow and the Sioux will then help you.” Under these feelings the Winnebagoes left them, and struck the blow on the boats, and at this place.¹

1 *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, v., 143; *Hist. Crawford Co.*, p. 199.— Ed.

I have in one case recommended a purchase to be bounded east by a line from the mouth of Pine River about half way from this to the portage, on the Wisconsin, to the point of intersection between the line running due west from the south end of Lake M. and the northwestern line of the Illinois canal purchase; and that a treaty should be held next summer at this place. Gen'l Atkinson promised the Indians that com'rs should be app'd to treat with them in relation [to] the lead-mine difficulties.

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I find Gen'l Clark² is resolved I shall move here, or he, I fear, will endeavor to have me removed. He spoke very positively on the subject of my removal to this place. An immediate removal would subject me to some smart sacrifices—to meet debts which my salary would extinguish if I had a little time to make sales and gradually diminish my debts. If I must move this ensuing year or loose the place I shall certainly move, for I cannot do without it. If commissioners are appointed to treat with the Indians for these lands or other purposes, and I could be one of them, the additional sum would enable me to move without any great sacrifice. And I believe I could write a much better treaty than #ds of those I see. Your treaties are the only ones that are *definite* in their lines or terms. Harrison's are the next best. If in writing to Washington you would mention me as being on the spot, and a fit person, if you think I am, you would greatly serve me in my depression. I will mention it to some friends also in Congress.³

2 See *ante*, p. 258, note 2.— Ed.

3 Street's wishes were not granted. The next treaty with the Winnebagoes was concluded at Green Bay, August 25, 1828, Cass and Menard being the commissioners.— Ed.

I have met several chiefs and tolerable large parties of Indians, and had some talks with them. As you advised 362 me, I have deported myself and find no difficulty. Indeed I speak better than I had supposed I could, and casually learn that the Indians and whites think I speak very well. The Indians have a great opinion of my gravity and portly look (on which you joked me) and the officers of the Fort have paid me great attention. Major Fowle sent workmen to fit up my room and run a partition across the council chamber which I had suggested as proper, and is very respectful and friendly.

Like Bolingbroke, tho' I have kept pretty close to my room, and mean not to make an everyday exhibition of my person. I only appear in the Indian room when I wish to see Indians. At other times I turn them over to the Interpreter, and never receive any in my chamber.

Library of Congress

You will doubtless think me very particular, and be tired of my garulity; the situation is new to me, and having craved your advice I am shewing you that I am acting upon it, or in accordance with your views.

Mr. Douseman,¹ who takes this, is going, and I have written very hastily, not knowing of his departure but a few hours. With respect and deep considerations of regard, I am, sir,

¹ Hercules L. Dousman, then confidential agent of the American Fur company at Prairie du Chien.— Ed.

Your most ob dt h ble s t , Jos. M. Street .

Ninian Edwards, Governor of Illinois, Belleville, Illinois .

Prairie du Chien , December 28, 1827.

Dear Sir ,— The closing of the river appears absolutely to cut me off from any intercourse with the civilized world. I arrived here the first of Nov., since when, we have had *one mail* from below. Capt. Clark of the army² came in this

² Doubtless Nathan Clark, afterwards commandant at Forts Howard and Winnebago, respectively. He was a native of Connecticut, entering the service May 19, 1813; became captain in the 5th infantry, June 29, 1824; brevet major, June 29, 1834; died at Fort Winnebago, February 18, 1836. In August, 1827, four companies of the 5th inf. had been stationed at Fort Crawford, under Brevet Major John Fowle, Jr., on account of the Winnebago disturbance. Fowls was a native of Massachusetts and entered the army as second lieut. in the 9th inf., April 9, 1812; captain, June 10, 1814; transferred to 5th inf., May 17, 1815; brevetted major June 10, 1824, for ten years faithful service in one grade; major 3d inf., March 4, 1833; lieut. col. 6th inf., Dec. 25, 1837; killed April 25, 1838, by steamboat explosion.— Ed.

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363 month from St. Louis, but brought no letters or papers. I have not heard from my family since I left the Saline. And have not rec'd *one letter* from below this place since we parted. *From this* , you will readily conclude I am quite uneasy. If it is not imposing too much upon your goodness I should like, at a leisure moment, to get a few lines from you. I feel some anxiety to hear also from Washington City, whether my appointment has been confirmed. Kane¹ promised to write me, and perhaps has, but as I before remarked, we get nothing from any place except Fever River and St. Peters. I have no newspaper from Washington, and until I can get a paper sent on, I would acknowledge it as a great favour, if you would send me on one of your W. papers after reading it. Or the Richmond *Enquirer* , after you have retained it one week to read, it will be *very new here then* .

1 Elias Kent Kane, then United States senator from Illinois. Kane was born in New York, but emigrated to Tennessee at an early day; afterwards (1814) settling as a lawyer at Kaskaskia, Illinois. He was elected secretary of state in 1818, and in 1824 was sent to the United States senate; he was reëlected in 1830 and died in Washington, Dec. 12, 1835. Governor Reynolds, in his *Pioneer Hist. of Ill.*, writes: "His career in Illinois was brief, but elevated and conspicuous."— Ed.

Is it not astonishing that we have been all this time without a mail? The Postmaster-General has been quite accommodating towards us, and directs all the money arising from our post-office here to be applied by the Postmaster to carrying the mail.² The deputy informed me that during the summer the mail was mostly carried free of expense by steamboats and that the whole fund of the summer was untouched, and would pay for carrying the mail during the winter. Yet the Postmaster, who left here last July and

2 In *American State Papers* (*Postoffice*, xv., p. 210), it is shown that "the net amount of postage accruing" for the year ending March 31, 1828, at Prairie du Chien was \$49.81.— Ed.

364 went eastwardly to lay in m'd'z., is on the river below Rock Island with his m'd'z., stopped by the ice.¹ Capt. Clark of the army passed him and came on here some weeks

Library of Congress

past, and yet no mail. *With this fund on hand*, the deputy here has omitted to send until 7 or 8 days past, and the Postmaster has failed to hire a carrier to bring it up. When Capt. Clark came up there was a fine opportunity of company for any man hired to bring the mail. I am apprehensive that the whole is made subservient to the convenience of a merchant, and that while I am tortured with suspense, he is calculating cent-per-cent and hiring *cheap, payable in m'd'z*. You know payments in that way are not as *imperative as silver or gold*. I am unacquainted with the P. M., and under excited feelings may judge him hardly. Can you give any aid in establishing a mail route to this place, which shall be an extension of the route from Edwardsville? If you can, I would be gratified if you would write the Postmaster-General. I will be of considerable advantage to your population at F. R., as # of the proposed route lies in your State, and your citizens are quite anxious it shall extend at any rate to Fever R., if no further. This would be a stepping stone that would ultimate in continuing the route to Prairie du Chien.

1 This postmaster was James H. Lockwood. who mentions the fact in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, il., p. 152. The books of the department, at Washington, show that he succeeded James Duane Doty as postmaster, Dec. 6, 1824, "and so far as shown by the postoffice records remained as such officer until October 27th, 1828, when he was succeeded by Joseph M. Street." Daniel Drew, an old settler of Prairie du Chien, states that he used to carry the mails, as a boy, during General Street's postmastership, and that Thomas Street, the general's son, had charge of the distribution, the office being in the fort.— Ed.

I have written to the P. M. Gen'l this mail, and think if you will add some other information as to the route, and press the subject, the P. M. G. would establish the route. I have proposed the following routes, either of w'h will be perfectly agreeable:

365 From Miles. Miles. Prairie du Chien to Turkey River 25. Turkey River to Fever River 45
70 Fever River to Rook Island Post 60 to Peoria 190 Rock Island Post to Lewiston 120 to
Springfield 70 Lewiston to Springfield 45 to Edwardsville 85 Springfield to Edwardsville 85
to St. Louis 12 Edwardsville to St. Louis 12 = 392. 427

Note .—At a point on the east side of the Mississippi, opposite the mouth of Turkey River, is mines as valuable as any at Fever R., 25 m. from here, and there are 60 or 70 persons building a town they call Cassville.¹ All the other points you well know. And at F. R. when I passed there, many computed there were 4,000 or 5,000 persons. Now, sir, this route (by Lewiston, Fulton county, Illinois, I think preferable) will lie all in your State below Fever River, leaving only 70 miles, the distance of this place from Fever River. Certainly, if you can, you therefore ought to aid my efforts. From here to Rock Island is in the Indian country, except the reservations for lead; below that (the line from south end of Lake Michigan) is secured by your treaty of 24 Aug., 1816, to U. S. The mail could pass the whole distance and not spend one night in the Ind. country. From here to Turkey R. (Cassville), 25 m. first night; 2d night, 45 m., Galena, Jo Daviess county; start in the evening from Galena, and 3d night stay at Gratiot's diggings, 15 miles; 4th night, Rock Island Fort, 45 m.; from there I am unacquainted with the road, and wish you to write on, if you please, to the Postmaster-General and give him an account of that section of the route. Or of the one by Peoria, as you may deem best

¹ There were huts of roving French and wigwams of indians on the site of Cassville, as early as 1816. When James Grushong stopped there for awhile in 1824, on his return from the Selkirk settlement, on the Red river, he found a deserted cabin, the only evidence of previous habitation. In 1827, the place was first occupied by permanent settlers. Judge Sawyer erected the first lead-smelting furnace there, and Tom G. Hawley the first house. Sawyer left July 3, however, on account of the Indian troubles then rife in the lead region. In 1828, a large number of people arrived. The settlement did not thrive, however, until after the Black Hawk war.— Ed.

366 in your judgment, to which I would readily yield, as you know the country better than I do. You, no doubt, saw the report of Osian M. Ross¹ and 2 other persons who viewed and marked the route from Springfield to Fever River by way of Lewiston last spring. They say the distance is only 205 miles from Springfield to Galena. I estimated it at 225. They report the road to be excellent, and that several loaded wagons proceeded directly after them

Library of Congress

upon their route and found no obstructions in the way except Rock R. If the route can be made to run by the Fort this difficulty can be removed, as the land there is within our limits, free from any danger from Indians from its vicinity to the Fort, and some person can be got to settle at the ferry, if the Government will extend any privilege to him as to the ferry. The route by Peoria crosses R. R. in the Winnebago country. A glance at the map with your knowledge of this country will make all this plain to you.

1 Ossian M. Ross, of Lewiston, was one of the earliest settlers in Fulton county, Illinois,—being the first justice of the peace in that county, the first postmaster and the first tavern-keeper,—and kept the ferry across the Illinois river, at the mouth of the Spoon (present site of Havana); he was therefore interested in having the highway between Springfield and the lead mines run by way of his Havana ferry and his Lewiston tavern,— Ed.

A word about the Winnebagoes. By-the-by, you could do something in the furtherance of my views if you have time and disposition to do it, the latter I can never doubt. I have met many of them, and numbers are calling to see me every week. Indians are very curious and like to *see* and *feel* all who are placed near them. They remain as yet very quiet, and are engaged in hunting and those who come bring some furs and venison. I am, as you know, a novice at Indian affairs. Yet I am unable to conquer my suspicions that there is much dissatisfaction amongst the nation in relation to the people of the U. S., and I am thoroughly convinced that if the Winnebagoes could induce any other tribe or tribes to join them, a stubborn resistance would be made to the *execution of the Red Bird*. He is a *favorite of his people*, and has obtained a high reputation amongst the whites previous to the late most unprovoked murders. 367 You, no doubt, have had a particular account of his voluntary surrender of himself.¹ This manly, chivalric act, his open, free, and high bearing at the time, has something more than ordinary in it. Dressed in his Yancton uniform of white unsoiled skins with a fine white dressed skin robe cast loosely across his shoulders, and mounted on a mettlesome horse with a white flag in his hand, and marching into the camp of Whistler, unconfined, with a pleasant unclouded brow to deliver himself up as a murderer, is a little out of the ordinary course of such things

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amongst us. You, perhaps, have seen him. He is a tall, well-made, straight Indian, about 38 or 40, and a very pleasant countenance. There is nothing remarkable in the other 7 prisoners, if you except Red Bird's son, a lad of about 12 or 15. He is a pleasant, smiling boy. Confinement goes hard with the Red Bird, and he does not have good health, but if a white man calls to see him all the *nobility* of a *great savage* appears to light up his seemingly intelligent features, and a stranger would point to him as *no every-day character*. I wish the trial and execution of the murderers was past. If a strong force is not present when Red Bird is to be hanged if convicted (of which I can see no reason to doubt), I shall not feel free from apprehension of danger. There is an opinion prevalent at St. Louis and amongst some here, that the Winnebagoes are greatly alarmed at late events. They *were* much alarmed at the time Gen'l A.2 and the III. volunteers were in their country. The movement was sudden, beyond what the Indians had been accustomed to, and the expected reinforcements from Illinois under your order for $\frac{1}{4}$ the militia, was calculated to take them by surprise; and at the time had its effect. Since then they seem to be gradually awakening, as it were, from a deep sleep; until their fears are given to the winds and there is dead stillness—a portentous calm that all my secret endeavors cannot unravel. They cannot be induced to talk on the subject. And they come and go, ask no questions about the prisoners, and if told of their health, answer

1 *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, viii., 260–264.— Ed.

2 Brevet Brig, Gen. Henry Atkinson, colonel of 6th inf., U. S. A.— Ed.

368 to any mention of them *Uh!* Say they are well or sick it is immaterial— *uh!* —is the answer. And it is evident they wish to avoid the *mention of them*. At the same time the wives and relatives of the prisoners are greatly attended to. The wife of Red Bird does not come near. I learn she is *rich*, as Red Bird was the best hunter in his nation, and great attention is paid to her by the nation. The chiefs who have visited me profess their friendship; but somewhat anxiously enquire when they may expect their Great Father will *settle the line and mark it* between their country and the whites at the mines. They say, “we have left our country to keep our young men from having anything to do with

Library of Congress

the people at the mines until we hear from our Great Father. This is our promise to Gen'l Atkinson, and we will keep it." They add, "Gen'l A. promised us that next summer persons should come from our G. F. to council with us about this matter and we will wait and see them."

1828, Jan'y 1.

An *old mail* has arrived from Fever River from whence our messenger who was to have gone to Rock Island returned. He met the P. M. there, who sent him back with the *old mail*, directing his young man here to send him 9 or 10 trains to draw up his m'd'z. Now when all things suit the P. M.'s convenience to bring up his m'd'z., we shall be favoured with a mail. I hardly know how to speak patiently of such conduct!

It is with sentiments of sympathetic sorrow, that I notice the death of my friend, Mr. Cook.¹ He was a *clean politician*

¹ Daniel Pope Cook, then member of congress from Illinois. Born in Scott county, Kentucky, in 1793. Went to Ste. Genevieve, Mo., in 1811, and clerked in a store. In 1815, he entered upon the practice of law at Kaskaskia, Illinois. In 1817, he was sent to London as bearer of dispatches to the U. S. Minister, John Quincy Adams, and returned home with him. The following year he was appointed judge of the western circuit of Illinois and "became very popular in that office." In the fall of the same year he was elected attorney-general of the state. Two years later he was elected to congress, after a second masterly contest with John McLean, who had beaten him for the office in 1818. He was among the most notable of the western congressmen. He died at his father's home in Kentucky, Oct. 16, 1827, aged but 36 years. Gov. Reynolds (*Pioneer Hist. of Ill.*, p. 395) pays this tribute to him: "He rose high, shined bright and died soon. He was at one time the darling and idol of the people; he was great, brilliant and active in his mind; his qualifications of heart were noble, generous and benevolent." Street's estimate of his friend appears to have been a just one.— Ed.

Library of Congress

369 —and a “ripe and a good one.” Few men in the U. S. at his time of life, had entered so completely into a knowledge of the politicks of the U. S. both at home and in its foreign relations. I am apprehensive Illinois is not destined *soon* to be so ably represented upon the floor of Congress. I saw it but a moment past when about to close my letter. It has cast a gloom o'er me and dashed some bright anticipations that were floating in my mind for Ill.

Should you correspond with any person at W. City likely to do me any good, you w'd greatly oblige me by casually mentioning me as one of the commissioners to treat with the Winnebagoes next summer. I am here, and it w'd be a little mortifying if some person was sent here, *over my head* , to treat with these Indians. Make my respects to Mrs. Edwards and Ninian, and suffer me to renew to you assurances of my high respect and deep obligations.

Your friend, Jos. M. Street .

Gov. Ninian Edwards, Belleville, Ill . 24

AMERICAN FUR COMPANY INVOICES—1821–22.

BY THE EDITOR.

About the year 1855, the effects of the American Fur Company at Mackinaw were transferred to Ronald McLeod, he purchasing the company's warehouse and office building. The latter structure is now (1888) in use as a summer hotel; the warehouse “is but little used or quite deserted at times.” In 1863, several large packing boxes, filled with the company's books and papers, were opened by the holders of the real estate and “the contents variously used—for lighting fires and placing around cabbage plants when put in the ground, to protect them from the cut-worm.” Mrs. B. F. Felix, a Chicago lady, with antiquarian tastes, saved several volumes from the hands of the vandals and presented them to the Chicago Historical Society. In 1870, Mrs. Felix was again in Mackinaw and discovered that in the pantry of the McLeod home there were still left some volumes of

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accounts and letters," the leaves of which were being used to line cake-tins with." She again rescued several volumes, presenting all but three to the Chicago Historical Society. In the great fire of 1871, the Society's collections were largely destroyed, and these books of the American Fur Company with them. The only volumes now known to remain, of the lot first unboxed in 1863, are one volume of invoices in the possession of Mrs. Felix and two volumes of letters which are in the hands of a friend of that lady.¹

¹ Mrs. Felix is my authority for the above statements. She was of the opinion that volumes were in the library of the Western Reserve Historical Society, at Cleveland, Ohio, placed there by the late Alfred T. Goodman, secretary of that Society, but I am informed that none are now to be found in its archives.

The volume of invoices marked:—" *Invoices Outward, A. F. Co. B.* "—was kindly loaned to me in October, 1887, by Mrs. Felix. It contains the outward invoices of the company 371 from Michilimackinac (Mackinaw) during the years 1821 and 1822, and is chiefly interesting because giving the names and location of the traders having connection with the company, together with the nature of their relationship to the concern. It lacks the first twenty-six pages, but is otherwise in good condition. The accounts are, for the most part, kept in both English and American currency, and with great neatness and exactness. Although the transactions recorded did not all affect Wisconsin traders, it is deemed advisable to present the entire list of trading posts referred to in the volume, with the names and locations of the traders, and classified as to their connection with the company. A sample invoice is also presented, as showing the character of goods then entering into the Indian trade of the Northwest, and the prices extant. The orthography is that of the MS. volume.¹

¹ For a statement relative to the condition of the Indian trade west of Lake Michigan, in 1831, prices of goods and location of traders, consult *Senate Docs.*, No. 90, 22d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 49, 50.

LIST OF TRADERS.

JOINT ACCOUNT WITH THE AMERICAN FUR COMPANY.

Russel Farnham, for the trade of the Lower Mississippi and its dependencies.
Michilimackinac, 10 August, 1821.

Joseph C. Dechereau, for the trade of Penatangonshire² & its dependencies: Lake Huron Outfit, 1820, transferred to ac. of Decheneau Outfit, 1821; for account of American Fur Company & Joseph C. Decheneau, 1 Aug. 1822.

2 Penetanguishene, Ontario.— Ed.

Decheneau's Outfit, 1821. Sundry goods delivered at Michilimackinac at different times and forwarded to Drummond Island. 1 Aug., 1822.

Decheneau's Outfit, 1821. Merchandise delivered by Wm. W. Matthews at Drummond Island, to Joseph C. Decheneau, for trade at Penatangonshire. 1 August, 1822.

Lake Huron Outfit, 1821. Merchandise delivered by Joseph C. Decheneau to Etienne Lamorandiere at Drummond 372 Island, being a part of purchase from Mr. Joseph Rolette at Drummond Island. July 21, 1821.

Joseph La Perche and Russell Farnham, for trade of the Lower Mississippi and its dependencies. Michilimackinac, July 27, 1822.

Louis Buisson. Merchandise for Illinois Outfit 1822. Account and risk of American Fur Company & Louis Personneau, Sen r . Michilimackinac, August 8, 1822.

ON THEIR OWN ACCOUNT AND RISK.

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Michael Cadotte, senior, for his trade at La Pointe, Lake Superior. Michilimackinac, 23 July, 1821.

1 Michael Cadotte's trading post was at La Pointe, on the southwest shore of what is now called Madeline island, in the Apostles group, off Chequamegon bay. In 1820, he was visited by Henry R. Schoolcraft.—(*Exped. to Sources of Miss. River*, Phila., 1855, p. 105.) Cadotte then had his abode with the Chippewa band under chief Bezhike. Schoolcraft, in his curiously distorted map of the Apostles archipelago, calls it the “Federation group,” and gives the name of “Virginia island” to the Madeline of to-day; the other islands are assigned to Indiana, Missouri, Delaware, Ohio, Texas, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Minnesota, Illinois, Nebraska, New Jersey, North Carolina, California, South Carolina, New York, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, Tennessee, Mississippi, Oregon, Rhode Island, Kentucky, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Vermont, New Hampshire and Maine,—naming them northward from Chequamegon bay, which is called “Bay of St. Charles” on Schoolcraft's chart. In July, 1826, Thomas L McKenney visited Cadotte's post.—(*Tour to the Lakes*, Baltimore, 1827, pp. 261–265.) McKenney calls the island “Michael's,” probably in recognition of the trader's Christian name, and says Cadotte had “lived here twenty-five years,” and was the owner of a comfortable little farm. In *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, v., p. 324, Cadette is said to have “early founded a settlement at La Pointe, and educated his sons at Montreal.” Joseph Cadott, probably one of the sons, is mentioned (*Id.*, x., 142) as being a lieutenant in the British Indian department, during the war of 1812–15. It appears (*Id.*, viii., p. 224) that Madeline island has at various times been known as Monegoinaic cauning, Woodpecker, Montreal, Middle and Cadotte's.— Ed.

Joseph Laperche, alias St. Jean, for his trade on the Lower Mississippi. Michilimackinac, 30 July, 1821.

Joseph Bailly, for trade on Lake Michigan, &c. Michilimackinac, 10 August, 1821.

Library of Congress

Joseph Guerette, for trade on Illinois River. Michilimackinac, 18 August, 1821.

Messrs. Binette, Buisson & Bibeau, for trade on the Illinois River and its dependencies. Michilimackinac, 18 August, 1821.

Therese Schindler, for her trade at & about Michilimackinac. Michilimackinac, 23 August, 1821.

Augustin Grignon & John Lawe, for account and risk of themselves & Jacques Porlier, Sen r Pierre Grignon & Louis Grignon, all of Green Bay, for their trade there, &c. Michilimackinac, 3 September, 1821.

Antoine Deschamps, for the trade of Masquigon.¹ Michillmackinac, 11 September, 1821.

¹ Muskegon, Mich,— Ed.

Rolette, Joseph. Merchandize forwarded by Ramsey Crooks, Agent of American Fur company, from New York to Prairie du Chien N. Y. 29 th Jan y 1822.

Joseph C. Deschenaux. Merchandise forwarded by Chapantier. At Penatangonshire, November 7 th 1822.

Joseph Rolette. Merchandise delivered Laurent Rolette. Michilimackinac, 15 August, 1821.

Joseph Rolette. Michilimackinac, 15 August, 1821.

Richard M. Prior. Goods sold & delivered by William W. Matthews, at Drummond Island. Michilimackinac, 5 September, 1821.

Joseph Rolette. Merchandise delivered Laurent Rolette. Michilimackinac, Aug t 9, 1822.

Library of Congress

R. M. Prior. Sundry merchandise taken by R. M. Prior out of those left last summer (1821) by W. W. Matthews. Michilimackinac, August 10, 1822.

Mrs. Framboise.² Sundry merchandise, from her inventory

² Madame Madeline la Framboise was a half-breed Ottawa woman, whom her husband, Francis,—a brother of Alexander la Framboise, who had a trading post at Milwaukee as early as 1785—had taught to read and write. He was killed, writes Mrs. E. T. Baird, of Green Bay, in the winter of 1809–10, at his trading wigwam near the present site of Grand Haven, Michigan,—an Indian shooting him dead while on his knees at prayer. Other accounts are to the effect that he was killed by Winnebagoes, while trading on the upper Wisconsin. His wife successfully prosecuted the fur trade after his death. She was of tall, commanding form, agreeable manners and excellent deportment; and highly esteemed by both whites and Indians. She was for many years in the company's employ and "accustomed to visit the various trading posts, looking after the doings of clerks and employés." Her chief station, as agent of the American Fur company, was at the site of Grand Rapids, Michigan, where she erected trading hut, the first building in Kent county, and was on very friendly terms with the Ottawas and Ojibwas. She was, on account of her great age, superseded as agent for the company by Rix Robinson, in 1821. In 1876, traces of the La Framboise cabin were yet visible, being treasured by the people of Grand Rapids as the oldest historic relics in their midst. In the summer of 1817, at Mackinaw, her daughter Josette, a singularly beautiful girl, became the wife of Lieut. John S. Pierce, U. S. A., brother of President Pierce. Mrs. J. S. Pierce died in 1821. The late Col. G. S. Hubbard, of Chicago, declared Madame la Framboise to be "a woman of extraordinary ability."— Ed.

374 of Grand River Outfit, 1821, and delivered to her during the summer of 1822, for ac. of Rix Robinson. Michilimackinac, August 28, 1822.

Jean Bt. Beaubien,¹ for his trade at Milliwakie. Michilimackinac, August 14, 1822.

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1 The late Col. J. B. Beaubien, of Chicago, who had a trading post at Milwaukee as early as 1800.— Ed.

Daniel Dingley, for the trade of Folleavoine,² South Lake Superior, 1822 & 3. Michilimackinac, July 30, 1822.

2 Rice lake (?)— Ed.

Joseph Rolette. Michilimackinac, August 9, 1822.

Edward Biddle. Michilimackinac, August 15, 1822.

Joseph C. Descheneaux. Michilimackinac, June 28, 1822.

Ignace Pichet. [Michilimackinac] June 28, 1822.

Rix Robinson, for his trade on Lake Michigan.³ Michilimackinac, August 23, 1822.

3 At Ada, Michigan, near Grand Rapids. Robinson had studied law in New York state, but came west to enter the fur trade. He was a remarkably powerful athlete.— Ed.

Rix Robinson. Merchandise delivered William Fairnsworth. Michilimackinac, August 3 d 1822.

Michel Cadotte, Senior. Merchandise delivered in charge of William Morison.⁴ Michilimackinac, July 23, 1822.

4 The company's agent at L'Anse, Mich. He visited Itasca lake, the source of the Mississippi, in 1804.— (Neill's *Hist. Minnesota*, ed. 1882, pp. 875, 876.)— Ed.

William A. Aitkin, for his trade at Fond du Lac,⁵ and its dependencies. Michilimackinac, July 24, 1822.

Library of Congress

5 Of Lake Superior.— Ed.

375

Eliza and William Mitchell. Michilimackinac, August 12, 1822.

Jean Bt. Beaubien and James Kinzie.¹ Michilimackinac, August 14, 1822.

¹ A half-brother of John H. Kinzie, a famous Chicago pioneer.— Ed.

Pierre Grignon & John Lawe, & Jacques Porlier, Sen r , Augustin Grignon & Louis Grignon, all of Green Bay, for their trade there, &c. Michilimackinac, August 23, 1822.

Pierre & Augustin Grignon. Michilimackinac, 23 d August, 1822.

Joseph Bailly. Michilimackinac, August 28, 1822.

Pierre Caune. Michilimackinac, August 31, 1822.

Therese Schindler. Michilimackinac, Sept r 8, 1822.

FOR ACCOUNT OF THE AMERICAN FUR COMPANY.

Davis, John Henry. For the trade of the Upper Wabash and its dependencies. Michilimackinac, 21 August, 1821.

James Kinzie,² for the trade of Milliwaki and its dependencies. Shipped per Schooner Ann, Cap tn Ransom, from Michilimackinac to Chicago. Michilimackinac, 13 September, 1821.

² See *ante*, p. 224, note 2.— Ed.

Richard M. Prior. Goods delivered by William W. Matthews at Drummond Island, August 10, 1821.

FOR ACCOUNT AND RISK OF THE AMERICAN, FUR COMPANY.

Josette Gauthier, for the trade of Lake Superior. Michilimackinac, 23 July, 1821.

John F. Hogle and others, for the trade of Lac du Flambeau³ and its dependencies.
Michilimackinac 21 July, 1821.

³ In Lincoln county, Wisconsin, James D. Dory reported to Governor Cass, September 27, 1820, that "In Lake du Flambeau the Southwest Company have an establishment of five traders and twenty hands, the return from which last season was about fifty packs.—(*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii., p. 203.)— Ed.

376

Jean B t Corbin, for the trade of Lac Courtoreille¹ and its dependencies. Michilimackinac, 31 July, 1821.

¹ In Chippewa county, Wis.— Ed.

Eustache Roussain, for the trade of Folleavoine and its dependencies. 31 July, 1821.

Goodrich Warner, for the trade of Ance Quirvinan² and its dependencies. Michilimackinac, 2 August, 1831.

² L'Anse, Michigan upper peninsular; sometimes written "L'Ansee Quiwy-we-nong."— Ed.

Joseph Rolette, for the trade of the Upper Mississippi and its dependencies.
Michilimackinac, 15 August, 1821.

William H. Wallace, for the trade of the Lower Wabash and its dependencies.
Michilimackinac, 22 August, 1821.

Library of Congress

Joseph Bertrand, for the trade of St. Joseph's (of Lake Michigan) and its dependencies. Michilimackinac, 22 August, 1821.

Jeremie Clairement, for the trade of Iroquois River and its dependencies. Michilimackinac, 22 August, 1821.

Madeline Laframboise, for the trade of Grand River and its dependencies. Michilimackinac, 3 September, 1821.

Joseph Rolette, for the trade of the Upper Mississippi and its dependencies. 1823.

Louis Personneau, Sen r , for Illinois River Outfit. Michilimackinac, Aug t 12, 1822.

Truman A. Warren,³ for the trade of Lac du Flambeau, and its dependencies. Michilimackinac, July 15, 1822.

³)Warren, in 1832, was the chief trader at La Pointe, being the son-in-law of Michael Cadette.—(Neill's *Hist. Minnesota*, ed. 1882, p. 404.)— Ed.

William Morrison and others, for the trade of Fond du Lac and its dependencies. Michilimackinac, July 20, 1822.

Jean B t Corbin, for the trade of Lac Courtoreille and its dependencies. Michihmackinac, July 23, 1822.

John Holliday, for the trade of Ance Quirvinan and its dependencies. Michilimackinac, 26 July, 1822.

William H. Wallace, for the trade of the Lower Wabash and its dependencies. Mackinac, Aug t 6, 1822.

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Jehu H. Davis, for the trade of the Upper WabaSh and its dependencies. Michilimackinac, August 7, 1822.

Joseph Bertrand & Pierre Navarre, for the trade of S t Josephs 377 and Kinkiki¹ and dependencies. Michilimackinac, Aug t 7, 1822.

1 Kankakee river.— Ed.

Antoine Deschamps & Gurdon S. Hubbard, for the trade of the Iroquois River² and its dependencies. Michilimackinac, Aug t 9, 1822.

2 A branch of the Kankakee.— Ed.

James Abbott, Detroit, pr. Schooner Tiger, Blake, for Detroit Outfit. Michilimackinac, Sept r 6, 1822.

W. W. Matthews. Goods to be sold in Montreal. Michilimackinac, Sept r 5, 1822.

A SAMPLE INVOICE.

Invoice of Merchandise for the Trade of Milliwaki and its dependencies. Shipped per Schooner Ann, Capt. Ransom, from Michilimackinac to Chicago, to address of James Kinzie, for ac. him & Am. Fur Company.

30 prs. Blankets, 3 point @\$8.10 \$243 00 71 " " 2½ " 6.10 433 10 25 " " 2 " 4.35 108 75
17 " " 2 " inferior 2.57 43 69 8 " " 1 " 3.20 25 60 9 ps. Broad cord 4 " Narrow " 13 ps. com.
Blue Strouds 36.60 475 80 1 " Scarlet cloth, 19 yds 2.60 49 40 1 " Blue " 22¾ yds 2.00
45 50 1 " " " 22¼ " 2.50 55 62 1 " " " 21¼ " 2.34 49 73 1 " " " 22½ " 2.60 58 50 1 " " " 16½
" 4.00 66 — 3 " Spotted Swanskin, 138 yds .50 69 — 3 " White Molton 3 " Blue " 6 ps
22.40 134 40 1 " Green Flannel 20 80 1 " Yellow " 26 — 3 " Domestic Cotton, 124 yds .31
88 44 2 " Furniture " 56 " .53 29 68 1 " " " 28 " .55 15 40 5 " Printed " 140 " .44 61 60 1 "
" " 28 " .52 14 56 12 " Indian Calico 12.00 144 — 2 " Gunahs 2.50 5 — ½ doz. Printed
Cotton Shawls, 6.40 3 20 7/12 " Cotton Flag Handkerchiefs 4.86 2 83 8/12 " Mock Madras
" 3.54 2 86 4/12 " 4/4 Black Silk " 10.25 3 42 8/12 " # " " 9.50 6 33 378 ½ ps. 14 Ingrain

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Ribbon @\$7.40 \$3 70 1 " " Coloured " 6 60 1 " 9 Ingrain " 4 70 2 " " Coloured " 4.10 8 20
3 Rolls Taffety " No. 3 .87 2 61 1 gro. London Scots Gartering 6 40 1 " Scarlet & Striped
" 4 60 1 " Highland " 3 60 1 " Coloured " 3 40 2 doz, Country made Socks 4.00 8 — 1 "
Box Wood Combs 1 90 1 " " " " 3 80 1 " " " " 2 90 1 " Ivory Combs ea. 2.30 & 1.70 4 — 2
" Com. Horn Combs @ 57c, 1 doz. do. 40c 1 54 1 " Paper-Cased Looking Glasses 1 —
5 " Scalping Knives 1.70 8 50 15 " Cartouche " 1.40 21 — 6 " Brass Inlaid do 3.10 18 60 1
" Clasp " 1 70 1 " Womens Scissors ea. 1.37 & 2.27 3 64 ½ " Shop " ea. 1.92 & 2.14 2 03
2/12 " Double Bolt Pad Locks 43 86 ¼ " Sleigh Bells ea. 2.30 & 1.17 & ½ doz. do @3.88
3 29 1 Gro. Iron Jews Harps 1 60 1 " Plain Bath Rings, assorted 1 40 1 " Stone " " 1 80 ½
" Indian Awls 1.50 75 ½ " Plated Vest Bullet Buttons 1.50 75 1 C. Common Needles 38
100 Masses Mock Garnets .25 25 — 8 " Barley Corns .55 4 40 7 " Coloured Beads .60 4
20 1 " Cod Line, 24 threads 1 20 2 " All Coloured Thread 1.00 2 1 " Stitching " No. 60 1
40 6 " Ingrain Worsted 2.00 12 — 6 " Coloured " 1.50 9 — 30 Calico Shirts 1.93 57 90 ½
doz. English Playing Cards 6.00 3 — 1 Quire Foolscap Paper, Plain 45 1 " Quarto Post
" 50 1 Set Moons 9 — 3 " Extra Large Moons 6.00 18 — 3 Sets Pierced Broaches, No.
1 8.00 24 — 1 " " " 2 6 67 10 " Embossed" 1 size .64 6 40 10 " " " 2 " .51 5 10 10 " " " 3
" .38 3 80 2 C Large Common Broaches 4.27 8 54 2 C. Small common Broaches 2.67 5
34 78 Large Double crosses per C. 10.33 8 05 1 C. Small " " 7 67 2 prs. Arm Bands 3 in.
D. S. 5.78 11 56 4 " " " 2½ " 6.— 24 — 3 " " " 2 " 5.33½ 16 — 7 " Wrist " 1½ " 2.53 17 71
7 " " " 1¼ " 2.00 14 — 6 " " " 1 " 1.47 8 82 6 " Ear Wheels, 1 size 1.44 8 64 500 " Large
Square Ear Bobs .14 70 — 379 1821 1500 prs. Large Round Ear Bobs @ .14 \$210 —
400 " Small " " " .11 44 — 12 lbs. Vermillion 1.40 16 80 10 Blanket Capots 4.67 46 70 6
lbs. Coffee .45 2 70 4 " Young Hyson Tea 1.75 7 30 112 " Beaver & Duck Shot .20 22 40
11800 ps. Black 8300 " White 20,100 Wampum 5.50 110 55 6 N. W. Guns 9.00 54 — 12
Corn Hoes 1.00 12 — 3 lbs. Oakum .25 — 75 2 gro. Pipes 3.00 6 — 24½ lbs. Covered
Copper Kettles 1.00 24 50 60½ " Open Brass " 1 Nest 1.00 60 50 1 Nest, Tin Kettles (14
Eng.) 24 — 534 lb. Plug Tobacco. 6 Kegs .28 149 52 400 lb. Gun Powder, 8 kegs .62½
250 — 53 " Gum 1 " .10 5 30 1 Barrel Salt 6 — 10 " Flour 5.00 50 — 76 Biscuit, 1 barrel 6
4 56 6 Double Bale cloths 1.50 9 — 1 pr. Blankets 2½ pt. damaged on Bale No. 5 2 30 8
Old Bale Cloths, Cords & Baling 1.00 8 — 3 boxes for sundries, ea. 38c, 50c, & 62c 1 50
1 Gun Box 1 25 8 Kegs for Powder 1.00 8 — 1 " for Gum — 38 1 Barrel for Biscuit — 25 1
pr. Cart Wheels. bot of Major Puthuff 16 85 1 N.Y. Hair Trunk deliv'd I. B. La Fortune 4 —
1 Tin Milk Strainer 75 4 Bread Bons .10 40 ½ doz Holland Twine 64 3 Packing Needles 5
15 \$3,920 48 Amount sundries delivered 23 July 1821 1,650 79 \$5,571 27

Errors excepted, Michilimackinac, 13 September, 1821.

SKETCH OF MORGAN L. MARTIN.

BY THE EDITOR.

Morgan Lewis Martin, son of Gen. Walter Martin, was born in Martinsburgh, Lewis county, New York, on the 31st of March, 1805. In 1824 he graduated from Hamilton College, at Clinton, New York. For two years, he studied law with Collins and Parish, in Lowville, N. Y., and in 1826 went to Detroit then the chief city of the Northwest. There he entered Henry S. Cole's law office and was soon afterwards admitted to the bar. His residence in Detroit lasted but a few months, and in May, 1837, acting under the advice of his cousin, James Duane Doty,¹—who was then seeking to have the Territory of Huron erected by congress, with Green Bay as the seat of government,—took up his home in Green Bay, where he resided until his death, “one of the most conspicuous and distinguished among that band of pioneer settlers who early gave a national reputation to Wisconsin.”² From 1831 to 1835, he was a member of the legislative council of Michigan Territory, and from 1838 to 1844, one of the territorial council of Wisconsin. In 1845–47, he represented his Territory, with marked ability, in congress.³ He was president of the state constitutional convention

¹ It was not generally known that Doty and Martin were cousins, the former being the latter's senior by six years. Doty's mother was a sister of Gen. Walter Martin. When her husband, Chillus Doty, died, October 16, 1824, she went to live with her brother, until the latter's death in Martinsburgh, December 10, 1834. The young men were reared in the same neighborhood,—the elder Martin being the village postmaster, and the elder Doty the innkeeper,—and were always close friends. James D. Doty had moved to Detroit in 1818 and to Green Bay in 1823.— Ed.

² *Fathers of Wisconsin*, p. 241.— Ed.

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3 “In September, 1845, Mr. Martin was elected territorial delegate to congress over James Collins, whig, and E. D Holton, “liberty,” candidates. He took his seat as delegate in the 30th congress on the first Monday in December of the same year, and served until 1847. He proved an active and influential representative. During his term Mr. Martin introduced a bill to create the Territory of Minnesota. The name “Minnesota” is, as is well known, the Indian name for the St. Peter’s river. Mr. Martin got it, as he only recently told the writer, from Joseph Brown, who had been with him in the Wisconsin territorial legislature. Stephen A. Douglas, chairman of the committee, reported the bill with the amendment that the name of the proposed territory be changed to “Itasca.” Mr. Martin contended for the name he had selected and succeeded in having it retained in the bill, which passed the lower house. In the senate, Senator Woodbridge, of Michigan, opposed the bill on the ground that there were no people in the proposed territory, and it was defeated. The same bill passed at the next session of congress, and the Territory of Minnesota, as originally projected and named by Mr. Martin, was created.”— (Dwight I. Follett, in *The Green Bay Gazette*, Dec. 14, 1887.)— Ed.

381 of 1847–48, and both in the chair and on the floor was one of the guiding spirits of the body which framed the charter under which the commonwealth of Wisconsin still operates. In 1855, he was elected a member of the state assembly, and three years later was sent up to the senate. Throughout the entire period of the War of the Rebellion, he served as an army paymaster. He was appointed United States Indian agent in 1866, holding the position until 1869, when the war department took charge of Indian affairs, and was relieved by Capt. W. R. Bourne, U.S. A. In 1866 he was the candidate (under the Johnson movement) for congress from the old 5th district, being defeated by Philetus Sawyer. In 1870, he resumed the practice of law. In 1873, he was again elected to the assembly. From 1875, until the time of his death, he served as county judge of Brown county, and was from its first organization one of the most active of the vice-presidents of this Society.

On the 25th of July, 1837, in Green Bay, Judge Martin was married to Elizabeth, daughter of the late Col. Melancthon Smith, U.S. A., and grand-daughter of Judge Melancthon

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Smith, who was a delegate from New York, in congress, in 1782–84, prior to the period of the constitution. Judge Smith was also a member of the New York convention of 1787 called to consider the advisability of accepting the United States constitution. He was a strong anti-federalist, and leader of the Clintonian majority in that body. 382 Hamilton recognized him as his most formidable opponent; and it was not until he manfully acknowledged himself convinced by Hamilton's masterly logic, that the Empire state was won to the Union. Six children were born do Judge and Mrs. Martin, viz.: Leonard Martin; Annie, died in 1861; Melancthon, died in infancy; Sarah; Morgan L., Jr., and Debbie. Mrs. Martin and four of their children survive to mourn the loss of husband and father.

In June, 1887, while a guest at "Hazelwood," the home of Judge Martin, I had frequent interviews with him regarding Wisconsin men and affairs, during his sixty years' residence here. The following narrative is the result. While the language and arrangement are in a great measure necessarily the editor's, the statements are those of the judge. The manuscript was sent to him for revision, in September, 1887, but the increase of infirmities incident to advanced age induced him to beg for further extension of time. He commenced work upon the MS., however, about the middle of November, and every few days took it up and added some note or explanatory sentence. During all this time, also, he was answering a running fire of questions by mail, relative to his recollections of other facts in early Wisconsin history, not touched upon in his narrative, but covered by matters included in this volume of *Collections*, much valuable material for the purposes of annotation being thereby contributed by him. The judge appeared to greatly enjoy this sort of thing, in a desultory way, but the idea of a continuous narrative rather depressed him with a sense of personal responsibility. He was an exceedingly modest man, and averse to crowding himself, or allowing himself to be crowded, before the public. For this reason his narrative does not include some interesting features which the readers of this volume would have liked to have had presented to them. He had a keen memory, at the time this narrative was jotted down, and would frequently digress into what the newspapers would call a "spicy," though thoroughly good-humored and harmless, account of the inside workings

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of early statecraft in Wisconsin and the peculiarities of the men of affairs in the territorial period,— 383 but he would inevitably conclude with a request that no note be made of his conversation on this score. He felt that any such revelations on his part might possibly be misconstrued and wound the feelings of living descendants of the public characters of those days; and he “had no desire,” he frequently said, “to tell tales out of school.” Could Judge Martin have been induced to himself write more fully of his reminiscences of pioneer days in Wisconsin, he might have made a volume which would be treasured for all time as a rich legacy of historical material. Shorn as it is, however, the following narrative will be found to present much novel and entertaining matter, that will prove of enduring value to students of Wisconsin history.

Judge Martin, in a letter to me, November 25, answering some questions of fact, incidentally wrote that he was progressing favorably on the MS.; but added, in a rather sorrowful postscript: “An hour's talk with you would be worth a ream of memoranda.” Upon the evening of December 1, he again wrote, promising to return the MS. within a few days, and closing up a report of his negotiations on behalf of the Society, with Mrs, Otto Tank, of Fort Howard: that estimable lady—who donated the Tank library to the Society, in 1867— having willed to our art gallery, largely through his personal influence, a superb collection of oil paintings. On the morning of Friday, December 2, he had been at work upon the narrative, anti pausing to prepare for going to his office, down town, received a paralytic stroke which benumbed his right side. His son, Morgan L. Martin, Jr., enclosed his father's last letter to me with the sad endorsement that Judge Martin's active career had “undoubtedly now closed.” The MS. narrative followed this, within a few days, with the judge's readily recognizable interlineations upon the concluding page, showing that he had practically finished his corrections. He lingered until 4 P.M. of Saturday, December 10, 1887, when he passed away, his last work on earth being a labor of love for this Society, whose interests were ever so close to his heart.

Judge Martin was a man of generous impulses, kindly 384 manner, keen wit, fine literary tastes and greatly enjoyed the comforts of his beautiful home in Green Bay, where he was

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the idol of his accomplished wife and daughters. The majority of those with whom he was associated during his long and active career in the public affairs of Wisconsin Territory have long ago passed away, so that a comparatively small number of the generation of to-day knew him with any degree of intimacy; but those who had thus known him mourned his death as that of a rare gentleman of the olden school. No one who has carefully studied the beginnings of Wisconsin's greatness can but recognize that all honor and praise are due the memory of master spirits like Martin, who moulded the nascent commonwealth intelligently and well.

NARRATIVE OF MORGAN L. MARTIN.

IN AN INTERVIEW WITH THE EDITOR.

I landed at Green Bay on the 20th of May, 1827—sixty years ago. Our vessel was the *La Grange*,¹ a chance sailor, loaded with officers and provisions for the garrison at Fort Howard. Among these officers was Brig. Gen. Hugh Brady, commanding the western department of the army, who was on a tour of observation to the western posts. Maj. Benjamin F. Larned, the paymaster, who, in 1854, became paymaster-general, was also with the party on an official visit to the fort, where he was no doubt welcomed by the troops. There were several civilian passengers as well, who had boarded the boat at Detroit, and were upon various errands to the people of the wilderness, although the greater number of such got off at Mackinaw, en route. Among the passengers for Green Bay was Father Fauvel,² a Catholic priest,—the first of his church, I think, to land in Green Bay after the close of the early missions; he stayed here with us for several years. I think that several military attachés, and Messrs. Cass and McKenney, were also on board,—the two latter being on their way to attend a treaty with the Menomonees, at Butte des Morts, which was held in August following.

¹ Of Detroit, one of the Newberry line, Capt. Bingley. Another of the Newberry boats was officered by Capt. Allen.—Ed.

2 For sketch of Fauvel's checkered career, see French's *Hist. Brown Co.* (1876), p. 70.— Ed.

I established my law office at Shanty Town. It was a room in a story and-a-half frame building, still standing, and occupied by a branch of the Ducharme family.³ 25

3 *The Green Bay Gazette* of Dec. 12, 1887. in a biographical sketch of Judge Martin, gives a list of his abiding places previous to his marriage: "He at first boarded with the families of Maj. Robt. Irwin and his sons at Shanty Town; then with Mr. Carpenter at the same place, and in 1828 moved down to Judge Arndt's, where he continued to board through seven years, Then he went to the old Washington house, of pleasant memory, meanwhile having rooms with Dr. Geo. S. Armstrong, now of Buffalo." — Ed.

386

There were, perhaps, about one hundred civilians at the Bay settlement when I arrived.¹ They were French and mixed-blood voyageurs, in the main,— in the winters attending on the Indian traders, who also lived in the community, and in summers cultivating an acre or so apiece, mainly planted to vegetables. In the fall, a trader, in setting out for the Indian country, would engage four or five, or more, of these voyageurs for the season, according to the extent of business anticipated. Their duty was to help load and propel the boats; collect furs from the savages throughout the winter, and indeed perform any service the trader might ask of them, however menial. The voyageurs were bound to the trader by an iron-clad contract, among its many curious provisions being one that the former should submit to living on corn and grease, or in fact any sort of edible which the exigencies of this rough life might demand.

1 Cf. Judge Martin's brief description of early Green Bay, in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, viii., p. 209; x., pp. 139, 140.— Ed.

Library of Congress

The traders themselves exercised a marked influence, for good or evil, over the Indians with whom they traded, and could generally sway them as they saw fit. This was especially the case with the free-and easy Frenchmen, who always seemed to be hand-in-glove with their dusky brethren of the forest, with whom they were often united by ties of blood. John Lawe, Jacques Porlier, Louis Grignon and Lewis Rouse are the only French traders whom I can remember as being here in 1827. They all of them operated in the interest of the American Fur Company. Daniel Whitney, William Dickinson and Robert and A. J. Irwin were trading on their own account. These traders all lived here and had families, so far as I can remember.

At Milwaukee were located the posts of Jacques Vieau and Solomon Juneau.² Vieau was, at that time, I think,

² Cf. Andrew J. Vieau's narrative, *ante*.— Ed.

³⁸⁷ equipped by Daniel Whitney, while Juneau represented Astor's company. I remember that in 1833 there was a treaty council at Chicago, at which some traders' claims were to be settled from the Indian annuities. I arrived there on the first morning of the council, having been sent to represent Whitney's interests. I found Vieau and asked him whether he had put in his claim. He replied that he had, and on my asking for the papers showed them to me. Now Vieau had lost \$2,000 for Whitney through the Indians at Milwaukee, in consequence of an epidemic of small-pox, a year or two before, as I ascertained after some detailed inquiry. But as he could neither read nor write, he had allowed some one to fix up a claim of but \$500, and this he had presented. I at once had Vieau withdraw this and amend it to the proper amount, which was allowed, and Whitney got his money.

Michael Brisbois and James H. Lockwood were trading for themselves at Prairie du Chien; so also was John B. Brunet, but the latter's brother-in-law, Joseph Rolette,¹ operated for the American Fur Company. It is possible that there may have been others at the Prairie, but these are all I can remember.

Library of Congress

1 *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ix., pp. 293–296, 465.— Ed.

Pierre Paquette was at the Portage, transporting boats with teams of horses and oxen; and perhaps trading as well. Francis le Roy had a trading house there also, at this time.

Some of the Indian trading posts, in those days, were of a permanent character. The trader would build a log house for his family, should he chance to have one, and log buildings for store and warehouse, near by. Here, if trade warranted, he would return each fall and pass the winter with savages and wild animals for companions. Milwaukee, Fond du Lac and Fox River (below Lake Winnebago) were such stations, being supplied from Green Bay; but at Butte des Morts, the Portage and Prairie du Chien, the traders lived all the year round. As a rule, however, the Indian trade was conducted in the wilderness with but temporary quarters and but little care for permanent locations, although some of the operators had a preference for familiar districts. 388 Once, Whitney established a man on the St. Peters river in Minnesota. Lawe had an agent named Stanislaus Chappue, who worked up trade on the Menomonee river; having for a neighbor one William Farnsworth,¹ equipped by Whitney. Down the Wisconsin, on the Wolf, in the Shawano country, on the upper Mississippi and along the bay shore, could be found the traders of this section, eager for peltries, and gathering about them crowds of Indians who had themselves become quite shrewd in bartering for those products of civilization which had grown to be a necessity of their being. Barter was at the time the only form of exchange in the frontier trade,— money was never used.

1 In *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ix., pa. 397, Judge Martin has a sketch of Farnsworth.— Ed.

The community I found here, sixty years ago,² was more peaceful than any we have since known. There was but little crime. The French people were free-and-easy, good-hearted and hospitable. The greater part of the settlement was on the east side, but there was a scattering along the west bank. The lower part of the hamlet was very near the line between Astor and Navarino. The farm lowest down was that of Pierre Grignon; then,

Library of Congress

going up stream, that of John Lawe, a portion of which my residence now occupies; above this, a small farm owned by Louis Grignon. The next settler, whose place attained the dignity of a farm, was Lewis Rouse; Amable du Rocher had a farm above this; and then Joseph Ducharme, upon a portion of which Shanty Town was built. On the west side, Jacques Porlier owned the farm nearest the mouth, and above him was Dominique Brunet. I do not remember anything that could be called a farm until one got up to the place of a man called Prisque Hyott.³ But altogether there were not over four or five real farms. There were several small spring-planting fields, scattered along on the east side of the river as far as Depere,—such as those of Robinson, Louis Beaupré,⁴ La Mure,

2 Cf. *Id.*, viii., p. 209; x., pp. 136–140.— Ed.

3 Spelled Aillotte, in *Id.*, x., p. 188, and Your in *Id.*, iii, p. 242.— Ed.

4 Spelled Bauprez, *Id.*, p. 139.— Ed.

389 John B. la Borde, Hardwick and half a dozen others,—but none of them had enough land to rank as farmers. Fronting them, on the opposite bank, were perhaps a dozen similar cabin patches. At Depere, on the east side, a short distance above the dam, and near the bank, was still remaining the foundation of the old Jesuit mission. It was in the immediate neighborhood of an old place afterwards occupied by William Dickinson.

When I arrived, three or four small farms were being opened on the margin of the bay, in the present town of Scott. I remember seeing the clearings from the deck of the La Grange, as we approached the Bay settlement, but I do not recollect the names of their occupants.

Augustin Grignon was located at the Kaukauna rapids, on the north side, below the present city of Kaukauna. He had a good sized farm with a number of cattle, sheep and horses, and traded with the Indians. His log house was a very comfortable dwelling for

Library of Congress

those days; he had a large frame barn, and about that time built for himself a spacious frame store-building.

The farmers whom I first met here, were, most of them, plowing with oxen. A pair of cattle, instead of being joined by neck-yokes, would have their horns lashed to a straight stick, to which were tied ropes fastened to the long rude beam of a primitive plow—a pointed stick serving as a share. The device was about as effective as a modern corn-row marker. In the slight furrow the seeds were planted, and subsequent cultivation, such as there was, left to the hoe. Lawe, Grignon and Porlier were the leading farmers, although none of them did much work. Judged by present standards, their establishments could hardly be called farms. These early settlers and traders were too lazy to fish or hunt, or enjoy any sport that would attract an American or English gentleman; but they were obliged to keep their eyes open upon the action of men inimical to their interests, and those inclined to unlawful appropriation of worldly goods.

There had been a school in the Bay settlement, I think, for two or three years previous to 1827, but I do not recollect that there was any in progress when I arrived. Father Fauvel started a parish school in a small log house built for the purpose near where the water-works pumping station now is. He also used it for chapel purposes. I attended his service but once, and that was some few months after he came. I went in, walked up to the altar, and in a whisper told him I would like to borrow his seine. He replied in the same tone that I could have it, but must return the article by a certain hour, when he would be through with his service and should want to use it himself. This chapel was the only church in Green Bay at that time. When I landed here, the community was destitute of regular spiritual instruction; although I think that Eleazer Williams, the Episcopalian missionary among the Oneidas, had been in the habit of occasionally appearing on the scene and gathering a small congregation.

Williams has been about as thoroughly discussed as any character in the history of Wisconsin. I never was any admirer of the man or his methods, but I am inclined to think

Library of Congress

that General Ellis and others¹ are somewhat too severe upon him. A man reared amid savage surroundings, as he was, should be judged by a different standard than we set up for one who has spent his life entirely among white people. No one can from childhood fraternize with Indians without absorbing their characteristics to some extent,—and becoming vain, deceitful and boastful. He was a remarkable man in many respects, but was deeply imbued with false notions of life, and his career was a failure. He was neither better nor worse than his life-long companions, and was what might have been expected from one who had been sent into the world with certain racial vices, and whose training and associations were not calculated to better him.

¹ *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vi., p. 308, *et seq.*; viii., p. 322, *et seq.*— Ed.

On my first arrival at Green Bay, May 20, 1827, I had letters to the Indian agent, Maj. Henry B. Brevoort, from Governor Cass, relative to some law matters in which the 391 agent had become entangled with rival traders in his district, resulting in several suits then pending in the United States court. The agency building occupied by Major Brevoort and family was the headquarters of the officer commanding Camp Smith, which was only a few rods from Shanty Town, the commercial emporium of the Bay settlement. In my business intercourse with the agent, he appeared to me intelligent and agreeable—a very pronounced specimen of “the gentleman of the old school.” He had served many years as an officer in the United States army, appearing upon the register of 1812 as captain of the 2d regiment of infantry, of which Col. John Bowyer was commandant. His family consisted of his wife and an only daughter, afterwards married to a gentleman in Detroit, and I presume still living.¹ Of the life of Major Brevoort, after leaving the Indian agency at Green Bay, in 1830, I can give no particulars beyond the fact that he went to Detroit.

¹ *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, viii., p. 293, *et seq.*,—an entertaining sketch of early times in the Northwest, by Major Brevoort's daughter, Mrs. Mary Ann Brevoort Bristol.— Ed.

Library of Congress

Brevoort succeeded Maj. John Biddle² as Indian agent at Green Bay. Biddle was also an officer of the United States army, previous to and during the war of 1812; he lived and

² John Biddle was born in Pennsylvania; 2d lieut., 3rd artillery, July 6, 6, 1812; 1st lieut., March, 1813; captain of 42d infantry, Oct. 1, 1813; transferred to corps artillery, May 17, 1815; major asst. inspector general, June, 19, 1817; disbanded, June 1, 1821. From August, 1815, to November, 1817, he was commandant at Fort Shelby, Detroit; in 1821, chairman of trustees of original Michigan University; in 1827–28, mayor of Detroit; 1828, first vice-president of the Historical Society of Michigan, holding the office for nine years, and in 1832, delivering an address before that body which is published in *Historical and Scientific Sketches of Michigan*; first president of Farmers and Mechanics' bank, of Detroit, 1829–1838; chairman of the Association for Promoting Female Education in Detroit; president of Michigan Central railroad in 1835. Elected to represent Michigan Territory in congress, in the fall of 1829, he arrived at Washington December 6, having been compelled to travel nine hundred of the intervening thousand miles on horseback, such were the difficulties of traversing the wilderness then stretching between the capital of the nation and the heart of the Northwest.— Ed.

³⁹² died a prominent citizen of Detroit, and one of its most estimable public characters. He was a delegate from Michigan to congress, in 1829–30.

Samuel C. Stambaugh was appointed Indian agent at Green Bay by President Jackson, in 1831. He was the publisher of a county newspaper in Pennsylvania and was supposed to have received the appointment as a reward for political services, his personal character not being such as to commend him to public favor. His nomination was said to have been promptly rejected by the senate, on account of dissolute habits while at Washington with an Indian delegation in the winter of 1831–32. He was then sent out by the president as a special agent—Col. George Boyd being transferred from Mackinaw (where he had served several years) to the vacant agency of Green Bay. Stambaugh's title of "colonel" was not conferred, it is believed, for military services ever rendered by him before or during

Library of Congress

his temporary appointment as agent. I was elected in 1831 to the legislative council of Michigan, the sessions of which were to be held at Detroit, commencing early in 1832. There was at that date no mode of reaching Detroit from Green Bay, except by vessel or a trip on horseback of five hundred miles—through the whole distance, an Indian country. This session necessitated my absence from Green Bay during the greater part of Stambaugh's career among us, and I would have seen very little of him but that I visited Washington in the fall of 1831, where he had taken a delegation of Indians on his individual responsibility to treat for a cession of a portion of their lands. I there met him casually, and was asked and declined to interfere with his professed objects. After his retirement from public employment, about 1836 or 1837, I again casually met him in Washington. I can only speak of him, therefore, from public report and not from personal knowledge. He was not considered generally as a man who accomplished anything worthy of note.

Col. George Boyd, the successor of Stambaugh, was a gentleman of refined manners, the brother-in-law of President J. Q. Adams, and remained agent for several years. His 393 papers are in the archives of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.¹ He was a man of superior intelligence, but extremely passionate,—which weakness sometimes involved him in personal difficulties with his neighbors, but never severed him from the true character of a polished and popular gentleman, both in and out of office. The descendants of Colonel Boyd are still residents of northeastern Wisconsin.

¹ Agent Boyd's letter-book is a mine of interesting historical material. The portion covering the Stambaugh expedition, in the Black Hawk war, had been prepared and very fully annotated, for this volume of *Collections*, but a press of other matter crowded it out. It will undoubtedly be given in vol. xii.—Ed.

The only Pawnee slave I ever saw, attracted my attention soon after my advent here. She was not then in bondage, having been freed some time before, but for many years succeeding her capture from her tribe she had been in a condition of slavery. She was,

Library of Congress

when I first saw her, the wife of a French voyageur named Busché, and some of their descendants are living in Green Bay at this time.

I have been questioned relative to the Indian occupancy of the islands at the entrance of Green Bay. The group was originally known as the "Pottawattamie islands," and all, I think, were occasionally occupied by the tribe from which they derived their name. When the first vessel came here with troops, in 1816, it had on board Col. Talbot Chambers,² Col. John Bowyer,³ Indian agent, and others. They

² Col. Talbot Chambers was appointed to the army from Pennsylvania; 1st lieut., 5th infantry, June 18, 1808; captain, Oct. 31, 1811; major asst. adj. general, April 2, 1813; major, 4th rifles, Feb. 21, 1814; transferred to rifle regiment, May 17, 1815; lieut. colonel, March 8, 1817; colonel, Nov. 10, 1818; transferred to 1st infantry, June 1, 1821; dismissed, April 28, 1826. For gallant conduct in the sortie from Fort Erie, was brevetted lieut. colonel, Sept. 17, 1814. While commandant at Fort Crawford, he acquired the reputation of being a despot and made many enemies. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ii., pp. 128, 129; ix., p. 466.— Ed.

³ Col. John Bowyer was born in Virginia; appointed lieut. of infantry, March 7, 1792; in 3d sub legion, Dec., 1792; in 3d inf., Nov., 1796; captain Jan., 1799; retained, April, 1802, in 2d inf.; major of 2d inf., Aug. 18, 1808; lieut. col., July 6, 1812; colonel of 5th inf., March 13, 1814; disbanded, June, 1815. He arrived at Green Bay as Indian agent, in 1815, and died in office, 1820.— Ed.

³⁹⁴ christened the different islands with names, as "Washington,"¹ "Chambers," "Green," etc., and the bold bluff as Bowyer's bluff. These names have been retained, but my own impression is that the whole group of islands and the main land were occupied originally by the Pottawattamies. My personal knowledge of old-time signs is derived from a single visit made in passing by canoe from Green Bay to Mackinaw in 1828, in company with the late Governor Doty. We landed on Washington island, and found there evidences of Indian occupancy, whether as old as Marquette's time could not of course be determined one

Library of Congress

hundred and fifty years afterwards.² I think, however, that the tribe made their summer quarters further south, and that their visits to these islands were occasional only, as were those of the Ottawas at a later day even, to Beaver islands.

1 The Washington, 100 tons (Capt. Dobbins), the largest vessel then on the lakes, brought the officers to Green Bay.— Ed.

2 We landed, also, on one or two ethers near the northern main land.—M. L. M.

When I came here, sixty years ago, the whole region extending from the entrance to the bay as far south as Milwaukee, on the lake shore, was occupied by Pottawattamies and Ottawas. Their principal villages were at Manitowoc, Pigeon and Sheboygan rivers. There were none, I think, north of Kewaunee, and I doubt very much whether there were any except temporary lodges as far north as the islands.

From Father Hennepin's account, the Griffin,—or “Gryphon,” as he calls it,—was loaded with peltries, but at what point gathered does not appear, and probably the vessel had entered the bay or coasted the lake further south. There is a harbor at Washington island, and, if landing was made anywhere in that vicinity, it was probably there, as none of the others, except the one immediately north of it, are of sufficient dimensions to warrant the belief of early occupation in considerable numbers.

395

In 1828, I went upon a canoe voyage from Green Bay to Prairie du Chien, up the Fox and down the Wisconsin rivers. I was in company with Judge James Duane Doty,¹ his marshal, Thomas Rowland, and the deputy marshal, William Meldrum—all of Detroit except myself. The year before, had occurred the Winnebago outbreak at Prairie du Chien, and the murderer Red Bird and his friends were now to be tried at a special term of court. Judge Doty had appointed me United States district attorney, *pro tem.* ² hence my

Library of Congress

presence with this judicial party. Our conveyance was a large birch-bark canoe, manned by four voyageurs, picked up at the Bay; and our time of leaving, the first of August.

1 Appointed Feb. 1, 1823, as additional judge for the Territory of Michigan, with jurisdiction over that portion of the Territory lying west of Lake Michigan; salary, \$1,200 per annum.—Ed.

2 The United States district attorney for Michigan was Daniel Leroy, with a salary of \$200 per annum and fees.—Ed.

At Kaukauna rapids, we found Augustin Grignon. The Menomonees had a planting ground on the south side of the stream, but there was no village there.

On Doty's island, very near the mouth, on the west channel, was the village of Hootschope, or Four Legs, the wellknown Winnebago chieftain. There were from one hundred and fifty to two hundred lodges there, covered with bark or mats. We found Four Legs to be a very ordinary looking Indian and only stopped at his town for a few minutes, while the voyageurs were taking our craft over the Winnebago rapids.

Garlic island was the next stopping place. There was a Winnebago village there of about the same size as that over which Four Legs presided. The lodges, however, were longer and neater. We purchased a supply of vegetables of the island villagers.

At Butte des Morts was a large village of the Menomonees. Their chief, I think, was Oshkosh. It was difficult,—impossible, in fact,—to correctly estimate the population of these villages we passed on our way, for the females and children of both sexes were exceedingly shy and kept out of view.

396

Pierre Paquette was at the Portage, and helped us across with one of his teams. Paquette's log house was on the west bank of the Fox. Francis le Roy lived in the

Library of Congress

neighborhood, on the opposite shore, near where Fort Winnebago was afterwards established. We were entertained at Paquette's, both going and coming, on our tour.

The next Indian community was on the Wisconsin river, possibly where Prairie du Sac now is. We could see a few lodges near the steep bank, but not the entire village, for we did not stop.

The settlement of Prairie du Chien consisted of but a dozen or twenty houses. The principal man was Joseph Rolette, the fur trader. At the house of another trader, John B. Brunet, we found entertainment, after the fashion of the country. I remember that there was a French serving woman at this quasi hotel, who had escaped from the Red Bird massacre; her daughter, a little girl of five or six, was going minus her scalp, and was shown to us as one of the curiosities of the place.

On arriving at the Prairie, I met Lucius Lyon, then a United States surveyor, and afterwards United States senator from Michigan,¹ who had just completed his survey of the private French land claims there. Having found, on reaching the end of my canoe trip, that President Adams had appointed John Scott, the congressman from Missouri, as prosecuting attorney, and that my services in the Red Bird case were not needed, after all, Lyon and I planned for a tour through the lead mines. I had known Lyon in Detroit; and in the spring of 1828 he had passed through Green Bay in his canoe, en route for Prairie du Chien.

¹ Elected at the organization of that state in 1836, and serving till 1840.— Ed.

There were no maps of this country, then; but Lyon had a small pocket compass with him and took the courses and distances of the Fox-Wisconsin route, and made the first approximately correct map of that water highway; later, on my return from Galena to Prairie du Chien, I did the same for the Mississippi; we then put our notes together and gave the result to a prominent eastern map-maker who adopted it as a part of the geography of the country. It was published in 1829 or 1830, and was the first real map of

Library of Congress

the country between Green Bay and Galena. I was much gratified, afterwards, to see that later official surveys of the Mississippi corresponded exactly with mine.

Lyon and I started down the Mississippi from Prairie du Chien on a very primitive sort of steamer; there were two vessels like Mackinaw boats, with a platform between and a shed built on that—it was, in fact, a steam catamaran. During the entire time court was in session at the Prairie, we staid at Galena, and then Judge Dory and Rowland came down and joined us there. After a few days, Lyon and I went on what was then a decidedly novel trip, an expedition through the mining region north of Galena. Our first objective point was Dodgeville, where Henry Dodge had started a “diggings.” We found his cabins surrounded by a formidable stockade, and the miners liberally supplied with ammunition. The Winnebagoes had threatened to oust the little colony, and were displaying an ugly disposition. Dodge entertained us at his cabin, the walls of which were well covered with guns. He said that he had a man for every gun and would not leave the country unless the Indians were stronger than he. At Platteville was John H. Rountree, who, with his men, lived in tents.¹ We did not see Rountree himself, at that time, but were much impressed with what was pointed out to us as his claim. There was a hole some twenty feet square and four or five deep, the bottom of which was a solid body of lead. There was a family at Blue Mounds living with Ebenezer Brigham; they were, with Brigham, the first settlers at the place.² Brigham was not at home, but the man with a family was, and entertained us in his cabin, which was used as a hotel when occasion required.

1 *Hist. Grant Co.* (West. Hist. Co., 1881), pp. 675, 676; Rountree, accompanied by Maj. J. B. Campbell, William Ruby and John M. Williams, commenced mining operations in Platteville, November, 1827.— Ed.

2 *Hist. Dane Co.* (West Hist. Co., 1880), pp. 346–348; Brigham's house was on s. w. $\frac{1}{4}$, s. w. $\frac{1}{4}$, section 5, town of Blue Mounds, Dane county; his diggings were on section 7, and had been previously worked by Indians; he located at Blue Mounds, the spring of 1828.— Ed.

Library of Congress

398 We spread our blankets upon the bare ground, which was the floor of our hostelry, but slept quite as soundly as one might in the best chamber of a palace hotel. This man was fairly wild on the subject of lead mining. He had bought a quarter-section of land and spent all of his money in prospecting, but in vain. His signal failure, however, did not in the least daunt him, and he stood quite ready to waste as much more money in the same way, if he could but get his hands upon it. Sinsinawa Mound and Gratiot's Grove were also among the points we stopped at. The country was overflowing with prospectors, miners and those who thought to pick up a living in various ways, while the excitement lasted. There were fully two thousand men in the country north of Galena, and we frequently came up with little groups of two or more, trudging painfully along with their bundles slung over their shoulders, or perhaps encamped by the wayside; while to come upon a couple of rough fellows sitting on a log or stone, playing old sledge for each other's last dollar, was no uncommon experience. We rode through the country with our horse and buggy,—hired at Galena,—with perfect ease and freedom, and met with no semblance of opposition from either white man or red.

There were from one thousand to fifteen hundred people resident in Galena, at that time. It was a lively little town. The houses were none of them painted, but there was that “snap” about the place that gave promise of great things in the future. Ezekiel Lockwood was the chief business man, and had a big store. L. M. R. Morse was another heavy trader. The mining country was supplied with men from Galena's large floating population. Speculators were as numerous as sand-flies in Green Bay, the majority of them coming from points lower down on the Mississippi.

The miners were in mortal fear of the Indians, and few of them thought of permanently settling in the lead country; their object being to get what they could from the diggings, so long as peace lasted, and be prepared to leave for the Illinois settlements again, on short notice. Galena had, however, cautiously sent out a few frontier colonies, but none of them

Library of Congress

at any great distance. The only settlements 399 we saw, that looked anything like attempts to stay, were at Dodge's stockade, and Henry Gratiot's grove.

After our inspection of the mining country, we returned home from Galena the way we had come,— via Prairie du Chien and Portage. On the Fox river, at about Butte des Morts, we met Maj. David E. Twiggs, with three companies of soldiers in boats, on their way to establish the garrison of Fort Winnebago. Jefferson Davis, just graduated from West Point, was one of his lieutenants. Both parties stopped and we had some conversation. All of us knew Twiggs, who bore a bad character. He had a private named William Prestige, in his boat, securely chained; this Prestige, exasperated by brutal treatment, had attempted to take Twiggs's life, and the latter, by way of revenge, kept him in irons and under the harshest treatment allowable by the code, until his term of enlistment expired, in the year following.¹

1 *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii., p. 375.— Ed.

The jurisdiction of Michigan extended west of the Mississippi and, with the exception of the two trading posts at Green Bay and Prairie du Chien, was exclusively an Indian country west of Lake Michigan. Hostile tribes wandered over it at will, casting an evil eye upon any encroachment upon their extensive and beautiful domain. The Red Bird war culminated in opening the mineral region west of Blue Mounds to miners in search of its hidden wealth. East of that landmark was an unexplored wilderness. Having now visited the mining country, I had a natural desire to extend my explorations through the remainder of the territory now known as Wisconsin.

Judge Doty and I,—in company with Wistweaw (Blacksmith), a Menomonee Indian, and Alex. Grignon,² a young half-blood Menomonee, as helpers,—left Green Bay on horseback, in the spring of 1829, and traversed the region hitherto little known, south of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers. We were the first party, so far as I can ascertain, to make

Library of Congress

the trip by land between the extreme outposts of this section, Green Bay and Prairie du Chien. Proceeding along the summit of the high ridge which hems in Lake Winnebago,

2 *Id.*, x., p. 484.— Ed.

400 on the east,—the line afterwards adopted for the government road,—we headed for Fond du Lac. At Calumet, on the way, we saw a small Menomonee village resting on the lake shore, but did not go down to it, keeping steadily on our way along the ridge and through the prairie which lies to the east of the lake. At Fond du Lac there was a Winnebago village, but we crossed the river without visiting the savages, for whose company we were not over anxious. Wistweaw, however, was sent back there to engage a guide to pilot us to the Four Lake country. These lakes, together with Green and Fox lakes, were landmarks more or less familiar in name to the old traders, through their employés engaged in collecting furs from the Indian villages of the interior. But no white man, it may be confidently stated, had ever yet visited the country with a view of ascertaining its adaptability for becoming the abode of civilized life. There was then scarce an opening in the forest west of Detroit.

After some waiting, our Menomonee returned in company with a Winnebago, mounted on a scrubby pony, who volunteered to show us the way across the country. The guide did very well for five or six miles, then pushed ahead for a mile or two and flung himself on the grass. When we had caught up, we asked him to remount and go ahead; but he made no sign of moving and sulkily exclaimed that he never had been the slave of a white man and never would be. He was finally induced to put us on the trail for Lake Horicon and then, giving the lash to his pony, started back to his village on a lope. Lake Horicon, we found to be only a marsh. At its head, there was a cluster of Winnebago wigwams. The Indians there, essayed to put us on the trail to Four Lakes, but we brought out at the Green-lake prairie, where we struck another village of the Winnebagoes. To seek information there, was impossible, for the women and children hid themselves, and the

Library of Congress

bucks were assembled in their long medicine lodge, gambling, and would pay no attention to us whatever.

Thus left to our own resources, we set off due south across the prairie, until, to our great joy, we found a deep-cut trail 401 which we followed until it brought us into the woods east of the Four Lake country.¹ The Four Lakes, called in Winnebago Taychoperah, gave name to the entire region for many miles in their vicinity, but no one, at that early period, could have thought of establishing there the capital of a great state. I was particularly interested in the lakes, myself, because I knew that from them I could see Blue Mound, and thenceforth I should feel acquainted with the country. On the south shore of Third lake, also on the north shore of Fourth,—east of where Pheasant Branch now is,² — we found a few Winnebago Indians located. Proceeding westward, just south of Blue Mound, we struck a road leading from Sugar river, on which mineral had been hauled, and followed it to McCrary's furnace, a few miles southwest of the mound. There we met the first whites we had seen since leaving Green Bay. From McCrary's we went on to Dodgeville, where we stopped in a sort of hotel over night, and the next day we crossed the level country to Prairie du Chien.

1 *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x., pp. 74, 75; the itinerary of the tour is given, note 1, p. 74.— Ed.

2 White Crow's village, situated near the mouth of the upper Catfish, about where Fox's bluff is.— Ed.

At the Prairie, Judge Doty held a term of court, and I officiated as United States district attorney, *pro tem* .

On returning home, we proceeded overland, as before, but with some change as to trail. We passed by the way of Blue Mound, along the north bank of Fourth lake, near the small Indian village I have previously mentioned. We had a full view of both Third and Fourth lakes and the high land between them, on which Madison is now situated, but found no trail leading in that direction and presumably no villages existed there, showing its

Library of Congress

occupancy by the Winnebagoes at that time. The nearest wigwams were the two clusters I have already mentioned. It is possible that on our out-going trip, Governor Dory and I passed over State University hill. We passed from the village on the south shore of Third lake to that on the north shore of Fourth, with Lake Wingra on our left. We at that time 402 had no thought of founding cities, nor for some years after. The "City of the Four Lakes," on the north side of Fourth lake, was laid out by me in 1836, on the same ground subsequently owned by Col. William B. Slaughter.

Proceeding from the Four Lakes to Fort Winnebago, we crossed over to the south bank of the Fox. At Butte des Morts, we were ferried over, our horses swimming behind, and proceeded along the west bank of Lake Winnebago and the lower Fox, to Green Bay. The country through which we had passed on our novel journey was,—after reaching a distance of thirty miles from Green Bay,—more charming than any we had ever beheld, with its extensive oak-openings and almost unlimited prairies. There was not, however, a trace of occupancy or any indication that it had ever before been traversed by white men. It is not strange that a few years after witnessed its rapid settlement and improvement by hardy frontiersmen.¹

¹ The late Henry S. Baird was also of this horseback party, from Green Bay to Prairie du Chien, although Judge Martin seemed to have forgotten the fact, at the time of the interview. In *The Green Bay Gazette*, April 2, 1870, Mr. Baird gave the following account of the tour:

"In the year 1825, '26, '27, and '28, Judge Dory and the writer traveled from Green Bay to Prairie du Chien in a bark canoe, by way of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers; our crew was composed of six or seven Canadians and Indians: time occupied in making the trip seven to eight days going and the same in returning. The country was then an entire wilderness, there being no white settlements or inhabitants, except at Green Bay and Prairie du Chien.

"In May, 1829, Judge Doty, M. L. Martin, Esq., and the writer, left Green Bay on horseback, and went through the country to Prairie du Chien. We were accompanied by a Menomonee Indian as guide, who led or rode a pack horse. Our route was not a direct one, as our Indian was not well acquainted with the country west of Lake Winnebago; we traveled on the east side of that lake to Fond du Lac, thence by way of Green lake to the Four Lakes (crossing the outlet between Second and Third lakes), the Blue Mound, Dodgeville, and crossed the Wisconsin about six miles above its confluence with the Mississippi river. We were about seven days in making the journey, and saw no white people until we reached the Blue Mound. We were the first party of white men that had attempted and accomplished the land journey from Green Bay to the Mississippi.

"In those early days the accommodations for holding the court were neither extensive nor elegant. There were no regular court-houses or public buildings, the courts were held in log school-houses, where there were such, or in rooms provided for the special occasion, destitute of comfortable seats and other fixtures for use of court, bar or jurors. In May, 1826, when the term of the court was to be held at Prairie du Chien, on our arrival we found the old town entirely *under water*, the inundation being caused by the overflowing of both the Mississippi and Wisconsin rivers. The troops had abandoned the fort, and the inhabitants had fled to the high grounds near the bluffs—but two or three houses were occupied, and only the upper stories in those. It will naturally be imagined that under such circumstances the court could not be held. But not so—a largo barn, situated on dry ground, was selected and fitted up for the accommodation of the court, bar and suitors! The court occupied the extensive threshing-floor, about fourteen by thirty-five feet. The jurors occupied the hay and grain mows on either side of the court. When the jury retired to agree upon their verdict, they were conducted by an officer to another barn or stable. Such was the condition of affairs in the early years of Wisconsin history."— Ed.

Library of Congress

In October, 1829, the first public meeting in the history of Green Bay was held here. Louis Grignon was chairman, while I officiated as secretary. We petitioned congress to build a road from the Bay to Chicago, and also to improve the Fox and Wisconsin rivers.

About 1830, a Shot Tower company was organized, principally composed of gentlemen living here and in Detroit, with one from Oswego. The firm name was Daniel Whitney, Platte and Co. They built a tower on the face of a cliff at Old Helena or Pine Bend, on the south bank of the Wisconsin river, twenty miles northwest of Blue Mound.¹ Considerable shot was made here. Daniel Whitney was the superintendent and had a man named Greene working the concern for him. Greene was shot near the fort at Blue Mound, in the Black Hawk war, in 1832.²

¹ The remains of this tower can still be seen, near the south end of the new Spring Green wagon bridge, which was erected in 1887. See *Hist. Iowa Co.* (West. Hist. Co., 1881), pp. 472, 473, for detailed description of tower.— Ed.

² June 20. *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ii., p. 351, and subsequent volumes.— Ed.

While I was a member of the Michigan territorial legislature, in session at Detroit, this same company got me to obtain a charter for them, to build a canal between the Fox and Wisconsin rivers. A ditch was dug across the prairie, about on a line with the old portage trail, farther down the Wisconsin than the present canal. But the trench was never filled with water except when the Wisconsin was high, and proved to be of no use.¹

¹ *Hist. Columbia Co.* (West. Hist. Co., 1880), p. 610. Ed.

I first visited Milwaukee in July, 1833, on a tour of exploration. With me, were Daniel Le Roy and P. B. Grignon, and we were mounted on horses. As far as Fond du Lac, our course lay on the same trail that Judge Dory and I had made in 1829. After that, we struck southeast to the shore of Lake Michigan, following it closely until the Milwaukee river was reached. Jacques Vieau and Solomon Juneau traded at this point. I had known them

Library of Congress

and their families since 1827, for their homes were really in Green Bay, at which place they obtained all their supplies. Both Vieau, senior, and Juneau were in Chicago, with the greater part of their families, at the time of our arrival; but young Jacques Vieau, son of the elder, officiated under the parental roof.

When we set out on our tour, we agreed to eat everything we saw, and one time were compelled to thus dispose of a hawk. At Milwaukee, there were no provisions for us; but there were several Indians loafing around and we engaged one of them to go out and get us some ducks. These, Jacques cooked for us, and we ate them cold upon our return trip, which was made by the way of the lake shore. On Sheboygan river, four miles above the mouth, there was an Indian village. We found a net spread near the mouth of the river, and in it two fine fish which we appropriated without ceremony. Next morning, an Indian from the village overtook us and supplied us with dried and smoked whitefish, which we found quite palatable. Manitowoc was out of our line, so we did not see the native village said to be there. The only other lodges on our course were at Waukesha and Milwaukee. We reached Green Bay after a delightful trip, in which the eager search for provisions only served to strengthen our appetites.

405

Both Solomon Juneau and Jacques Vieau were intelligent and worthy men, Mr. Juneau having the polished manners and airs of the French gentleman. In a certain *History of Milwaukee*,¹ the latter has been described as being on a par with the Indians, as to intelligence and manners.² That they and their families were far removed above the savage tribes by which they were surrounded, is proven by the fact that they were enabled to procure goods and supplies to a large amount on the usual credit from the American Fur Company. Neither of them did at that time regard themselves as permanent settlers of Milwaukee; but were temporary residents there for purposes of trade with the Indians. Their homes were in Green Bay. When I first visited Milwaukee in the summer of 1833, on the tour of exploration before narrated, they and their families were not there, the premises being in charge of employés and one of Vieau's sons. A further evidence that

Library of Congress

all were mere sojourners was found in the fact that no land was cleared, fenced, or even under cultivation, except a small patch of ground used by a brother of Juneau, in which he cultivated a few vegetables. Subsequent events, however, proved Solomon Juneau to be the first permanent settler, when the land he occupied was ceded by the Indians and subjected to sale as government land.

1 Published by Western Historical Co. in 1881.— Ed.

2 These remarks about Solomon Juneau are in the main identical with a letter,—dated Green Bay, June 21, 1881,—which Judge Martin wrote to the Milwaukee Pioneer Association, in defense of Mr. Juneau from reflections made upon him by the historical work in question. For details of the dispute, see *The Milwaukee Sentinel*, June 26, 1881, and Buck's *Milwaukee Under the Charter*, iii., appendix; the portions of the county history especially controverted are, pp. 65, 69.— Ed.

From 1833 forward, I was a frequent and always welcome visitor to the house of Solomon Juneau. His home was the “old trading house,” and so far from being the filthy, disgusting home represented in the *History of Milwaukee*, was in all respects neat and comfortable; for the proverbially neat and tidy French women know how to make their habitations attractive. In the fall of 1834 the late Governor Doty, Byron Kilbourn and myself were at Milwaukee and 406 spent a few days, being entertained at the hospitable old trading house, the only habitation there. In April previous, on my way home from Detroit, Mr. Juneau's house was my only stopping place between Chicago and Green Bay; my business relations with him compelled my sojourn there for several days. At none of my visits did the “stinking skins” or the “odors” given off by fresh meats and fish which had become rank before being consigned to the “spit,” produce an unsavory perfume. If there were any such, they never invaded the comfortable dwelling in which we were entertained, but were confined to the storehouse, the usual adjunct to all Indian trading posts.

Library of Congress

As a man, Solomon Juneau needs no encomiums from me. He was always the same unselfish, confiding, open-hearted, genial, honest and polite gentleman. Our business relations commenced in October, 1833, and continued for several years.¹ His first hint of the prospective value of his location at Milwaukee came from me, and he was so incredulous that it was sometimes difficult to prevent his sacrificing his interest to the sharks who soon gathered around him. Himself the soul of honor, and unaccustomed to the wiles of speculators, without a friend to caution him he would have been an easy prey of designing individuals. Green Bay was his home as well as that of the Vieaus, and it was not until 1835 or 1836 that Juneau first thought of permanently residing in Milwaukee,—after it came to be seen that the place was going to become a village.

¹ Buck's *Pion. Hist. Milwaukee*, i., pp. 16–18.— Ed.

Juneau and I were joint owners of the original plat of Milwaukee. We never made any written memorandum of the terms of our partnership, and on account of his residence on the spot he took the principal management of our joint interest for more than three years. At the close, accounts between us were adjusted and property valued at hundreds of thousands divided, with as little difficulty as you would settle a trifling store bill.

It would take a volume to enumerate the many admirable traits of character which distinguished my late friend, Solomon Juneau. The intimate relations existing between us 407 made me well acquainted with his family, and their everyday social relations. Mrs. Juneau, instead of the pure French of her husband, had a slight tincture of Indian blood.¹ Her native tongue was French, and that language was used in their family intercourse, though both spoke English. They both probably had also acquired a knowledge of the languages of several Indian tribes, with whom Mr. Juneau was accustomed to do business; but that they “dressed and ate like Indians, and in their domestic conversation spoke in the Indian tongue,” is far from the truth. Mrs. Juneau was a most amiable and

Library of Congress

excellent woman, and many of the first settlers around Milwaukee will no doubt bear ample testimony to the deeds of charity by which she was distinguished.

¹ See *ante*, p. 219, note 3.— Ed.

Gov. Henry Dodge was a straight, fine-looking man, quite pompous, and deserving of credit for the able manner in which he discharged his various public duties, military and civil. But he was deficient in early education; and his habit of continually suspecting the motives of other men was one of the convincing proofs of that defect. When I was a delegate in congress, in 1845, Dodge and I were appointed commissioners to treat with the Oneidas of this section. The object was to advance the condition of these people and induce them to take up homesteads. It so happened that I was belated and could not go out to Duck Creek, where the treaty was held, before taking my seat in congress. Dodge went out alone and could do nothing with the Indians. Augustus C. Dodge, his son, and a warm friend of mine, afterwards told me that General Dodge was ever after much put out with me, imagining that my reason for not going was, that I knew the Oneidas could not then be treated with and I desired to avoid the odium of failure.

Although of testy temper, Governor Dodge had a kind heart. In the legislative council, in 1838, James R. Vineyard, of Grant county, and I, got into a little difficulty, and 408 Vineyard threatened to shoot me. The governor heard of the disturbance and, getting us together in his room, reconciled us.

On Friday, the 11th of February, 1842, in the council chamber at Madison, Vineyard shot and mortally wounded my colleague from Brown county, Charles C. P. Arndt.¹ The following day I addressed the council on the death of Arndt and offered resolutions of sympathy with the widow and for preparations for the funeral,² which were adopted. I also drew up the resolutions which were offered by Ebenezer Brigham, of Dane, Monday, February 14, formally expelling Vineyard from the council, despite the fact that he had handed in a letter of resignation. Every member of the council voted for these resolutions

Library of Congress

except Moses M. Strong, of Mineral Point, who became one of Vineyard's counsel. Vineyard never entertained any hostility to me for what I did. That same winter I was in Platteville. He sought me out and expressed himself strongly on the subject of the tragedy, saying he had not slept a night since the event and would readily change places with Arndt.

1 Strong's *Hist. Wis. Terr.*, pp. 380–385.— Ed.

2 *Council Jour., Wis. Terr. Legis.*, 1842, p. 306.— Ed.

I was president of the second state constitutional convention, which assembled at Madison, Dec. 15, 1847, and have distinct recollections of the leading spirits in that body. The strongest man in it was Judge Charles Dunn. I looked upon him as eminently sensible and conscientious. He was very much of an American in his instincts, and whenever the suffrage article was being discussed was strongly inclined to impose restrictions upon the citizenship of the foreign born and the exercise of suffrage by them. Judge Edward V. Whiton was another strong man in the convention,—a very efficient and reasonable man, with a great deal of forethought. Whiten was always ready to express sensible ideas on every question that came up. His was such a broad character that he developed no specialty during the great conference; he left his mark upon no especial 409 feature of the perfected instrument, but helped mold all portions alike. F. S. Lovell, of Kenosha, was another man with a broad, general mind, without a specialty but overflowing with good sense and apt suggestion. Of course there were many others whom I might mention with justice, but Dunn, Whiton and Lovell are those who stand out most prominently in my memory as the leading general workers in the body.¹

1 Brief biographical sketches of the members of both constitutional conventions may be found in Tenney and Atwood's *Fathers of Wisconsin* (Madison, 1880), a useful publication.— Ed.

Library of Congress

There were many men in the convention who appeared to have an eye to their political hereafter and were continually looking after their fences. But as a whole it was a sensible body. There were no serious mistakes. The constitution evolved was, I thought, about what the best class of our people desired it to be. Of course the debates were not without some extreme talk. There were some members whom I thought to be quite visionary on the women's rights question,—not as to the suffrage of women, but as to their exemptions and property holding. There was a wide difference of opinion in the convention, on these topics, but the majority thought it best to leave the people, represented in legislature, to determine the matter. The members of the first constitutional convention made their gravest mistake in determining and fixing exemptions; and the popular discontent with their work was largely on this score. The second convention started in to avoid the rocks upon which the instrument of the first had been wrecked. Several mooted questions were thus left to the people for subsequent legislative decision,—banks, for instance. The object of the second convention was to draft a constitution that would be popular, and this could only be done by allowing the people to fight over such questions of policy among themselves.

The first movement by the general government towards the improvement of the Fox-Wisconsin river highway,—with a view to making a continuous line of navigation from 410 Lake Michigan to the Mississippi river,—was made in 1839, while I was in the territorial council. Capt. Thomas J. Cram, of the topographical engineers, made, under the direction of the war department, a preliminary survey of the rivers and an estimate of the cost of their improvement. In 1846, while a delegate in congress, I secured, by dint of very hard work, the passage of an act (approved August 8) making a grant of land to the state, upon its admission into the union, for the improvement of the Fox river alone, and the building of a canal across the portage between the two rivers. The grant covered every odd-numbered section within three miles of the canal, the river and the lakes, en route from the portage to the mouth. When the second constitutional convention was held, this proposition on the part of congress was endorsed, and at the first session of the state

Library of Congress

legislature, the latter body passed an act, approved August 8, 1848, appointing a board of public works, consisting of five persons, and providing for the improvement of the river. The members of the board were elected in joint session of the legislature,¹ the same day, as follows: H. L. Dousman, Curtis Reed, John A. Bingham, Albert S. Story and James B. Estes.

¹ *Wis. Senate Jour.*, 1848, pp. 353–356.— Ed.

By the year 1850, the board had used up all the money they could raise by selling the lands. They had, in fact, anticipated the sales, and the affairs in their charge were in bad shape. On the 1st of January, 1851, they reported to the legislature² that the work would have to stop, unless some device for a more rapid sale of land could be originated. While the affair was in this condition, I made a proposition to the legislature, through Governor Dewey,³ to do the work from Green Bay to Lake Winnebago, except what the board of public works had finished or was already under contract for. The board had dug the canal at Portage, before there was any steam navigation possible on the lower Fox. One of the chief features of its mismanagement

² *Wis. Assembly Jour.*, 1851, pp. 1003–1032.— Ed.

³ The governor's message and Judge Martin's proposition and contract are given in full in *Wis. Senate Jour.*, 1851, doc. F., appendix.— Ed.

411 was, that the board allowed itself to be influenced by members of the legislature, each of whom wanted a portion of the money spent in his district, without regard to the general need. My proposition was, in effect, that the state should not be held liable for expenses attending the completion of the improvement, but that the tolls and the sale of lands should supply the means to reimburse me. The governor, in his message to the senate, said: "It is believed that the proposition of Mr. Martin is a very favorable one for the state, and, if accepted, will ensure the final completion of this important work at a much earlier day than the state can possibly accomplish it, in any other constitutional manner. * * * The

Library of Congress

early completion of this improvement will be promoted by its acceptance and would be economical.”

The legislature of 1851 accepted my proposition¹ and I went to work with about five hundred men, commencing at Kaukauna. Operations were carried on throughout that season, along the entire distance from Green Bay to Lake Winnebago. By the terms of my contract, the governor was to give me scrip, to be paid from the sale of lands and from the tolls on the work.² Governor Farwell came into office on the 5th of January, 1852. On the 16th, in his message to the legislature,³ the governor reported that \$26,000 had been paid to me for the season's work, in state scrip, and intimated that my contract was unconstitutional. He afterwards refused to give me any more of the scrip that had been lawfully earned; and I was obliged to secure the

1 Act approved March 11; contract was signed May 14.— Ed.

2 The contract read: “I propose to complete the whole work on or before the first day of May, 1853, the same to be accepted as fast as completed. The work to be paid for, from the sales of land granted (and to be granted) in aid of the improvement, so far as the funds can be raised from that source. The amount due for the whole contract when completed, and remaining unpaid, to constitute a debt against the improvement, the interest of which, at twelve per cent., shall be paid from tolls to be collected on the work, and whenever the state shall realize funds, either from sale of lands or any other source, and pay the balance due on the Contract, debt to be discharged.”— Ed.

3 *Wis. Senate Jour.*, 1852, pp. 14–16.— Ed.

412 passage by the legislature of an act¹ authorizing the secretary of state to give me certificates of indebtedness, instead of the governor. This was vetoed April 9,² Governor Farwell laying great stress on the claim that the bill treating with me was in violation of the spirit of both the act of congress making the land grant and the constitution of the United States. Attorney General Experience Estabrook, however, gave it as his

Library of Congress

opinion that the scrip issued to me was constitutional, and a joint committee of the legislature reported unanimously that the work had been conducted well and honorably. The legislature, therefore, passed the bill over the veto, and I resumed work. The trouble with the governor, however, had greatly shortened my season, for the uncertainty of the issue had obliged me to lose the advantage of early preparation, and it was not until July 14 that the governor consented to have certificates issued under the act.

1 Chapter 340, *Gen. Laws Wis.*, 1852.— Ed.

2 *Wis. Senate Jour.*, 1852, pp. 591–599,— Ed.

At the session of 1853, the governor proposed, in a message to the legislature dated February 9,³ to “submit the works to private enterprise,” and have the skirts of the state cleared from all financial responsibility. It was urged by the governor that the moneys realized from the sale of lands were insufficient to meet the state's obligations. I therefore had a company formed, styled the Fox and Wisconsin Improvement Company, of whom Mason C. Darling, Otto Tank, Edgar Conklin, Benjamin F. Moore, Joseph G. Lawton, Uriah H. Peak, Theodore Conkey, I and others were members. The articles of association were dated the 1st of June, 1853. This company was incorporated by the state under act approved July 6,⁴ and to it was transferred the entire work, under condition that it fulfill the obligations of the state to all classes of contractors on the improvement.

3 *Id.*, 1853, pp. 181–194.

4 Chapter 98, *Gen. Laws Wis.*, 1853.— Ed.

The Improvement Company went on with the work, under this act, until 1856, when the first boat, the *Aquila*, passed 413 through the works,—from Pittsburg to Green Bay. Captain Brooks, who was afterwards master of the craft, died in Green Bay early in June, 1887. The *Aquila* was brought through by Charles Green, of Green Bay, who had purchased her at Pittsburg. I afterwards acquired an interest in the vessel and held it for

Library of Congress

some years. She, with the Pioneer, which I also owned, made regular trips between Green Bay and Fond du Lac.

By act of congress approved Aug. 3, 1854 (construed by resolution of March 3, 1855), we had obtained an increase in our land grant,¹ for the work was broadening out, as the years went on, and the depth of water sought was greater than at first. We thereupon located a large body of fine land. The legislature, under chapter 64, general laws of 1855, authorized us to increase our capital stock to \$250,000, and that same year we were compelled to seek outside capital to swing the growing enterprise. The newcomers were New York capitalists, of whom Horatio Seymour, Erastus Corning and Hiram Barney were the leading spirits. This movement proved an exceedingly unfortunate one for us. The New York men deranged all our plans, and the upshot was that they got us into a position where we were obliged to submit, in February, 1866, to a foreclosure of the bonds and sale of the whole concern to the New Yorkers. The big imported fish swallowed the little natives.

¹ The area of the whole grant on the Fox river, under this construction, was estimated at 684,269 acres, in report of select assembly committee, March 31, 1856. See also, reply to this report, by Theodore Conkey.— Ed.

On the 15th of August, 1866, the purchasers at the February sale became incorporated as the Green Bay and Mississippi Canal Company. But the surveys were thereafter conducted by government engineers.²

² Under instructions issued from the engineer department in July, 1866.— Ed.

In 1871, the secretary of war, acting under act of congress approved July 7, 1870, secured an appraisal of the company's plant,—improvements, water-powers and personal property. By act approved June 10, 1872, an appropriation was made by government to purchase the improvement alone, and in 414 October the company deeded the works to the United States. I put in a claim before the government commissioners, for a large amount of work

Library of Congress

performed, for which I had as yet received no compensation. The claim was allowed as just, but the company coolly collected the money. My suit for recovery brought me only about one half of the amount, and I have had no end of litigation with them ever since. I presume that I have spent much more in these suits than I ever received.

We would have got along well enough, in the old company, if we could have secured favorable legislation. But there was a continual wrangle at Madison over our affairs; sectional and official jealousies were ever hatching up new troubles for us. Then again, the legislature had issued scrip at twelve per cent. interest to other contractors as well as myself,—notwithstanding that I had been secured to finish the work alone,—and thus my contract was thrown into discredit. At the time I took the original contract, I considered myself well-to-do in this world's goods. In order to start the work, I ran into debt fully \$100,000 for supplies to furnish men, to purchase an immense number of tools and teams and to keep up an extensive pay-roll. These heavy obligations were a severe and almost crushing tax upon my finances, while the mental distress incident to these long years of doubt and wrangling was of a character that admitted of no adequate recompense, even had the venture been a profitable one.¹

¹ Dwight I. Follett, in *The Green Bay Gazette*, Dec. 14, 1887, makes the following interesting statement, the result of conversations with Judge Martin on this topic: "To Morgan L. Martin belongs the credit of originating the scheme of the improvement of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers, and to his arduous, protracted and almost unaided efforts is due the beginning of the work which he lived to see a reality and the route a national highway under government protection. Very soon after he came to Green Bay, and in October, 1829, he called a meeting at his office (near where the Milwaukee and Northern railway depot now stands) to agitate that project. Mr. Martin presided. Resolutions in that behalf were passed and forwarded to congress. Within the past few months, in the course of a conversation on that subject, in reply to the question as to what led him to originate that scheme, Judge Martin said that the idea was first suggested to his mind by the fact that in the year 1828 the 5th regiment U. S. infantry came to Fort Howard on Durham boats,

from Jefferson barracks, below St. Louis. Their baggage was loaded on the boats at that point and not unloaded until reaching here. The water at Portage happened to be high that year." In *Hist. Columbia Co.* (West. Hist. Co., 1880), pp. 448–453, can be found an historical sketch of the Fox-Wisconsin improvement; see also, *Wisconsin Blue Book* for 1870 and a considerable collection of pamphlets on the topic, in the Society's library.— Ed.

415

EARLY DAYS IN JEFFERSON COUNTY.

BY ELISHA W. KEYES.

I remember that once, when I was a boy in Vermont, my father procured an old-fashioned atlas with the apparently unsettled Northwest Territory traced upon it; and, calling my elder brothers about him, pointed with his forefinger on the map to that portion of the Territory which began about the southern point of Lake Michigan and extended therefrom in a northwesterly direction. He pointed to the mouth of the Milwaukee river; and said he, "Boys, there's where we want to go; that country offers a splendid inducement for settlers. There," said he, "must be water-powers and timber." At this time I was but seven years of age; still I remember the deep interest I took in the conversation and the impression that it made upon my mind.

Following this discussion about the locality, in the year 1836 my father wended his way hither, coming to Milwaukee and later to Jefferson county, and finally making claims in that portion of the county known as Lake Mills, though the land was not then in the market.¹ Having made up his

¹ Capt. Joseph Keyes was born at Putney, Vermont, Nov. 20, 1795, and followed his father's trade, that of a mill-wright. He first came to Wisconsin on a prospecting tour, in June, 1836. During the autumn of 1836, he spent some time at Menomonee, north of Green Bay; at this place he dressed the lumber for a house, which he took to Milwaukee on a vessel, in December, and erected a dwelling there which was standing in 1874. In

Library of Congress

the fall of 1837, as related by the author, he became the founder of Lake Mills, where he built and operated a saw-mill. He subsequently erected a gristmill at Lake Mills and other mills at Cambridge, Dane county. The first school-house in Lake Mills was erected in 1841 by Captain Keyes, who himself employed and paid Miss Rosa Catlin to teach in it. Miss Catlin subsequently became the wife of La Fayette Kellogg, for many years clerk of the state supreme court. A son of the captain, Simon S. Keyes, was elected the first school clerk, Oct. 7, 1843, upon the organization of the Lake Mills school district. Abel Keyes, the father of Joseph, died in 1843, his being, it is reported, the first white death in the village. Abel was born at Putney, Vt., Sept. 11, 1773, and was largely instrumental in the early advancement of Northfield and neighboring villages, being a builder and owner of grist and saw-mills, machine shops, hotels and dwelling-houses. In 1839, he removed from Vermont to Illinois, and a year later to the home of his son Joseph, at Lake Mills. A sketch of Abel Keyes's busy career will be found in John Gregory's *Hist. Northfield, Vt.* (Montpelier, 1878), p. 123. In 1850, Joseph Keyes removed to Menasha, and erected one of the first saw-mills there. He afterwards resided in Madison, until about 1859, when he returned to Menasha, where he was appointed register of the United States land office. The closing years of his life were spent in retirement. He died in Menasha, Sept. 17, 1874, aged 79 years, having been among the most honored and useful of the pioneers of Wisconsin. His kindly heart and manly bearing in all the walks of life will long be remembered by the old settlers of both Jefferson and Winnebago counties.— Ed.

417 mind to settle at that point, he communicated with my mother, then resident with her children at Northfield, Vermont, and arranged that the family should start for the country that had just been erected into Wisconsin Territory.

In pursuance of this determination, on the 2d day of May, 1837, the family,—consisting of my mother, three sons and one daughter—started in wagons with their few household goods, for Burlington, upon Lake Champlain, thence by steamboat to White Hall, and from that point by canal. Near Utica, N. Y., my father met us, upon our way, and guided us to our new home. Embarking at Buffalo upon the steamboat Bunker Hill, we lauded in Detroit.

Library of Congress

From Detroit we traveled in covered wagons along the swampy roads of Michigan and through northern Indiana to Chicago, and finally emerged in the afternoon of the 17th day of June, 1837, from the heavy timber upon the banks of the Milwaukee river, at what was then known as Walker's Point. We resided in Milwaukee until autumn, during which time I attended school in the old court-house of that place.

Milwaukee, though but a village of a few hundred inhabitants, was the largest and most important point, if I remember rightly, in all the vast expanse of country west of Lake Michigan. But my father was desirous of reaching the 27 418 point selected by him the year before at the lake in Jefferson county; therefore, in the latter part of September, we were on the move again to reach what we had pictured to be the "promised land."

We left Milwaukee with two teams, one of which was a wagon drawn by oxen. We passed through Prairieville, now Waukesha, which town had only one log house,¹ and crossed Summit prairie and through Oconomowoc, until we struck the woods, through which we traveled until we reached the present site of the city of Watertown. All the improvements we found at that place were the foundations for a saw-mill, and one log house. A little beyond Watertown was a log house occupied by a family named Johnson,² where we stayed over night.

¹ *Hist. Waukesha Co.* (West. Hist. Co., 1880), p. 634, says that at that time A. R. Cutler had a claim shanty, "erected in May, 1834, near where Blair's machine shop now is;" M. D. Cutler, soon afterward, had erected a log house "near where his present residence is;" while James Buckner had a log tavern, the Prairieville house, erected in 1837; David Jackson had also a log house, in which the postoffice was kept, and there was a log hut which Solomon Juneau had occasionally used as a trading post. There were a few other log houses out on the prairie, at Bethesda spring and down the river. But all of these buildings were widely separated in the thick underbrush and timber patches, and Buckner's tavern was probably the only one seen by the Keyes family.— Ed.

Library of Congress

2 Timothy Johnson, the first white settler in what is now the city of Watertown, was born at Middletown, Conn., June 28, 1792. After wandering through the east and south, he reached Racine, Wisconsin, then composed of but a few shanties, in the fall of 1835. In January, 1836, he was at Wisconsin City (now Janesville), where, on the 18th day of November, 1835, John Inman and his party had made the first white settlement in what is now Rock county. Going to Rockford, Illinois, for provisions, Johnson returned to Wisconsin City in February, the same month that Henry F. Janes made his claim there. Not satisfied there, however, Johnson proceeded up the Rock river to within about two miles below the present site of Jefferson, where he built a log house, cleared a garden patch and "made short excursions about the country."— *Hist. Jefferson Co.* (West. Hist. Co., 1879), p. 401. In one of these explorations he discovered what soon became known as Johnson's Rapids (now Watertown). He staked out a claim of one thousand acres there, the greater part of the city of Watertown now occupying it. In June, 1836, he allowed Philander Baldwin, Reeve Griswold and Charles Seaton to erect temporary cabins on his land at Johnson's Rapids. In the fall, he went to Milwaukee, where his family had recently arrived from Ohio, and proceeded with them to the Rapids,—arriving there Dec. 10, 1836, after suffering many hardships from cold and a total lack of highways. The *Hist. of Waukesha Co.*, before cited, gives, pp. 336, 401, some thrilling pictures of Johnson's experiences, in this and other expeditions. He is said to have been the first white man to discover the prehistoric earthworks at Aztalan.

The "foundations for a saw-mill," which Colonel Keyes alludes to, were, at the time he passed through Watertown, being put in by Luther A. Cole, who was "working on the saw-mill and dam for Charles F. H. Goodhue & Son,"—claimed to be the first improvement of the water-power on Rock river, either in Wisconsin or Illinois. The "one log house" seen by Colonel Keyes was probably that, on the west side, built by Capt. James Rogan,—the "Co." of the saw-mill firm,—in January, 1837. Rogan's shanty was the headquarters for all new arrivals, and was known for a long time as "the leading hotel at Johnson's Rapids." There was another shanty at Watertown, however, at the time of Colonel Keyes's visit. It

Library of Congress

was that of Cole, who kept bachelors' hall with his brother, John W., and their companion pioneer, Amasa Hyland.— Ed.

419

The next day was to finish our journey, and we reached the ford at Milford just as the sun was declining in the west, and were ferried across in a boat constructed of two Indian canoes, with split basswood planks upon which the wagon rested, the horses and cattle fording the stream. We were aided in this effort by two old bachelors named respectively Drake and Bartlett,¹ who had a cabin there near the bank of the river. After crossing the river we struck across the opening, with no road, not even an Indian trail, seeing no human being, nor even a shanty, until after dark, when we struck the present site of Lake Mills, where, near the lake, we found a floorless shanty shingled with a hay stack. In this we made ourselves as comfortable as we could. It was necessary to have a better habitation than this to live in during the winter, and my father proceeded at once to construct a log house, which was built and ready for occupancy before very cold weather came.² In this house we lived for several years. My father had selected this site upon the stream near the lake, with the intention of constructing a

1 L. P. Drake and M. L. Bartlett, the first settlers in the town of Milford.— Ed.

2 Capt. Joseph Keyes was the first white settler in what is now the village of Lake Mills.— Ed.

420 saw-mill there; and in the winter of 1837—38, and the spring of 1838, his efforts were devoted in that direction until the mill was completed,—which, I think, was the first one in Jefferson county.¹

1 It is stated in *Hist. Jefferson Co.*, p. 336, that the first saw-mill in Jefferson county was erected during the summer of 1836, at Hebron, on Bark river, and was “completed and ready for work in the winter of 1836—37.” Goodhue's saw-mill, at Watertown, previously alluded to, was turning out lumber by December, 1837. Royal Tyler's narrative, in *Hist.*

Library of Congress

Jefferson Co., p. 540, says: "The first saw-mill in the village of Lake Mills was built by Capt. Joseph Keyes, which went into operation in the fall of 1839. In the fall of 1842, Captain Keyes erected the first grist-mill in the county of Jefferson, on the same water-power as the saw-mill named above." Enoch G. Darling, however, is credited (*Id.*, p. 336) with erecting the first grist-mill in the county, at Hebron, in the summer of 1837.— Ed.

By these means and under these circumstances were my father's family transferred from their old home in the state of Vermont to their new home in the Territory of Wisconsin. Our settlement at Lake Mills occurred in September, 1837.

My recollection of these early scenes, and the incidents connected therewith, are as fresh in my memory today as though they had just occurred. There were then but very few settlers within the present limits of Jefferson county. There were settlements at Watertown, Aztalan, Jefferson, Fort Atkinson and Lake Mills, comprising only a very few persons at each point.

These early settlers were inspired not a little by the spirit of adventure. They left their homes in New England and New York, where the most of them were born, to better their condition. They had read the wonderful tales which had been told of this splendid country, and came to it to make homes for themselves and their families. They did not at first realize the hardships they would be obliged to undergo, the privations they would have to endure, and the many discouragements that were sure to meet them in every step of their progress. If they had, I believe many of them would have remained at home.

The first thing they had to do upon arriving here was to roll up a log cabin and furnish a place wherein their families could live. But very little furniture could be brought 421 from their old homes; only a very few articles which were most essential could be transported at that time: no chairs, no tables, no bed-steads—nothing but the old traditional feather bed and a meager lot of crockery for the table.

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I remember very well the construction of our log house. Logs were rolled one upon another, and between the logs were put wedges of split oak, filled or "chinked" in with mud from the bank. The floors were made from plank split from oak; and the shingles were turned out in the same manner. The table which we used for many years was made from oak, and the chairs we possessed were simply three-legged stools with plank to cover the three legs; old settlers have a keen recollection of them. In the end of the log house was an old-fashioned chimney, made in the usual manner. It was many years after this log house was constructed, before a frame house was erected in that portion of the county. These old landmarks have now almost wholly disappeared, and with the old pioneers will soon have returned to dust.

The early settlers of Jefferson county, so far as I can remember, were all men of small means. They had but little money. Many of them found it difficult to furnish bread for their families during the time the ground was being cleared and broken in order to produce a crop. The first township organization was Jefferson, including Aztalan, Milford, Lake Mills and Waterloo. At this time, and for several years subsequent, provisions were very high, and the market for the early settlers was Milwaukee, some fifty or more miles distant, with the roads almost impassable. I remember that in the spring of 1838 we got out of provisions, and my father started for Milwaukee for some flour and pork. The weather was unpropitious, the roads were very bad, and after an absence of over three weeks, during which period his family were much alarmed about his safety, he returned; having spent all of his money for just one barrel of flour. This was, before long, nearly all loaned out to the settlers who had not money enough even for their necessary wants. A kindly and fraternal feeling prevailed most emphatically among all the early settlers. There was no fighting, no wrangling. They all agreed and were desirous of helping one another and sustaining one another in whatever they had on hand to do. If one had a barrel of flour or a little pork, he most cheerfully loaned a portion of it to his neighbor, and thus some families were enabled to subsist, that otherwise would certainly have gone hungry.

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It hardly seems possible in this day of plenty to realize the condition of things which then existed. There was a period when the settlers in the vicinity of Lake Mills and Aztalan really suffered from hunger; they were apprehensive that they and their families might starve to death. I remember a meeting held one Sunday, in a log house at Aztalan occupied by Captain Brayton,¹ where the settlers came together to consider this difficult problem which had become to them a serious one: that is, what they were to do for something to eat. At this meeting, the oxen in the settlement, which were about the only beasts of burden, were counted up, and an estimate made as to how long the band of settlers could subsist upon them, in case they should be reduced to that extremity. The question was most carefully and prayerfully considered by the men and women who were present at this meeting. I have seen my father with his head bowed low upon his hands, in deep thought and meditation, and when my mother attempted to arouse him by the inquiry, "Joseph, what is the matter?" he would lift his head and say, "Olive, I know not where we are to get provisions to live upon much longer."

¹ Thomas Brayton, who, with Timothy Johnson, before mentioned, visited Aztalan, October 31, 1836,—the first white men to seek a site for settlement there. Brayton opened a public house for land-hunters and travelers, his family arriving at Aztalan, July 1, 1837. His uncle William, and brothers Jeremiah and Alfred A., soon joined him. In the spring of 1838, Alfred's daughter, Aztaline, was born, and is claimed to have been the first white girl born in that vicinity. Jeremiah lived on the banks of Crawfish river, two miles below Aztalan settlement; his daughter, Louisa M., was the pioneer school-teacher of Madison (see Thwaites's *Hist. Sketch of Public Schools of Madison, Wis.*, p. 67). Alfred A. opened the first store in Aztalan, in 1841.— Ed.

I remember one instance when we were entirely out of provisions of every kind, and my father started in the afternoon for Captain Brayton's, at Aztalan, to see if he could 423 not borrow a few pounds of flour. The sun went down and he had not yet returned; darkness came, and my mother and the children were much worried for fear some accident had

befallen him. He had gone on horseback leaving one horse in the stable. Along about nine o'clock we heard the neighing of a horse in the distance, which was answered by another horse in the stable, and shortly after my father emerged from the opening across the creek and soon reached the door, leading his horse, and from the open door and by the light of the fire which shone through it, we saw something had happened to him. He held in his arms a little bag or bundle, and the first remark he made to my mother was, "Olive, we are ruined." He proceeded to relate that upon his homeward way, in crossing the big slough, his horse had stumbled upon the logs and had thrown him and the bag of flour he carried, into the mire, where horse and rider and flour remained until he could pick himself up. He then grasped the bag of flour and carried it to dry land, the horse following. Thence he wended his way homeward. The flour had been soaked in the slough, and he had reason to think that it was entirely destroyed; but my mother, who always endeavored to comfort him, said that perhaps it was not so bad after all. The horse was put in the log stable, and the flour was brought in and laid upon the floor, and my father and mother and the children gathered around the bag as its strings were unfastened, expecting to find the flour mixed with mud and water. As the top of the bag was opened, sure enough so it appeared, but soon the dough cracked open and inside there appeared good, dry flour. The bag was carefully turned backwards and the dry flour taken out. After all had been secured, then the dough, the result of the mixture of the marsh water with the flour, was carefully scraped off and sacredly preserved and eaten by the family. For a little while we had two kinds of bread upon the table; that made of this mixture I have spoken of, for us children, and the better quality for the older people. But we children did not complain; we were satisfied with it because it would appease our hunger.¹

¹ *Hist. Jefferson Co.*, p. 538.— Ed.

The early settlers were not good huntsmen, nor expert fishermen. They had to learn these high arts by practice. In those days there were no breech-loading arms. If a man could get hold of a flint-lock fusee from an Indian for a little barter, and use that for his gun, he

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was doing exceedingly well. It was a long time before any white man proved himself smart enough to shoot a deer; it was said that because they had the buck fever¹ so badly, their steadiness of nerve was not sufficient to bring down such game, although the woods were filled with it. There were deer in great abundance, prairie chickens, partridges, ducks and geese. At that time there were no quails or rabbits,—I always supposed for the reason that the wolves and foxes destroyed them.

1 Pioneer slang for the species of nervousness engendered in amateur hunters by the sudden appearance of big game.— Ed.

The streams were full of fish. One of the most useful and substantial articles of diet was the sucker, which was found in Rock river, in the Crawfish, and in the lakes, where they could be obtained in wagon loads, almost. Reaching the lake a little late in the fall we of course did not “catch onto” the ways of the fish, but the following spring the great wealth of our lakes and streams was most singularly unfolded to us. Our log house was upon the banks of the stream. A little way from the house was the log stable, and near this stable a small dam had been constructed to raise the water on a level with the banks so the horses could drink more easily. It was spring time. The snow had gone but the ice was not all out of the lake, and the water in the creek was singing merrily as it proceeded on its way. Just at sundown, one day, my younger brother² and myself went to water the horses, and we went to this rise of water above the dam where they were in the habit of drinking. In looking into the stream we discovered that its bottom was literally covered with very large fish. I called out to my elder brother Abe,³ to come there and see what all that meant. He at once took in the situation and ran to the stable, and soon came back with pitchforks, and we commenced sticking

2 Oliver A. Keyes, now of Menasha, born in Northfield. Vt., 1831.— Ed.

3 Abel Keyes, now of Menasha, born in Northfield, Vt., 1822.— Ed.

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425 them into the bodies of the fish. Very soon my father was called, and we all pitchforked those suckers until late in the evening, not desisting until we had secured at least a wheelbarrow full. It was with great satisfaction that my father remarked to my mother, "Now we are all right. There is no danger of starving when we can get plenty of fish, and the indications are, that the supply will be fully equal to the demand." As soon as we could secure a plentiful supply, we had fish for breakfast, fish for dinner and fish for supper, and fish all the time.

We had a young, green fellow, a sort of Pennsylvania Dutchman, who had wandered west, working for my father. He was possessed of an enormous appetite, and he also seemed possessed of great courage, for he never seemed to fear that he might choke himself with fish bones. The rest of us were a little careful upon that point, and looked over our fish with care; but Lawrence Becker had a knack of eating fish that double-discounted ours, and it was popularly said that he could shovel the fish in at one corner of his mouth and the bones would fly out at the other. His skill in this respect was certainly wonderful, and my statements in regard to it are not in the least exaggerated. All of the old settlers will remember that it was a common remark, that they had for so long a time been restricted to a fish diet that they did not make an attempt for months to change their shirts, the fish bones sticking through and preventing such an operation.

It is true that at this time we occasionally got hold of a little of what was called "Hoosier" pork, which found its way up from southern Illinois.¹ The pork, it was said, was made from a class of hogs whose snouts were so long they could reach through the fence and root up the third row of potatoes. The pork was so very poor and lean that we had to catch fish and save fat enough from the latter to fry the pork in. But with this pork and the fish, and corn bread,

¹ It is recorded that a party of land prospectors, in the spring of 1837, paid Mrs. Robert Masters, of Jefferson, \$1 per peck for oats; pork was \$21 and flour \$41 per barrel; cows were worth \$40 per head, and a yoke of oxen would bring \$150.— Ed.

Library of Congress

426 which variety at times constituted our whole bread diet, we managed to get along. As I have said, it was a long time before the settlers got into the knack of procuring game, either venison or the wild fowl, in much quantity.

In this age of luxury and plenty, when scarcely any one goes hungry, or certainly need not, it would seem very strange if the father of the family should, as the members of his household came around the table, be obliged to divide up the food into so many equal parts, and say to each one, "This much you can have and no more;" but in those early times it was practiced frequently, and many times have I known it to be done by my father in his family.

The first settlers in Jefferson county were, I think, in every instance American-born. The great tide of foreign immigration, which, since that time, has set in so strongly westward, had not then begun, and it was a number of years after the first settlers came to Jefferson county before the foreign born sought homes there. The first settlement of Germans was near Jefferson,¹ and the first German girl I ever saw was engaged in my father's family as a domestic.

¹ Germans first arrived at Jefferson in the spring of 1842. Most of the new-comers settled in the village. Among them was John Rockdæschel, the first cobbler in the place— Ed.

She was a girl of good birth and education, who came there and was willing to work in order to learn the English language; and when she had acquired that she returned to her home near Jefferson. That was a period before "hired girls" became an institution. There were no Germans, Norwegians or Irish. There were no girls that sought employment of this character, and if there were any in the settlement who were willing to assist their neighbors in domestic matters, they were daughters of American parents and not ashamed to work out. They were all treated as members of the family, and as a matter of course ate at the first table. In this respect time has changed matters very much indeed.

Library of Congress

Only five years before our settlement in Lake Mills had the Black Hawk war been concluded. Black Hawk and his band were pursued through this section of the Territory by regular troops, by volunteers and by friendly Indians, in 427 greater numbers than he possessed. His stronghold was at the head of Lake Koshkonong, and it was from this stronghold that two young girls named Rachel and Sylvia Hall, who had been stolen by Black Hawk and his band from their parents near Ottawa, Illinois, were ransomed by the payment of \$2,000 by some friendly Winnebagoes, who represented the Indian agent at Galena. In this pursuit, Black Hawk's line of flight was from Lake Koshkonong towards Whitewater, through Bark-river woods, where he crossed the river, not far from Jefferson Junction, and then went on westward through Lake Mills, Cottage Grove and Madison, to the Wisconsin river, where the battle occurred and where the destruction of his band was made almost complete.¹

¹ For account of operations of the Black Hawk war in Wisconsin, in 1832, see early volumes of *Wis. Hist. Colls.* and *Mag. Western Hist.* for Nov. and Dec., 1886.— Ed.

As I have said, only five years had elapsed after the Black Hawk raid when we settled in Lake Mills; and at that time, and for many years afterward, the country was swarming with Indians, mostly Winnebagoes, who were friendly, although at times the settlers were made to feel alarm at the reports which came to them of the murderous intent of the aborigines. Still, no serious injury was ever inflicted by them upon the early settlers of Jefferson county. The Indians seemed to respect our rights—at least were disposed to do so as long as their own rights were respected by the white settlers. At that time they were a splendid race of men, of fine physical proportions, and impressed one very strongly with the nobility of their race. They had not then become demoralized or debased by intercourse with the whites.

A band of Indians dressed in their war paint, once caused me a terrible fright. We were surprised in the forenoon by a caller at our house, and my mother, when she came to take account of stock, found that she had neither tea nor coffee; so it was decided that I should

Library of Congress

go to the nearest neighbor, about a mile and a half distant, to see if I could borrow a small quantity of one of these articles. When about a half mile from the house I espied in the path before me a dozen or more Indians. As they had also seen me, it was of no use to retreat and therefore I made up my mind to go ahead. As I came alongside of these stalwart fellows, I noticed that they had formed some plan in reference to myself, and they commenced trying to pull me off the pony, jabbering and insisting that it was their pony; but I stuck to the animal, not believing that they had any serious intention of doing me an injury. After they had frolicked with me as long as they wished, they allowed me to break away from them, and I put my pony to the top of his speed. One of the Indians chased me a long distance, and he being able to outrun the pony, when he got near enough he would bend upon one knee and point his gun at me, and the powder would flash in the pan without doing me any injury. It was, however, enough to frighten me almost to death. Finally, he tired of the fun and I proceeded on my way, and succeeded in borrowing enough coffee for a drawing and returned home, where I found the Indians. My brother asked the leader what their intentions were in regard to me, and he said they did not intend to hurt me; they simply wanted to frighten the little papoose.

Quite a trade was carried on with the Indians by the settlers, and many a fine piece of venison was secured, or a package of valuable furs, for a very small sum. That which they most sought after was whisky, and it was that which no honest settler would ever deal out to them, because it was only when maddened by fire-water that they became at all dangerous; therefore, it was for this very prudent reason that there was scarcely ever a white man found, in our section, mean enough to sell it to them.

Those of the settlers who became domiciled in the fall of 1837 were prepared in the spring of 1838 to spade or break up a patch of ground, and to plant potatoes and other vegetables to a small extent, which proved of great assistance. At first there was very little sickness; but as the land became broken up and otherwise improved, fevers, particularly ague fever, prevailed very generally, and I presume there is not an old settler living in Jefferson county who has not had some terrible experience with the "shakes" which he

Library of Congress

will 429 never forget. The change from east to west was a striking one in many respects. The climate was different; the water and the food were very different. I know there was one trouble from which nearly all of the old settlers suffered, which was attributed to a variety of causes. It was a disease that was never known to prove fatal, though it was very annoying and frequently productive of a good deal of profanity; but it had to be endured as patiently as possible, for, as I remember, there were no means ever discovered to cure it. It really had to wear itself out. I allude to that old affliction which the old settlers certainly cannot have forgotten, known as prairie itch. It was very amusing at times to see a whole family out around a log house, leaning against the butt ends of the logs, scratching first one shoulder and then the other, reaching points that they could not easily touch with their hands. One mill-hand whom we had at work for us, had this thing lay hold of him most savagely. He said he never was so happy, never felt so well in his life, as he did when he stood before a rousing fire at night time and could scratch.

In those early days, dogs were reasonably plenty and cats correspondingly scarce. A good cat was worth a five-dollar bill. It is true there were not many mice in the country at that time; perhaps none, except a few that had found a quiet corner in some box of goods, and thus been brought from the east. Still, the women could not be perfectly happy unless they had a cat. I remember the great interest which centered around the first one we possessed, which was a beautiful animal, and there was great strife between the members of the household to see who should have the cat for a sleeping companion. In the cold weather, the fur of the cat was very comfortable.

In the winter of 1838–39, a young topographical engineer, who surveyed the road from Madison to Milwaukee by way of Lake Mills, was a member of our family, and while there he spent a good deal of his time making maps of his surveys of the road. He became very much attached to this cat, and he would catch it in his arms in the early evening and go up the ladder to bed among the first, so that he could 430 monopolize the cat. This man afterwards, as years rolled one, became well known throughout the country. He

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was a general in the army of the Union during the war of the rebellion, and afterwards a prominent federal official in Chicago. I allude to Gen. J. D. Webster.

As I have said, the utmost good feeling prevailed among all of the early settlers. Any note of trouble, any sound of alarm, any call for assistance, no matter what it might be, was responded to with alacrity. I remember on one cold winter night, when the dogs were barking, there sounded from the openings a loud halloo! My father dressed himself, and going to the door answered it. Very soon a man appeared, to arouse our household. He said that old Uncle John Atwood¹ was lost; it was feared that he might have been frozen to death, and he must be found and cared for. He was the oldest man in the neighborhood. He had gone out in the day-time and had wandered too far and could not retrace his steps. A general search was instituted, and after a while he was found and returned to his log-cabin home. He had the discretion, on finding a hay-stack a mile or more away, to stick to it until he heard the calls of those in search. I know it created quite an excitement at that time, for fear he was lost and frozen to death.

¹ E. L. Atwood settled in the town of Lake Mills in May, 1837, being joined by his sisters, —Elvira and Ann,—in July, 1838. In October following, their parents, Mr. and Mrs. John Atwood, arrived, with other members of the family. This settlement of the old people, in what is now the town of Lake Mills, was almost identical with the arrival of the Keyes family in what afterwards became the village. Mrs. John Atwood died in November, 1845.— Ed.

The Winnebagoes under the treaty² had no right in Jefferson county and this portion of the state, but still they lingered. They hated to leave the land of their fathers.

² Of Sept. 15, 1832, at Rock Island, by which the Winnebagoes ceded to the United States all the lands to which they laid claim “south and east of the Wisconsin river and the Fox river of Green Bay.” There being some doubt raised, in later years, as to the extent of this ceded tract, a treaty with the Winnebagoes was concluded at Washington—proclaimed

Library of Congress

June 16, 1838—by which the “Winnebago nation of Indians ceded to the United States all their land east of the Mississippi river.”— Ed.

431 They refused to go. In 1841 a company of United States dragoons, about a hundred strong, passed through Jefferson county, camping over night on the lake near the mills, gathering up all the Indians they could find. I had never before seen such an organized army. They appeared very formidable. Their mission was accomplished and a large number of Indians were removed, although stragglers continued to return.

1 *Hist. Jefferson Co.*, p. 323.— Ed.

I cannot forbear to mention a class of noble men who followed the pioneers in their first settlement of Jefferson county. I have reference to the men known as Methodist circuit riders. Where they came from no one knew; but they were earnest men of God, determined to carry the gospel into the wilderness, and our log house was hardly ready for occupancy before one of them appeared at our door asking shelter and the privilege of holding services therein, which was granted. I remember one, Elder Hollister by name, who came there tired and hungry, and asked for something to eat. My mother had nothing in the house but enough buckwheat flour to make one batch of cakes, which was made for him and which he ate. I shall never cease to have respect for that class of men, and I shall always cherish their memory. The quarterly meetings were frequently held in our log house, and in due time a Methodist church society was organized,² and it was a long time before any other denomination put in an appearance. The Methodist minister of those early days went at his work in a direct, forcible way. He struck from the shoulder. He preached the gospel and that alone. There were no side issues. The Bible was his text book, his guide and his friend.

2 *Hist. Jefferson Co.* says that the society was Organized in 1844, with Mrs. Ann Millard, Stephen Faville, Alpheus Faville, John Johnston, George Baker, Thomas Darcy and Oscar Bowman as the first communicants; but Colonel Keyes says that quarterly meetings were held as early as 1843, in his father's house, and that there was some sort of organization

Library of Congress

in that year. For several years the congregation met for prayer, in dwellings or the school house. In 1854, they built their first church, at a cost of \$1,800. The Congregational church was not organized in Lake Mills until 1847, the Moravian until 1856 and the Baptist until 1869.— Ed.

432

For several years after the first settlements, all that heads of families thought of was to make provision for the support of their families. The idea of getting rich hardly entered their minds; and I never knew of any old pioneer who ever became very rich. It is a fact, so far as I have observed, that the later crop of pioneers reap the golden harvest. The first ones sow and the ones that come later reap.

It is greatly to be regretted that so little interest is maintained in the old pioneers by the general public. It seems to me as though they are looked upon as a set of old fogies, whose day and generation have passed away, while they are of no further use to mankind. They are not revered as they should be, by those who have come after them. It is true that there is very little respect shown for—old things old methods. The world has gone forward with such a mighty rush Since the first settlement of this country; such wonderful changes have taken place; such great progress has been made in almost everything, that perhaps it is natural that the present generation should look with more or less contempt upon everything that is old, even including old pioneers.

At that time, all told, there were only a few thousand settlers within the limits of Wisconsin Territory, and they very much scattered, with very poor means of communication.¹ When we came to this country the screech of the locomotive was unknown here. The telegraph had not been invented; and many other kindred things, which have been brought to light for the benefit of mankind, were sleeping in the brains of their inventors at that period. Then, but few organized communities were to be found within the borders of what is now Wisconsin. Now, over a thousand towns exercise, according to a well-ordered system, the

Library of Congress

functions of local government. Then, only a few settlers could band together for defense against Indian depredations. To day, Wisconsin

1 The population of the Territory as shown by the census taken in May, 1838, was 18,139; Jefferson county contained but 468 of this number. In 1836, the Territory contained but 11,683 souls.—(*Wis. Blue Book*, 1887, p. 316.) — Ed.

433 could, at the call of her country,—at the first alarm of public danger,—draw from her fields, her workshops and halls of learning, and put into the field, a larger army than the combined forces that contended at Waterloo. Today, Wisconsin as a state has a military history in which is written the deeds of valor of an hundred thousand men whose bravery on a hundred bloody fields sheds imperishable luster on the citizen-soldiery of the republic. Then, a few rude mission houses testified that the faithful disciple was doing his Master's work. To-day, there is scarcely a prairie or hillside where the church cannot be seen. Then, scarcely a school-house could be found in the state. To-day, over six thousand dot our landscapes, costing nearly five million dollars, and the cost has scarcely been felt by the builders. Nearly half a million happy school children are acquiring knowledge to fit them for the duties of citizenship. In these few years we have built up an educational system second to none in the Union.

The growth of Wisconsin, thus briefly alluded to, is simply that of our whole country. The state has grown, in this period, from a mere handful of resolute pioneers to over a million and a half of people; from a few cabins to stately cities, where the roar of commerce is never still; from a few trails through forest and prairie, to thousands of miles of highways, where the vast procession of industry, with increasing tread, gives no rest to the ground, —and four thousand miles of railway, along which the gigantic currents of trade and commerce continuously pour; from here and there a corn field planted by the hardy settler, to over five million acres of arable land, divided into thousands upon thousands of farms, enclosed and tilled with every appliance of skill. Our commerce has grown from the insignificant traffic in furs, and the product of a few lead mines, to many millions of dollars per annum. Our manufactories have grown from perhaps a dozen rude saw-mills, by the

Library of Congress

side of our streams, to nine thousand factories and mills, producing manufactured articles worth over thirty millions of dollars.

This retrospect of fifty years of life in Wisconsin, as I glance back on memory's pages, presents to my mind a most 28 434 wonderful view. Language is wholly inadequate to give expression to my feelings, and I shall not make the attempt. The full summing up of the great subject cannot be done in a paper of this length. A few words more, and I have done.

To the old settlers of Jefferson county, I extend my good right hand in fraternal union. I feel a strong degree of kinship with them all. I love them and I venerate them. Had I space or time, I would give some of them more than a general passing notice. I see many of them now, "in my mind's eye," as they appeared in those years long ago—strong and hopeful in their noble manhood, the founders of a great state, the landmarks of its mighty progress. The impress of their work shall last forever.

I cannot close without paying a heartfelt tribute to the memory of the wives of the old settlers—the mothers of men now prominent in affairs throughout this splendid galaxy of states in the valley of the Mississippi, created out of the old Northwest Territory; with an abiding faith, with a courage that never faltered—inspired by the fortitude of the true Christian—they were fit to be ordained of God as the life companions of the old pioneers. In sickness and in health, in sunshine and in storm; fulfilling every obligation, they stood forth among the noblest of their sex. Alas, they are gone, but there lingers still the fond recollection.

A little longer and the last of the pioneer band will have passed over the silent river to the great beyond. While any remain let us do them honor, and when all are gone let them be remembered in story and in song as long as time shall last.

ALEXANDER MITCHELL, THE FINANCIER.

BY JAMES D. BUTLER.¹

Library of Congress

1 Condensed from a memorial address delivered by Dr. Butler, upon invitation of the Society, at the annual meeting held January 5, 1888.— Ed.

It was near the first summer days of 1839 that Alexander Mitchell first saw Milwaukee. He came thither to serve as secretary of an insurance company, so called. The first proof discoverable of his presence in that village of perhaps twelve hundred people, and which contained no frame-house more than five years old, is a ten line advertisement in *The Advertiser* of June 15th. In this he notifies the insurance stockholders that a payment of \$10 on each of their shares must be made on the 1st of August, at the company's office in Milwaukee. On the 13th of August *The Sentinel*, then beginning its third year, inserted the following notice:

Insurance .—The Wisconsin Marine and Fire Insurance Company have commenced business in Milwaukee, and are ready to enter into contracts of insurance at low rates of premium. The company will also receive money on deposit, and transact other moneyed operations in which by their charter they are allowed to engage. * * *

Alex. Mitchell , *Secretary* .

Such, amid an office outfit costing \$280.44, was the birth of an institution that was for more than a decade the only bank in Wisconsin,—which for a generation held in its vaults a third of the Milwaukee deposits, and which gave Alexander Mitchell a colossal fortune as well as more than national fame as a financier. Accordingly the rise and progress of this establishment, if we can pluck out the heart of its mystery, will reveal to us where lay the great strength of the financier we now commemorate.

What manner of company was it for which Mr. Mitchell was secretary? It was in fact a bank, with all which that 436 name implies, yet it shunned the name of bank. It was a concern cunningly devised by George Smith,—a Scotch farmer, who had reached Chicago

Library of Congress

in 1834 with a view of purchasing farming lands. Friends of his who were bankers soon joined him, and turned his mind towards banking.

But all parties in Illinois were crying. "Down with the banks!" the name bank was everywhere spoken against, and a banker was as hateful as a mad-dog. Many of the settlers had been driven west by the collapse of eastern banks, and all of them had in their pockets rag-money of western institutions which was not worth the paper it was printed on.

So great, however, was the need of some circulating medium that every man became himself a bank, and issued tickets inscribed "good for a drink," or a "shave," or a "pound of tea." "Men will their broken weapons rather use than their bare hands." The necessity of the community was Smith's opportunity. An insurance charter granted him in Illinois, while denying banking privileges in bulk, conferred some of them in detail. He procured certificates of deposit engraved by the Boston Bank Note Co. with promise of payment on demand. These papers he put forth as banks do their notes, and never failed to redeem his issues the moment they were presented for payment.

Success in Illinois turned Smith's eyes toward new-born Wisconsin. In that Territory the legislature met at Madison for the first time, in December, 1838. In the legislative council there was then Daniel Wells, a Milwaukee friend of Smith. To him Smith betook himself. "I know," said he, "the name *bank* is as hateful in your region as a king was in Rome when Brutus would have brooked the eternal devil to keep his state there as easily as a king. The name is a bug. bear they detest, but the thing is a boon they need and will welcome. I will sugar the pill and it will prove sweet and of sovereign virtue to your body politic. Get me then a charter with franchises as like a bank as you can, but call it what you will." Wells drew up an insurance bill—modeled, as he informed the council, on one that had been enacted in New York for forming a corporation in Utica.

Library of Congress

This act allowed the company, besides insuring on ship and shore, to receive money on deposit, give certificates, loan on the same terms as individuals, and employ its surplus capital in the purchase of stock or other moneyed operations, "provided nothing herein contained shall give banking privileges."

Smith's charter,—though some anti-bank men feared a cat hid under the meal,—passed the legislature and was approved by the governor, on the last of February, 1839. Early in May, subscriptions to its stock were invited in Milwaukee, and \$101,300 were at once subscribed. It was voted that the salary of the secretary of the new-born nondescript should be \$1,100. To fill the secretaryship, Smith had a Scot ready in Chicago whom he had just imported, namely, Alexander Mitchell.

Alexander Mitchell, born in October, 1817, at Mill Fortrie,—a farm some dozen miles northwest of Scotch Aberdeen,—was a farmer's boy, and never attended any school save that in his native parish. On leaving the school-house he may have done some farm work, but when little more than half through his teens he had become a law student in an office at Aberdeen,—the population of which was already nearly sixty thousand. Two years afterward, he appears in a bank at Peterhead,—a town of scarcely five thousand souls—a score of miles north of the city where he had plodded in legal elements.

In these years of juvenile training, some germs of his characteristics in manhood must have been manifest, for he had scarcely reached his majority when, on the recommendation of an Aberdeen legal firm, Adam & Anderson, he was invited to America by George Smith, with the promise of a position there. Had they not seen in him signs of financial genius, they would not have recommended him, for the money with which Smith operated was largely theirs.

In 1839, the Scotch novice, not yet twenty-two, and, thanks to ruddy cheeks and a mild blue eye, looking still younger, appeared to Milwaukeeans too young and inexperienced to be trusted with a paid-up capital of fifty thousand dollars. When his safe was landed from

Library of Congress

the steamer some of them 438 were doubtless confident that in the way of bargain and trade they could unhoard for themselves the cash he had brought.

Smith had measured his man more justly. He saw him to be so far from either knave or fool that, in his single self, he was a match for a host of Yankees, up to every thing down to every thing in their speculative devices. Smith's practice showed his faith. From first to last he left every thing in the hands of him whom he held to be as shrewd as honest, as honest as firm, and whose face, or rather chin, proclaimed him to be as firm as an English mastiff.

The Caledonian stripling, whose nationality was betrayed in every word of his tongue, was as reticent and taciturn as if he wished to hide his origin. His spruce but not costly attire, and particularly a very long-tailed dress-coat, and pantaloons of Scotch plaid, were a theme of sportive remark. He lodged in his office, swept it himself, and was his own factotum. He went little into society and was seldom seen abroad.

Whoever had business with the new-comer found him at his post, and what is more, with insight into the standing and understanding of every man, as well as the value of all property, no less than if he had been to the manner born. One secret of this strange omniscience was the fact that he boarded at the house of Smith's friend Wells, whose knowledge ran over the whole region and back to its settlement, and whose judgment equaled his knowledge. Mr. Mitchell had "Bradstreet's Reports" before Bradstreet was born.

Forewarned, forearmed. Many a sharper, who called, thinking to fleece the green Sandy, went away saying, with Falstaff, when Master Dumbleton would not take his bond, "A rascally yea-forsooth knave, to bear a man in hand and then to stand upon security. I had as lief they would put rat's bane in my mouth as offer to stop it with security." But, no matter what the importunity,

Library of Congress

“Distinction with a broad and powerful fan, Puffing at all winnowed the chaff away.”

The Smith insurance company, to save appearances, issued a few policies against accidents by fire and flood, but its 439 principal dealings were of another nature. Multitudes were then first seeking farms west of Lake Michigan rather than amid the agues of Indiana. Homesteads ought to have been free to such a yeomanry. In fact payment was exacted by the government for every acre, and that in advance,—yes, at times in gold and silver. Such payment many settlers could not make, and yet if once masters of a farm, their labor would soon double its value,—while its unearned increment, resulting from the growth of the country, often swelled to ten times its original cost. Much of the Mitchell business very naturally became buying such farms as incomers had picked out, under contract to deed them to such incomers at the end of four years, or sooner, at a moderate advance upon the government price.

Thanks to the intermediary purchaser, hundreds obtained a start in life otherwise impossible. Their debt to him in this regard is still held in grateful remembrance at many a farmer's fireside.

Another branch of the Mitchell business which soon became gigantic was issuing certificates of deposit. The date of the earliest output cannot be ascertained. About six months after he opened his office, that is in March, 1840, the amount in circulation was less than five thousand dollars (\$4,819). But within ten years it had run up to a full million, and for years after it still grew. These certificates had the similitude of bank-notes, they were of silk paper, and were engraved by Durand & Co., New York. They bore on the left an Indian, and on the right a female figure pointing to something on a shield. They promised payment on demand, and they never failed to be paid on presentation.

This was more than could be said for any bank-notes that had ever been put forth, either in Wisconsin or in the neighboring states, or by any bank in New York, except the Chemical.

Library of Congress

Wisconsin pioneers here encountered money from Indiana or Illinois or of banks chartered by Michigan. Some money-factories were said to be based on bed rock because required to keep a large percentage of specie on hand and to be frequently inspected. Every silver dollar was soon so 440 manipulated that it did duty in ten banks. The inspector would see it to day in bank A, but it would be spirited away to bank B before the bank official could arrive there, and so, through all the bank alphabet, it still outstripped the inspector. Hard money had become as ubiquitous as the ghost of the royal Dane which, bowever Hamlet shifted his ground, after every remove still cried out to him from the cellarage, till Hamlet exclaimed, "O day and night, but this is wondrous strange, that the old mole, true penny, can work under ground so fast."

Banks were naturally a bad odor in all nostrils. When a Crow Indian first saw lucifer matches, he lighted one after another and used up a box before becoming satisfied that he could thus produce fire. Those who took the first Mitchell certificates made as many trials of their ability To get gold for paper. But his works wrought faith in a crowd ever increasing and over an area ever widening. As early as 1841 some of his paper turned up in La Porte, Indiana, where no convertible money was then in circulation. A hundred dollars of these new comers were gathered up from incredulous holders, and a messenger was dispatched to Smith's Chicago redemption office. His prompt return with the gold—dollar for dollar—was a miracle which not a little increased faith in Milwaukee paper, and so gave it wings to fly faster and further.

La Porte is one specimen of a hundred outside of Wisconsin, and many more inside of it, showing how the Mitchell silver certificates supplied a pressing need, won confidence, and were more and more sought for.

Thus all things worked together for good to the Scotch adventurer. Though he did not admit that he had a bank at all, he had all its parts,—and what was more, his was the only bank in a region twice as large as Scotland. When a scathing sermon against high interest

Library of Congress

had been preached somewhere in New England, and the hearers had obtained a copy for the press, the arch-usurer of the place offered to pay half the expense.

Indeed, he said to the author: "Preach more such sermons, and still more sharply; I will pay for printing them 441 all. Choke off everybody—but me!" Still better was the luck of Mitchell. Without his lifting a finger all competitors were legally expelled from Wisconsin for thirteen years. The best was, that his enjoyment of this monopoly included the decade of most rapid advancement ever witnessed in Wisconsin, or in any other state with one brief exception. Between 1840 and 1850, the populational growth of Wisconsin was from less than 31,000 to over 300,000; in exact figures 886 8 10 per cent. In all the decades of our thirty-eight states, the only instance of a larger percentage of increase was in Minnesota, from 1850 to 1860. Thus, measured by population, the need of banking facilities in 1841 was double what it had been the year before, while each of the nine years following added an equal increment to that need.

The Mitchell business grew still faster. The hour had come and the man. He saw his opportunity and made the most of it. His deposits,—say rather silver certificates,—which in 1840 were but \$6,000, within a dozen years had augmented to a million and a half.

His success was so enviable that others undertook to tread in his steps. It turned out, however, that following his wisest movements proved as foolish for them as Pharaoh's following the Israelites into the Red sea was for him. Within his circle none might walk but he.

Within fourteen years the institution— call it what you will—in Which he as clerk had been paid less than a hundred dollars a months—was all his own—Smith, with all the home-keeping Scots who had backed him, was bought out— all the shares and the prestige of the establishment—all had become Mitchell's.

Let it not be supposed that our banker, though monarch of all he surveyed, had been walking a primrose path. There were many so-called *runs* which rushed upon him like

Library of Congress

torrents or cataracts. Panics, fomented by distant rivals or by neighbors who hoped to rise by his ruin, would seize depositors. Then steamers would suddenly land crowds, all calling for coin. Still larger swarms from the country would throng in. In 1849, Chicago and Detroit combined 442 to crush the only formidable opposition their bankers encountered in the Northwest. Whatever Mitchell certificates the conspirators could accumulate were concentrated for payment in Milwaukee on the day after Thanksgiving, simultaneously with the announcement that Smith's bank—the Chicago fountain of all the Mitchell monetary streams—had shut up. The report appalled Wisconsin depositors like thunder in a clear sky. But Mr. Mitchell denied its truth, hurried swift riders to Chicago, so that Smith expressed specie by both land and lake, while Mitchell paid up all comers till banking hours were over, and then made his cashier, David Ferguson, keep on paying till bed-time. Even at this crisis money came in as well as went out. People laughed at their own fright when they learned that Smith's bank had been closed on no week day but Thanksgiving. The raid blew over, leaving nine-tenths of the certificates still outstanding. Mr. Mitchell's strategy was on the inside track, and interior line. Nothing heightened his prestige more than these cyclones, which proved him to be invincible.

As the gunner's assurance that his cannon will not burst becomes doubly sure when he has seen the toughness of the piece proved by a double charge, so the confidence of depositors in the Scotchman redoubled after every attempt to shake his credit. Moreover, such assaults, like the persecutions of primitive Christians, made his principles and practices known and talked about everywhere. They were the best advertisement of the only house in Wisconsin where any amount of paper could be turned into gold in a trice. As if with foresight that every other advertisement would be superfluous, the only indication in newspapers of Mr. Mitchell's business in 1840, was these four lines:¹

¹ Facsimile, from The *Milwaukee Advertiser*, Dec. 26, 1840.— Ed.

WISCONSIN Marine and Fire Insurance Company . Office on Wisconsin street, second door below the Post Office, Milwaukee.

Library of Congress

The business of the financial immigrant was forced to run another gantlet besides those contrived to plague him by stock speculators or by competitors actual or prospective. 443 In every legislative session measures were set on foot for stopping his transactions as illegal. The legislature and the insurance secretary resembled the two knights who fell a fighting about the color of a shield which one saw to be white and the other to be as plainly black—each seeing Only one side of it. Both were wrong, and both were right. The law-makers affirmed that he had usurped banking privileges which they had refused him, and would never allow to any body. In 1845 their judiciary committee reported that the charter of his corporation ought to be declared void, and that thus in their own words, “that soulless being might be brought to a lively sense of its duties, and behold its enormous iniquities.” In the first days of 1846 his franchise was annulled by a large majority. At that time and in every succeeding year until the general banking law came into operation, attempts were made to bankrupt him by putting his affairs into the hands of a receiver, or otherwise, and in certain emergencies his overthrow seemed inevitable.

But, from first to last, the insurance manager declared that his company had not transcended what they had been assured by the ablest counsel were their just powers, that, as their charter expired in 1868, it was a vested right which could not be taken away before that date, yet that he would cheerfully submit to a legal decision of the point in question. When the legislature had vacated his charter, he put forth a manifesto that his rights were not affected, nor would his business be interrupted, but his notes would continue to be redeemed in Milwaukee, Chicago, Galena, St. Louis, Detroit and Cincinnati. He did not feel it incumbent on him, “dividing a hair twixt south and southwest side”—to reconcile the contradictory clauses in his charter. It closed with a proviso so vague that it was perhaps nugatory. Or that clause was repeated in so many acts as to mean nothing in any of them, like the compliments at the end of a business letter. Or it seemed as absurd as the provisos so frequent in early Illinois statutes, that educational institutions should never have any theological department.

Library of Congress

In the long run, legislative opposition rather helped than 444 hindered him. It was not so sure of its ground as to venture upon a legal contest. It ran counter to the popular sentiment that there was no living without Mitchell's certificates, which had always been as good as gold, a more reliable currency than any before them, or any known in neighboring states, or than Wisconsin knew how to secure in their stead.

The result was that prohibition did not prohibit. It took from the people what had become as needful, not only as whisky and tobacco, but as daily bread. The Solons who had vacated Mitchell's charter but saw him keep the even tenor of his way, would have used Macbeth's words, if they could, to utter their wonder:

"The time has been That when the brains were out the man would die, And there an end, but now they rise again."

Acts were drawn up declaring the certificates of no legal value, and imposing a five-dollar fine for every one that was taken in or paid out—that is on all traffic that was not barter. If passed, these acts would have sunk into innocuous desuetude. The truth was the government was cutting off the limb which it stood on itself. Its expenses were paid by the United States, but not till many months after they had been incurred. Meantime, after their fiscal agent had been unable to obtain loans in Illinois and Missouri, they were forced to borrow of Mr. Mitchell. As early as 1841 they owed him \$16,873.01, and were glad to pay him ten per cent. No where else could they get so good money and on such easy terms.

In legislation as elsewhere extremes meet. After fourteen anti bank years, an act of 1852 authorized what was styled free-banking, and flooded the country with bank paper much of which became worthless and was justly branded as "wildcat," and "stump-tail." When this general act came in force, Mr. Mitchell called in his circulation, paying gold, unless its equivalent was preferred, for every dollar. Then, adding the monosyllable "Bank" to his insurance title, he formed the first banking institution in Milwaukee, as Mr. Marshall had formed the first one in the state at Madison. 445 At this juncture of transformation,

Library of Congress

the vast amount a float,—running up into millions,—would have tempted many a financier to repudiation. No one suspected Mr. Mitchell of such a thought. Host bonds and bank bills depreciated; his promises never did. They were a bond lighter than air, but they were stronger than iron. The wisdom and honesty which had marked his career in the pre bank era, with the reputation and wealth then acquired, enabled him afterward, for thirty-three years, to stand easily first and foremost among all the bankers who during that generation have arisen in the northwest.

The head of a bank has a sort of resemblance to a Catholic priest when hearing confessions. No man could read men who kneeled at his confessional better than Mr. Mitchell. He knew whom to trust. He could discern the industrious, energetic, persevering and honest. His discounts were in furtherance of men who were thus characterized. Who can overrate what Milwaukee owes him for thus building up commercial virtues in her men of affairs?

Early in our civil war, Mr. Mitchell, in advocating, if not suggesting, the issue of state bonds, not only as sinews of war but to prop up the sinking credit of Wisconsin banks, was more efficient than any other individual. But this expedient, though a great medicine, in the last years of the war had lost its efficacy. Our state bonds, not salable in New York, were discredited everywhere. All men's hearts failed them. But a panacea for the panic was produced by our monarch of financial mind. His bidding was: "Oblige insurance companies to add Wisconsin bonds to their securities!" His hint was taken. Each company was in a hurry to buy those bonds in order to buy them cheap. Competition brought them up to par, and the bank foundation stood sure.

Some one will say: "In propping up our banks he propped up his own." So does a pilot who saves a ship's company save his own life, yet we praise him none the less. Moreover, his bank needed propping less than any other, partly because his securities were mainly United States bonds. Where others had \$700,000 at stake he had only \$10,000.

Library of Congress

Genius has been defined, a capacity to excel in whatever one undertakes with all the heart, and those most intimate with Mr. Mitchell pronounce him in this sense a genius. But whatever may have been his general aptitudes, the special bent of his mind was towards financiering. As a financier he showed at his fullest and best.

As a financier, in congress, during the two terms of his service there, his influence was powerful and most salutary in thwarting a quasi-repudiation of the national debt, and measures tending to impair the national credit. Had not President Hayes been counted in, Mr. Mitchell might have been invited to administer the national finances.

No less noteworthy was his service to the school-fund. His giving school-books for a score of years to all Milwaukee children of poor families (a charity which is continued by his son) is much spoken of. This educative help was a trifle to what he rendered by his influence in making the investment of the state school-fund more safe.

Mr. Mitchell was for six years president of our Society. In the exercise of his right to do what he would with his own, he was not so munificent to us as we hoped he would be. Nevertheless he gave us more money than has thus far come to us from any other man, and helped us in other ways. It is held by many of his friends that he had in mind large bequests for us and the public, but that his purposes in this regard were changed by a serious disaster near the close of his life.

The railway enterprises, which shared with banking the last third of his life, merely gave new and wider scope for the workings of his financial genius.

In the railway world what did he accomplish? Railroad building in Wisconsin dates from 1849, but fourteen years thereafter its principal lines were bankrupt, fragmentary, and what was worse, "dissevered, discordant, belligerent," and worst of all for Milwaukee, they were on the point of coming under the North Western, which would have sucked the abundance

Library of Congress

of Wisconsin from every corner between lake and river, and poured it into Chicago, leaving Milwaukee bereaved of the commerce of its own state.

447

To avert such a consummation, to secure for Milwaukee her own back country—to turn the railroad chaos into a cosmos—one whole consolidated of parts harmonious and helpful, was the high aim of Mr. Mitchell. For this end he obtained the mastery of a nucleus which developed into the St. Paul road, and added to it the Watertown and Horicon. which he already controlled. By this movement nearly the whole business of these lines was brought into Milwaukee, instead of being diverted, as before, at Milton and Minnesota Junction. Next, securing the Prairie du Chien and McGregor Western, he extended that line northward in 1867 to St. Paul and Minneapolis. He thus made the name of his road, the St. Paul, no longer a misnomer, and completed the first bond of iron connecting the twin cities of the northwest with Milwaukee and Chicago. His consolidation of Wisconsin roads and concentration of them in Milwaukee, he was on the point of supplementing by the purchase of the line from Milwaukee to Chicago. This purpose being thwarted by eastern directors, the connections of his system with Chicago were at the mercy of a rival company. Hence he was forced to construct a line of his own by an inferior route from Milwaukee to that metropolis. Had his advice been taken on another occasion, his road would many years ago have penetrated through the lumber belt of Wisconsin to Lake Superior, and would have been enriched by a land-grant in that direction.

From the Chicago base, by purchase and construction, he extended his line west to Omaha, southwest to Kansas City, as well as to Missouri river points northward. Buying the river road up from La Crosse he completed the best avenue, and that with many branches, to the great cities of the north. Pushing westward from Milwaukee into Dakota, he laid a thousand miles of track in that territory largely in advance of settlement—but still more largely promotive of it. He foresaw the infinite capabilities of that region so clearly that he could not help acting on his convictions.

Library of Congress

The road of which he became president and all those it successively absorbed, had before been failures,—their notes gone to protest, their floating debts unmanageable. 448 Thanks to his cash and credit, they all obtained cash and credit. Their paper was no more dishonored in any way. We have reason to apply to him Webster's words concerning Hamilton, another Alexander: "He touched the dead corpse of their credit, and it sprang on its feet. The fabled birth of Minerva from the brain of Jove was hardly more sudden or more perfect than the St. Paul financial system as it burst forth from the conception of Alexander Mitchell."

Financially, he stood behind his road in every emergency, and at times its overdrafts on his bank were very large. Several of its purchases and extensions, which he carried out, were master strokes of policy. Others which he proposed, but was not permitted to execute, it was ultimately seen would have been equally wise. Among minor railway aids in his last years, he advanced \$700,000 in procuring the terra firma for the new Milwaukee station, which he never entered alive. As one result of his railroad policy Milwaukee, and the whole state, were built up from a state of depression, and started on a career of prosperity which still continues.

His monetary circulating medium facilitated every trade made in Wisconsin during one decade. During two others, his medium of transportation increased the value of every bushel of grain raised in more than one state, and doubled the amount raised.

The nature of his railway relations did not allow him much meeting with subordinates, yet they believed in his kindly feeling, and reciprocated it. This was shown, after his death, by an Irish section hand who said: "He stood well in the St. Paul, may he stand as well with St. Peter!"

Mr. Mitchell's training was in Scotland. But as manhood drew near, he resembled an eaglet getting wings and feeling the nest too narrow and low for his soaring spirit. No new bank has been chartered in his native land since he was a clerk there. No opening befitting

Library of Congress

his yearnings there existed. If his financial faculties were not to rust in him unused, he must betake himself to a foreign arena.

Coming to our northwest, Alexander, the Caledonian, secured a vantage-ground analogous to that gained by Alexander, 449 the Macedonian, when, impatient at being pent up in Greece, he passed into Asia and acted his part on an inter-continental theater. As the blood more stirs to rouse a lion than to start a hare, both Alexanders, in virtue of a grander environment, made more of themselves than they would if forever kept in circumscription and confine. They also achieved more for others. The ancient Alexander diffused some tincture of Grecian culture throughout the barbarian orient. The modern Alexander laid the corner-stone of intelligent, honest and stable banking in as grand an occident, and then shot through its recesses lines of travel and traffic which made the wilderness to rejoice, roads radiating more than electric light, and darting from far cities to far cities, a sort of shuttles that weave them into closer and closer union. When he told the aunt by whom after his mother's death he was brought up, that he meant to be a laird, his childish ideal was thought high, but it was a low level compared to his accomplishment.

The great Wisconsin event of 1839 was the chartering of the Milwaukee and Rock River canal. The enactment of it, as published in Milwaukee, was headed, "Hang out the banner on the outer wall," and the Fourth of July was celebrated there by breaking ground for that canal. On that occasion the third volunteer toast was: "Internal improvements—bonds of union. May they soon join east and west Wisconsin!" This toast was by Alexander Mitchell. When I had raked this incident out of the dusty oblivion of an old newspaper, I rejoiced over it as an unconscious foreshadowing of his mammoth railway marvels, spreading civilization a thousand miles west of Milwaukee. The sentiment was all this, but in fact it was offered by another Alexander Mitchell—an engineer on the proposed canal. Its author, however, in extolling internal improvements builded wiser than he knew. His words describing the sluggish and slender waterways he had in mind, have little meaning. But their significance becomes sublime when viewed as prophetic of the St. Paul street of steel longer than from here to Scotland, and showing such a mode of shaving the earth as the

Library of Congress

29 450 eagle with wings wide-waving can scarcely accomplish in the air. These streets of steel, and the bank which was their basis, that leave no corner of Wisconsin untouched,—yes, that are longer and broader than any state,—are the monument of Alexander Mitchell. He needs no other monument.

THE BOUNDARIES OF WISCONSIN.

BY THE EDITOR.

Wisconsin having been the fifth and last commonwealth formed out of the old Northwest Territory, and obliged to content herself with the remains after the dowries of her four older sisters had been apportioned out of the family estate, an adequate study of her boundaries involves a general historical survey of the division of that Territory into states.

Washington, “first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen,” was first, too, in making suggestions as to the boundary lines of Northwestern states. September 7, 1783, we find him writing to James Duane, then a member of congress from New York, regarding the future of the country beyond the Ohio.¹ After giving some wise suggestions as to the management of both Indians and whites, in the vast region northwest of the river Ohio, he declares that the time is ripe for the blocking out of a state there. Here are the bounds proposed by the veteran surveyor: “From the mouth of the Great Miami river, which empties into the Ohio, to its confluence with the Mad river, thence by a line to the Miami fort and village on the other Miami river, which empties into Lake Erie, and thence by a line to include the settlement of Detroit, would, with Lake Erie to the northward, Pennsylvania to the eastward and the Ohio to the southward, form a government sufficiently extensive to fulfill all the public engagements, and to receive moreover a large population by emigrants.” He continues: “Were it not for the purpose of comprehending the settlement of Detroit within the jurisdiction of the new government, a more compact and better shaped district for a state would be, for the line to proceed from the Miami

Library of Congress

1 Sparks's *Life and Writings of Washington*, viii., p. 477.

452 fort and village along the river of that name, to Lake Erie; leaving in that case the settlement of Detroit, and all the territory north of the rivers Miami and St. Joseph's between the Lakes Erie, St. Clair, Huron, and Michigan, to form hereafter another state equally large, compact, and waterbounded.”

Thus did Washington, with that clear-headedness and far-sightedness which caused him, in practical matters like this, to outrank most Americans of his day, roughly map out the present states of Ohio and Michigan; and, five weeks later, on the 15th of October, 1783, congress adopted this second suggestion almost literally, in establishing a region for colonization north of the Ohio, into which no red man was thereafter to be allowed a foothold-if the law could stop him.¹

1 *Secret Journals of Congress*, i., p. 258. Duane was chairman of the committee reporting these resolutions.

Early in March, 1784, congress instructed a committee of which Thomas Jefferson was chairman, to fashion a plan of government for the entire Northwest,—or, as it was then called, the Western Territory,—which had now become public domain through the surrender of the land claims of those states which had stoutly held that they owned everything west of their coast lines, as far as the Pacific ocean.² To Jefferson is to be given the credit for drafting the report of this committee, which was first taken up by congress on the 19th of April, and adopted on the after some

2 Randall's *Life of Jefferson*, i., p. 397.

453 amendment. The original draft¹ has come down to us in history, famous, among other features, for Jefferson's fantastic proposition to divide the Northwest, on parallels of latitude, into ten states with severely classical names: Sylvania, Micbigania, Assenisipia, Illinoia, Polypotamia, Chersonesus, Metropotamia, Saratoga, Pelisipia and Washington. While congress practically accepted his system of territorial division, his proposed names

Library of Congress

were rejected, and each section was left to choose its own title when it should enter the lists of the union.²

¹ The draught of the committee's report, in the handwriting of Jefferson, may still be seen at Washington, in the archives of the department of state.

² See *ante*, p. 61, for full text of the resolutions, as adopted.

These resolutions of April 23, 1784, were in force until July 13, 1787, when the congress of the confederation, in session at Philadelphia, adopted "an ordinance for the government of the territory of the United States northwest of the river Ohio." What now became familiarly known as the Northwest Territory lay west of Pennsylvania and north and west of the Ohio river; its western limit was the Mississippi river, which had been established by the treaty of Paris, February 10, 1763, as the boundary between the British possessions and the French province of Louisiana, and confirmed as the western boundary of the United States by our treaty with Great Britain, September 3, 1783; the northern limit was the line between British America and the United States. The land embraced in this great tract was, in great part, the Virginia cession, made in 1784; to the north of that lay the strip ceded by Connecticut in 1786 and 1800; further north, the Massachusetts cession of 1785; while the territory north of latitude 43° 43' 12" had been acquired from Great Britain in 1783.¹

¹ See map in McMaster's *Hist. People U. S.*, ii.

Article V. of the ordinance was as follows: "There shall be formed in the said territory not less than three nor more than five states; and the boundaries of the states, as soon as Virginia shall alter her act of cession and consent to the same,² shall become fixed and established as follows, to-wit: The western state, in the said territory, shall be bounded by the Mississippi, the Ohio, and the Wabash rivers; a direct line drawn from the Wabash and Post Vincents [Vincennes, Indiana], due north, to the territorial line between the United States and Canada; and by the said territorial line to the Lake of the Woods and

Library of Congress

Mississippi. The middle state shall be bounded by the said direct line, the Wabash from Post Vincents to the Ohio, by the Ohio, by a direct line drawn due north from the mouth of the Great Miami to the said territorial line, and by the said territorial line. The eastern state shall be bounded by the last-mentioned direct line, the Ohio, Pennsylvania, and the said territorial line: *Provided, however* , And it is further understood and declared, that the boundaries of these three states shall be subject so far to be altered, that, if congress shall hereafter find it expedient, they shall have authority to form one or two states in that part of the said territory which lies *north of an east and west line drawn through the southerly bend or extreme of Lake Michigan* . And whenever any of the said states shall have sixty thousand free inhabitants therein, such state shall be admitted, by its delegates, into the congress of the United States, on an equal footing with the original states, in all respects whatever.”

2 Which she did in 1788.

In order to give the ordinance an air of stability, it was solemnly provided, in section 14 of the preamble, that: “The following articles shall be considered as articles of 455 compact, between the original states and the people and states in the said territory, and *forever remain unalterable, unless by common consent* .”

Twelve years afterward¹ the congress of the United States, which had succeeded the congress of the confederation, made its first division of the Northwest Territory.² The act provided: “That from and after the fourth day of July next, all that part of the territory of the United States

northwest of the Ohio river which lies to the westward of a line beginning at the Ohio, opposite to the mouth of Kentucky river, and running thence to Fort Recovery [near the present Greenville, Ohio], and thence north until it shall intersect the territorial line between the United States and Canada, shall, for the purposes of temporary government, constitute a separate territory, and be called the Indiana Territory.” The country east of this line was

Library of Congress

still to be called the Northwest Territory, with its seat of government at Chillicothe; while Vincennes was to be the seat of government for Indiana Territory. That portion of the line running from the point on the Ohio, opposite the mouth of the Kentucky, northeastward to Fort Recovery, was designed to be but a temporary boundary, it being one of the lines established between the

1 Act approved May 7, 1800. The ordinance itself had been confirmed by act of congress, approved August 7, 1789.

2 See St. Clair's letter to Harrison, on the division of the Northwest Territory, *St. Clair Papers*, ii, pp. 489, 490.

456 white settlements and the Indians, by the treaty of Greenville, July 30, 1795.

The act of congress approved April 30, 1802, enabling "the people of the eastern division" of the Northwest Territory,—Ohio,—to draft a state constitution, obliged them to take in their northern boundary and accept therefor "an east and west line drawn through the southerly extreme of Lake Michigan," in accordance with the limits prescribed by the original ordinance. In the state constitutional convention, held at Chillicothe in November that year, this line had been acceded to in committee without a murmur, when suddenly it came to the ears of the members that an experienced trapper, then in the village, claimed for Lake Michigan a more southerly head than had been popularly given it. It appears that in the department of state, at Washington, there was a map bearing date 1755, published by Mitchell, which placed the southern bend of Lake Michigan at 42° 20'. This map had been in use by the committee of congress which drafted the ordinance of 1787, and a pencil line was discovered upon it, evidently made by a committee-man, which passed due east from the bend and intersected the international line at a point between the river Raisin and Detroit.¹ The Chillicothe convention had become alarmed at the trapper's report of the incorrectness of Mitchell's map, and made haste to attach a proviso to the boundary article, as follows:

Library of Congress

1 Burnet's *Notes on Northwest Territory* (1847), p. 360. But it is singular that the committee did not use a later and more reliable map than this,—one published in 1778, nine years before the passage of the ordinance,—by Thomas Hutchins. Hutchins placed the southern bend about where it was afterwards proved to be by Talcott's survey—41° 37' 07.9".

“ Provided always, and it is hereby fully understood and declared by this convention ,
That if the southerly bend or extreme of Lake Michigan should extend so far south, that a line drawn due east from it should not intersect Lake Erie, or if it should intersect the said Lake Erie east of the mouth of the Miami river of the lake, then, and in that case, with the assent of the congress of the United States, the northern boundary of this state shall be established 457 by, and extending to, a direct line, running from the southern extremity of Lake Michigan to the most northerly cape of the Miami bay,” etc.

“The eastern division” of the Northwest Territory, now organized under the name of the state of Ohio, was formally admitted as such to the Union, by act approved February 19, 1803; nothing being said in the recognition act relative to the boundary, it was taken for granted by the Ohio people that the proviso was accepted.

On the 11th of January, 1805, an act of congress was approved, erecting the territory of Michigan out of “all that part of the Indiana Territory which lies north of a line drawn east from the southerly bend, or extreme, of Lake Michigan, until it shall intersect Lake Erie, and east of a line drawn from the said southerly bend through the middle of said lake to its northern extremity, and thence due north to the northern boundary of the United States.” In short, the present southern peninsula of Michigan with a southern boundary as established by the ordinance of 1787, and all that portion of the upper peninsula lying east of the meridian of Mackinaw. Congress had admitted Ohio to the Union with a tacit recognition of the northern boundary laid down in her constitutional proviso, yet so little thought had been given to the matter, and geographical knowledge of the West was still so vague, that this circumstance had been overlooked, and Michigan Territory was allowed a southern limit which, though in strict accordance 458 with the ordinance, seriously overlapped the

Library of Congress

territory assigned to Ohio. Thus, in later years, when it became known where the southerly bend of Lake Michigan really was, a serious boundary dispute arose, Michigan claiming the ordinance as a compact which could not be broken by congress without common consent, while Ohio tenaciously clung to the strip of country which the constitution-makers at Chillicothe had secured for her in the eleventh hour. The wedge-shaped strip in dispute averaged six miles in width, across Ohio, embraced some four hundred and sixty-eight square miles, and included the lake-port of Toledo and the mouth of the Maumee river, the possession of which was deemed well worth quarreling over. May 20, 1812, congress passed an act for determining the boundary, but owing to trouble with Great Britain, the lines were not run until 1818, and then not satisfactorily. July 14, 1832, another act of congress for the settlement of the northern limit of Ohio was passed, and as a result of extensive observations by Captain A. Talcott of the United States engineer corps, that officer was able to report in detail, in January, 1834, and again in November, 1835.¹ That report shows that the southern bend of Lake Michigan is in latitude 41° 37' 07.9", while the north cape of Maumee bay is in 41° 44' 02.4".

¹ *Senate Docs*, No. 1, 24th Cong., 1st sess., vol. i., p. 203.

Michigan had begun in 1834 to urge her claims to statehood, insisting on the southern boundary prescribed for the 459 fourth and fifth states by the ordinance; and Virginia, whose consent, as the chief land-giver, had been deemed necessary to the legalizing of that document, was importuned by Governor Mason to intercede in behalf of the peninsula Territory. But, although the officials of the Old Dominion were in accord with the movement, it failed to produce any effect on congress, for the political sympathy of the actual state of Ohio was more important to the dominant party, just then, than the possible good-will of the projected state of Michigan. Without waiting for an enabling act, a convention held at Detroit in May and June, 1835, adopted a state constitution for submission to congress, demanding entry into the Union, "in conformity to the fifth article of the ordinance" of 1787—of course the boundaries sought being those established by the article in question. That summer, there were popular disturbances in the disputed

Library of Congress

territory, and some gunpowder harmlessly wasted. In December, President Jackson laid the matter before congress in a special message. Congress quietly determined to “arbitrate” the quarrel by giving to Ohio the disputed tract, and offering Michigan,¹ by way of partial recompense, the whole of what is to day her upper peninsula. Michigan did not want the supposedly barren and worthless country to her northwest, protested long and loud against what she deemed to be an outrage, declared that she had no community of interest with the north peninsula, and was separated from it by insurmountable natural barriers for one-half of the year, while it rightfully belonged to the fifth state, to be formed out of the Northwest Territory. But congress persisted in making this settlement of the quarrel one of the conditions precedent to the admission of Michigan into the Union. In September, 1836, a state convention, called for the sole purpose of deciding the question, rejected the proposition on the ground that congress had no right to annex such a condition, according to the terms of the ordinance; a second convention, however, approved of it on the 15th of December following, and congress at

¹ Act approved June 15, 1836.

460 once accepted this decision as final.¹ Thus Michigan came into the sisterhood of states, January 26, 1837, with the territorial limits which she possesses to-day.²

¹ Hough's *Amer. Const.*, i., p. 663.

² The arguments on the Ohio-Michigan claims will be found at length in *Senate Docs*, No. 211, vol. iii., 1835–36, and *Reports of Coms.*, No. 380, vol. ii., 1835–36.

The erection of Michigan Territory in 1805 had left Indiana Territory with the Mississippi river as its western border, the Ohio as its southern, the international boundary and the south line of Michigan as its northern, while its eastern limits were the west line of Ohio, the middle of Lake Michigan and the meridian of Mackinaw. This included the present states of Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin and the greater part of the Michigan upper peninsula:

Library of Congress

The next division was ordained by act of congress, approved February 3, 1809, when that portion of Indiana Territory lying west of the lower Wabash river and the meridian of Vincennes was erected into the Territory of Illinois. Indiana was thus left with her present boundaries, except that on the south side she owned a funnel-shaped strip of water and of land just west of the middle of Lake Michigan, between the Vincennes meridian and the then western boundary of Michigan Territory,—what is now, roughly speaking, the county of Door, in Wisconsin, together with the counties of Delta, Alger and 461 Schoolcraft and the greater part of Chippewa and Mackinac, in Michigan.

When Indiana was admitted to the Union, by act approved April 19, 1816, her northern boundary was established by congress on a line running due east of a point in the middle of Lake Michigan ten miles north of the southern extreme of the lake. This was a flagrant violation of the great ordinance, but the excuse was that Indiana must be given a share of the lake coast, and as there were then no important harbors or towns involved, Michigan never made any serious objection to this particular encroachment on her territory.

The contraction of the northern bounds of Indiana, however, left the before-mentioned strip of water in Lake Michigan and the generous belt of peninsula country to the north, wholly out in the cold. It was literally “No Man's Land.” States and territories had been formed around it, but these

semi-insulated sections of ore and pine lands were claimed by none, such was the prevalent ignorance of the actual condition, situation and extent of the public domain in the far Northwest.

The act of April 18, 1818, enabling Illinois to become a state, cut down her territory to its present limits, and gave to Michigan “all that part of the territory of the United States lying north of the state of Indiana, and which was included in the former Indiana Territory, together with that part of the Illinois Territory which is situated north of and not included within the boundaries prescribed by this act.” Thus was what we may 462 call No Man's

Library of Congress

Land, and all of the Northwest Territory west of it, taken in “for temporary purposes only” under the wing of Michigan Territory, which now embraced all the country between the Mississippi river and Lakes Erie, St. Clair and Huron, and north of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. The northern boundary of Illinois was fixed at 42° 30′, which is over sixty-one miles north of the southern bend of Lake Michigan, the southern boundary prescribed by the ordinance for the fourth and fifth states to be formed out of the old Northwest Territory. Thus were the express terms of the ordinance, which had been declared to be “forever unalterable except by common consent,” again violated, without so much as saying “by your leave” to the people west of Lake Michigan who lived north of 42° 30′. What was afterwards Wisconsin was thereby robbed of eight thousand five hundred square miles of rich agricultural and mining country and numerous lake-ports, through the shrewd manipulation of Nathaniel Pope, Illinois's delegate in congress at that time. Pope speciously argued that Illinois must become intimately connected with the growing commerce of the northern lakes, or else she would be led, from her commercial relations upon the great rivers trending to the south, to join a southern confederacy in case the Union were disrupted.¹

¹ *Annals of Congress*, 1818, vol. ii., p. 1677; Ford's *Hist. of Ill.*, p. 22; Davidson and Struve's *Hist. of Ill.*, p. 295.

An act of congress approved June 28, 1834, added to the Territory of Michigan, “for temporary purposes,” the lands lying north of the state of Missouri and between the Mississippi river on the east and the Missouri and White Earth² rivers on the west, which had been acquired from France as a part of the Louisiana purchase, in 1803.³ Michigan

² A small northern tributary of the Missouri, having its source some thirty miles south of the international boundary; it empties into the Missouri near the western boundary of Mountraille county, Dakota, about eighty-five miles west of the meridian of Bismarck.

³ The clause of this act relating to area is as follows: “All that part of the territory of the United States bounded on the east by the Mississippi river, on the south by the state of

Library of Congress

Missouri and a line drawn due west from the northwest corner of said state [then on the meridian of Kansas City] to the Missouri river; on the southwest and west by the Missouri river and the White Earth river, falling into the same; and on the north by the northern boundary of the United States, shall be, and hereby is, for the purpose of temporary government, attached to and made part of the Territory of Michigan.”

463 Territory now extended, therefore, from Detroit westward to eighty-five miles northwest of the site of the present city of Bismarck, Dakota.

The people west of Lake Michigan had long been desirous of having a territorial government of their own. The seat of government of Michigan Territory was at Detroit, six hundred miles from the centre of settlement west of the lake, and nearly inaccessible therefrom during one-half of the year; the laws of Michigan were practically dead-letters among them; the civil machinery, this side of the lake, was chiefly conspicuous for its absence, and there were commercial as well as sectional and political jealousies between the people on either side of the great inland sea. As early as 1834, Judge James Duane Dory had interested Senator Thomas H. Benton in a scheme to get a bill through congress erecting “the Territory of Chippewau.” The bill¹ was drawn

by Judge Dory and forwarded to Senator Benton in November of that year, together with a petition for its passage signed by the inhabitants of the proposed Territory. It is interesting to note the ideas prevalent among them at that time concerning the proper limits of what is now Wisconsin. The boundaries sought by the Dory bill, were:

1 Dory MSS., in the possession of the Society.

464

“All that part of the Michigan Territory included within the following boundaries, that is to say: On the south by the northern boundary line of the state of Illinois, crossing the Mississippi river at the head of Rock Island, and by the northern boundary line of the state of Missouri; on the west by the Missouri river; on the north by the boundary line of the

Library of Congress

United States to the southern extremity of Drummond's island at the mouth of the river St. Mary, and thence by a line running from said island to the southern extremity of Bols Blanc island in Lake Huron, thence by a line equally distant from the island and main land to the centre of the straits between Lakes Michigan and Huron, and thence up the middle of the said straits and Lake Michigan to the northeastern corner of the state of Illinois."

The matter dragged along for some time without action, although Judge Dory persistently wrote letters explanatory of the situation to numerous influential congressmen. In 1827, we find the judge willing to call the proposed new Territory "Wiskonsin," in honor of its principal river. In February, 1828, the committee on territories in the house was committed to its favor, but it received a serious setback from a memorial to congress, sent in shortly after by the people of Detroit, who strenuously objected to giving up to the proposed new territory that portion of their upper peninsula which was east of the Mackinaw meridian,¹ with

which the memorialists showed they were having active commercial relations, and to which they were closely allied, socially and politically. In 1830, the effort

¹ *The Michigan Herald*, February, 1828.

465 was renewed by Judge Doty in a bill to establish the Territory of Huron, with the same boundaries as those prescribed for Chippewau.¹ In 1834, after several sessions of lobbying, a substitute was offered, entitled "A bill establishing the territorial government of Wisconsin," with boundaries the same as before, except that the country to the east of the Mackinaw meridian was not now claimed, a committee of the house of representatives having reported in 1832 that "the due line north from Mackinaw should be retained as more in consonance with the ordinance of 1787."² The bill hung fire on account of the Ohio-Michigan dispute, with the result that, as before mentioned, Wisconsin, the fifth and last division in the Northwest Territory, was 30

¹ In Washburne's *The Edwards Papers* (pp. 439, 440) there is a letter from Hooper Warren, editor of *The Galena Gazette*, to Gov. Ninian Edwards, of Illinois, dated

Library of Congress

Galena, October 6, 1829, in which he thus refers to letters written by Judge Doty to that paper, on the boundary question: "I hope you have read the numbers of our Green Bay correspondent. He is Judge Doty. You are among others to whom he requested us to send the papers containing his essays. *I want you to answer them.* You will see that the whole of his arguments respecting Ohio and Indiana do not apply to Illinois, as our boundary has the assent of Congress, while that of the former states has not. I will further suggest to you that the ordinance does not say that the east and west line from the southerly bend of Lake Michigan *shall be the boundary*; but that congress *may* form one or more states *north* of that line—and would not the southern boundary of the state of Wisconsin at 42° 30' be in accordance with that *injunction* or *permission*? Farther, Illinois has a *natural* right to a port on Lake Michigan, which the old line would cut her off from. This subject is of more importance than you may think it is. A large portion, perhaps a majority, of the people here, are of Judge Doty's opinion, and are wishing and expecting the old line to be established. I have been informed that Judge D. has said that should a case of jurisdiction come before him, he would decide against us. The contention in Michigan proper is for *ten* miles only, which Ohio and Indiana have got *north* of the 'east and west line.'"

See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x., pp. 236, 237, for instance of confusion existing, at this time, as to the location of the Wisconsin-Illinois boundary—the election commissioners of Jo Daviess county, Illinois, opening a poll at Platteville, Wisconsin, E.B. Washburne says, in connection with this fact: "The boundary line between Illinois and Michigan Territory was not officially defined until 1830."—E d.

2 Governor Doty's message, December 4, 1843.

466 stripped of the upper peninsula altogether. The land line decided upon, between Wisconsin and Michigan—connecting the Montreal and Menomonee rivers—appears to have been the suggestion, in 1934, of Senator Preston of South Carolina.¹ An old map of Wisconsin, then in vogue, erroneously showed a continuous water-course between those two points, thus making an island of the northern peninsula.

Library of Congress

1 *Wis. Hist. Coils.*, iv., p. 352.

April 20, 1836, the bill establishing the new Territory was approved, Wisconsin being therein assigned these limits: "Bounded on the east by a line drawn from the northeast corner of the state of Illinois, through the middle of Lake Michigan, to a point in the middle of said lake and opposite the main channel of Green bay, and through said channel and Green bay to the mouth of the Menomonee river; thence through the middle of the main channel of said river to that head of said river nearest to the Lake of the Desert; thence in a direct line to the middle of said lake; thence through the middle of the main channel of the Montreal river to its mouth; thence with a direct line across Lake Superior to where the territorial line of the United States last

touches said lake northwest; thence on the north with the said territorial line to the White Earth river; on the west by a line from the said boundary line following down the middle of the main channel of White Earth river to the Missouri river, and down the middle of the main channel of the Missouri river to a point due west from the northwest corner of the state of Missouri; and on the south, from said point, due east to the northeast corner of the state 467 of Missouri; and thence with the boundaries of the States of Missouri and Illinois, as already fixed by acts of congress."

It was Hobson's choice, with both Wisconsin and Michigan. Congress assumed the right to govern and divide the territory in the Northwest to suit itself, regardless of the solemn compact of 1787, and there seemed nothing to do but submit. The future proved that Michigan had been given more than an equivalent in the great northern peninsula, for the narrow belt of country along the Ohio border, and had no reason to grumble, while Wisconsin lost in the transaction a tract of territory which belongs to her geographically, and which had always been designed for her in the preliminary deliberations concerning the political division of the Northwest. But while the consent of Michigan had been formally

Library of Congress

asked and reluctantly given to this violation of the great ordinance, that of Wisconsin was never sought for, either as to her northeastern or southern boundary.

By act of June 12, 1838, congress still further contracted the limits of Wisconsin by creating from its trans-Mississippi tract¹ the Territory of Iowa. This, however, was in accordance with the original design when the country beyond the Mississippi was attached to Michigan Territory for purposes of temporary government, so no objection was entertained to this arrangement on the part of Wisconsin. The establishment of Iowa had reduced Wisconsin to her present limits, except that she still held, as her western

¹ The language of the clause is as follows: "All that part of the present Territory of Wisconsin which lies west of the Mississippi river and west of the line drawn due north from the headwaters or sources of the Mississippi to the territorial line" [international boundary]. By a memorial to congress of the Wisconsin Territorial legislature, approved January 14, 1841 (*Senate Docs.*, No. 171, 26th Cong., 2d seas., vol. iv.), it will be seen that under this act of June 12, 1838, there was some ambiguity as to the western boundary description; the Wisconsin memorialists held that; "the effect of the act confined the western boundary-line of Wisconsin to the edge of the waters of the Mississippi river, and took away the jurisdiction of Wisconsin over any part or portion of the Mississippi, either concurrent or otherwise." Congress finally changed the phraseology, so that Wisconsin's western boundary became "the center of the main channel of that river."

468 boundary, the Mississippi river to its source, and a line drawn due north therefrom to the international boundary.

In this condition Wisconsin remained until the act of congress approved August 6, 1846, enabling her people to form a state constitution. Settlements had now been established along the upper Mississippi and in the St. Croix valley, far removed from, and having neither social nor commercial interests in common with, the bulk of settlement in southern and eastern Wisconsin. The northwestern settlers did not wish to be permanently connected with Wisconsin, but did desire to cast their fortunes with a new Territory, to be

Library of Congress

called Minnesota, which was to be formed west of the Mississippi. They therefore brought strong influences to bear in congress, and the enabling act in question gave to Wisconsin practically the same northwestern line that she has to-day—from the first rapids of the St. Louis river due south to the St. Croix river and thence to the Mississippi. This cut off an area of twenty-six thousand square miles, with the city of St. Paul included, from the Badger commonwealth and assigned it to Minnesota. There was a sharp fight over the matter, both in congress and in the Wisconsin constitutional conventions of 1846 and 1847–48, with the result that the St. Croix people won, and Wisconsin was admitted into the Union, by act approved May 29,

1848, with her present limits: shorn on the south by Illinois, on the northeast by Michigan and on the northwest by Minnesota.

In 1837, Wisconsin Territory had a diplomatic flurry with Missouri regarding the southern bounds of her trans-Mississippi tract,¹ but as that country was merely attached to Wisconsin for temporary purposes and was afterwards absorbed by Iowa, the particulars of the dispute are not now pertinent. Neither is the animated disturbance created by the Wisconsin legislature in 1843–44 over the terms of the international boundary treaty of 1842, of importance at this day; for the strip of country northwest of Lake Superior, which Wisconsin claimed had been wrongfully encroached upon to the extent of ten thousand square miles by Great Britain, became the property of Minnesota, who fell heir to the international dispute when Wisconsin became a state.

¹ For details, see message of Governor Dodge, November 7, 1837, *House Jour, Wis. Terr. Legis.*

² For details, see *Council Jour., Wis. Terr. Legis.*, 1843 and 1844.

We will now, at the risk of occasional repetition of facts already stated in this introduction, follow the fortunes, in some detail, of the northeastern, northwestern and southern boundaries of the Badger state, each of which has an interesting and instructive history.

THE NORTHEASTERN BOUNDARY.

The upper peninsula of Michigan is three hundred and eighteen miles in length from east to west, and varies from thirty to one hundred and sixty-four miles in width from north to south. In its rugged hills to the north and west there are practically inexhaustible stores of copper and iron, while in the eastern counties agriculture is successfully carried on; it commands the straits of Mackinaw and the outlets of Lakes Superior and Michigan, while numerous harbors line its coasts, and the fisheries off its shores are a never-failing source of revenue. As early as 1660 the Jesuits discovered copper mines upon its northwest coast, and established the fact that the natives had long before had workings there. In 1771 an English mining company established a plant on Ontonagon river, but was unsuccessful, 470 and it was not until 1845 that the first profitable operations were undertaken; while in the same year, iron mines were developed in the neighborhood. During the greater period of the controversy over the possession of this tract, therefore, its value was practically unknown, although frequently hinted at. Wisconsin's chief desire appears to have been its retention simply as a country rightfully belonging to her, with but little foresight of the great extractive industries to be developed there; while Michigan appears, at first, to have looked upon the greater portion of her acquisition with something akin to contempt: Mackinaw and the Sault Ste. Marie, however, had so long been in close trading and social relationship with Detroit, that the country east of the Mackinaw meridian was from the first tenaciously clung to.

At a meeting of the citizens of Detroit. held on the 18th of February, 1828, a memorial to congress was adopted, protesting against that clause in the Doty bill for erecting the territory of Chippewau—the measure had been favorably reported by the house committee

Library of Congress

on territories—which included in the boundaries of the proposed territory the whole of the northern peninsula. The memorial contained this sentence:

“The views of your memorialists as to the proper boundaries of the Territory of Michigan have already been approved and sanctioned by the congress of the Union. By an act, entitled ‘An act to divide the Indiana Territory into two separate governments,’ approved January 11, 1805, a line drawn from the southerly bend of Lake Michigan, through the middle of said lake, to its northern extremity, and thence due north to the northern boundary of the United States, was fixed as the western boundary of the Michigan Territory. This your memorialists consider the correct boundary, as designated by the geographical aspect and commercial relations of the country.”

In 1830 the Chippewau bill had, after varied experiences in congress, developed into a bill for the establishment of the Territory of Huron, with the entire northern peninsula still included in its prescribed boundaries, the house committee on territories having each year favored such limits 471 on geographical considerations alone. This brought out from Governor Case of Michigan, an expostulatory message to his territorial council, dated January 5, 1831, in which he said:

“If we have any security for the political privileges we enjoy or expect to enjoy, we have the same security, and that is, the faith of the United States, for the integrity of the territorial boundaries established by that act [ordinance of 1787]. A line drawn through the middle of Lake Michigan to its northern extreme, and thence due north to Lake Superior, is our western boundary. * * * To the country west of that line we have no claim.”

In 1832 the house committee on territories reported in favor of naming the proposed Territory Wisconsin, and of changing its northeast boundary line to the Mackinaw meridian, “the retention of which is more in consonance with the ordinance of 1787.”

Library of Congress

On the 7th of January, 1833, the legislative council of Michigan addressed a memorial to congress, insisting on the right of that Territory to the Mackinaw line, as recommended by the committee.

The Michigan council adopted another memorial to congress, December 12, 1834, formally praying for the erection of the Territory of Wisconsin out of that portion of Michigan Territory "lying west of a line drawn through the middle of Lake Michigan to the northern extremity [Mackinaw] and thence north to the boundary line of the United States."¹

¹ The memorialists estimated that in the country between the Mississippi and Missouri rivers there were, at that time, from five thousand to eight thousand souls, and that in the country between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi there were from twelve thousand to fifteen thousand souls.

December 11, 1834, a bill to establish the northern boundary of Ohio was referred to the judiciary committee of the United States senate, of which William C. Preston of South Carolina was a member. Both Ohio and Michigan being represented before the committee by counsel, elaborate arguments were made on the proper interpretation of the fifth article of the ordinance of 1787, particularly as to the 472 clause establishing a line running due east and west from the southern bend of Lake Michigan, as the southern boundary of the fourth and fifth states to be formed out of the Northwest Territory. It was incidentally argued that as Michigan was to be the fourth state to be thus erected, the fifth state, Wisconsin, when it came to be established, should embrace all that portion of Michigan Territory lying west of the meridian of Mackinaw and the middle of Lake Michigan.¹ At the conclusion of the argument, Mr. Preston asked how much territory lay west of Lake Michigan. The reply was, that there was probably one hundred thousand square miles, although it had not yet been surveyed. Mr. Preston expressed the opinion that this was altogether too large a tract for one state, and produced a map which was similar to one drawn by L. Judson, and in 1838 published "by order of the legislative assembly of

Library of Congress

Wiskonsin.” This map was supposed to be the most accurate extant, but it erred greatly in many important particulars. It represented the Montreal and Menomonee rivers as meeting in Lake Vieux Desert, thus making an island out of the northern peninsula. Mr. Preston now drew a finger along this alleged river highway between Green bay and Lake Superior and remarked that he “thought that would be a fair division of the country.”

1 *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iv., p. 352.

Delegate Lucius Lyon of Michigan protested against this, saying that his people “did not wish to so extend their state; that for a great part of the year nature had separated the upper and lower peninsulas by impassable barriers, and that there could never be any identity of interest or community of feeling between them.”²

2 *Id.*, p. 353.

The view taken by Senator Preston, however, appears to have been regarded by a majority of his fellow committeemen as a sound one. At all events, it was just then very desirable, politically, to conciliate Ohio and yet keep good friends with Michigan, who would soon become a member of the Union. So the territorial claims of Ohio were favorably reported upon by the committee, and it was informally agreed among the members that Michigan should have the northern peninsula. To be sure, Michigan did not want it, but it was prophesied that she would eventually be satisfied with the enforced exchange.

The same Ohio boundary bill came again before the senate judiciary committee, the following session; for though the senate had passed it the previous year, the house had not acted. On the 1st of March. 1836, the committee once more reported in favor of Ohio, Mr. Preston having reiterated his views regarding the Michigan-Wisconsin boundary line. The committee, in its report, after disposing of the question actually before it, went outside of its topic and submitted this suggestion to the senate:¹

Library of Congress

1 *Senate Docs.*, No. 211, 24th Cong., 1st sess., vol. iii.; also *Reports of Coms.*, No. 380, vol. ii., 1835–36.

“If Michigan be not sufficiently large, it is easy to remedy that objection; and if the ordinance [of 1787] is to remain unchanged— *as it must, unless the state of Virginia will consent to an alteration of it*—so immense a tract of country as Wisconsin presents ought not to be formed into a single state. Whatever disadvantage may arise from connecting with Michigan a portion of country west or north of the lake, is, we think, not to be weighed with the inconvenience of subjecting, forever after, to the jurisdiction of a single state, all the inhabitants who may reside in the region west and north of the lake.”

About this time the state constitution adopted by the people of Michigan in 1835 was, together with a message from the president on the Ohio-Michigan boundary dispute, referred to a select senate committee, of which Thomas H. Benton was chairman and John M. Clayton, chairman of the judiciary committee, a member. This committee reported March 22, 1836, a bill to establish the northern boundary of Ohio as Ohio wanted it, and also a bill to erect Wisconsin Territory. This latter measure laid down the northeast boundary line of the new Territory as Mr. Preston had suggested and practically as it exists to-day.

When the Wisconsin bill was before the house, in committee of the whole, Elias Howell of Ohio offered an amendment 474 to make the Wisconsin-Michigan boundary a line running “from the middle of Green bay to the head of Chocolate river, thence down said river to Lake Superior, thence due north to the territorial line.” Had this amendment been adopted, Wisconsin would have gained the greater part of the upper peninsula. But it was defeated, and the senate bill left intact. the act being approved as it came from committee, April 20, 1836.

The charge was freely made at the time that the northern peninsula was given to Michigan as a compensation for the loss on her southern border. But Senator (afterwards President)

Library of Congress

James Buchanan, a member of the senate judiciary committee, made a speech¹ in which he vehemently denied that Michigan had favored this barter, and claimed that it was made “solely upon considerations of public policy.” He pointed out that the legislature of Michigan thus expostulated with the senate committee:

1 Appendix to *Cong. Globe*, 24th Cong., 1st sess., p. 308.

“Its limits [those of Michigan] are fixed and immutable, without the consent of the people. They have never claimed anything beyond those limits; they have never transcended them; they have, in all their proceedings, adhered to them with punctilious fidelity. A due regard to the ‘natural boundaries’ and to the rights, political and territorial, of another people, whom she hopes at an early day to hail as another accession to this great confederacy of states, would forbid her to accept any acquisition of territory north and west of her, as a consideration for the serious loss alluded to.”

To be sure, it was not a bargain. We have ample evidence of that, in the repeated official protests of Michigan at this unwarranted disposition of territory. But the politicians in congress were right when they predicted that Michigan would ultimately become more than reconciled to the transfer and tenaciously cling to her Lake Superior country as perhaps her richest possession. Though not a bargain, it was a magnificent recompense.²

2 Michigan appears to have been well rewarded for her few lost townships on the Ohio border. She obtained, in addition to the northern peninsula, “land for the erection of her public buildings; all the salt springs in the state, with six sections of land contiguous to each, in addition to the school and university lands, and five per cent. of the net proceeds of the sales of all public lands in the state— and also by giving to her \$382,335.31 of the money required by the act of June 23, 1888, to be deposited with the states.”— See appendix to *Council Jour., Wis. Terr. Legis.*, 1844, p. 9.

Library of Congress

By act of congress approved June 12, 1838, the surveyor-general of the United States was required to cause the boundary between Wisconsin and Michigan to be "surveyed, marked and designated," and the sum of \$3,000 was appropriated for the purpose. Commissioner Whitcomb of the general land office deeming the appropriation insufficient, nothing was done under this act. July 20, 1840, congress re-appropriated the sum, and gave the work in charge of the secretary of war. Captain Thomas Jefferson Cram, of the topographical engineers, was assigned the task, and in spite of the short season remaining to him after the passage of the act, made considerable progress in penetrating the absolute wilderness through which much of the boundary ran. Captain Cram made his report to the topographical bureau in December, 1840.¹ His reconnoissance was chiefly of the wild country between the headwaters of the Montreal and Menomonee rivers.

¹ *Senate Docs.*, No. 151, 26th Cong., 2nd sess., vol. iv.

It will be remembered that the act erecting Wisconsin Territory thus described the northeast boundary: "Through the middle of Lake Michigan to a point in the middle of said lake and opposite the main channel of Green bay, and through said channel and Green bay to the mouth of the Menomonie river; thence through the middle of the main channel of said river to that head of said river nearest to the Lake of the Desert; thence in a direct line to the middle of said lake; thence through the middle of the main channel of Montreal river to its mouth; thence with a direct line across Lake Superior to where the territorial line of the United States last touches said lake northwest."

Capt. Cram points out in his report that, from a reading of this description, it would be inferred:

"1st. That the Lake of the Desert was supposed to be a headwater of, and to discharge itself into, Montreal river.

Library of Congress

“2d. That somewhere between Lake Superior and Green bay there was a known lake bearing the name of the ‘Lake of the Desert.’

“3d. That all of the headwaters discharging themselves into the Menomonee river, one would be found nearer the said Lake of the Desert than any other.

“4th. That the nearest head of the Menomonee to the said lake would be found to be a branch of the Menomonee, and not a lake.”

But it was ascertained by the survey that Lac Vieux Desert, wrongfully called Lake of the Desert,¹ is really the headwater of the Wisconsin river, and has no connection whatever either with the Menomonee or Montreal rivers; not even being in a line between their headwaters, but to a considerable distance northeast. “The nearest distance between the lake and the Montreal river, which takes its rise in an extensive swamp, is such that an Indian requires eight days, without a pack, to pass from one to the other. The Montreal river was found to have a course different from what was supposed; so have the courses of the Menomonee and of its principal branches been equally mistaken and misrepresented.”

¹ Capt. Cram says: “The country in the vicinity of this beautiful lake is called, in Chippewa language, Katakitekton, and the lake bears the same name. On South island there is an old [Indian] potato-planting ground; hence the appellation of ‘Vieux: Desert,’ which, in mongrel French, means ‘old planting-ground.’ There is mere reason for calling it ‘Lac Vieux Desert,’ than for the appellation ‘Lake of the Desert.’ It is much to be regretted that the Indian names of rivers, lakes and places are so frequently changed without any reason, and in most cases for the worse.” Both this report and that of the following year abound in excellent descriptions of the wilderness and its inhabitants.

Library of Congress

On a map drawn by James Duane Doty in 1820, to accompany a report on northern Wisconsin made to Governor Lewis Cass, Lake Vieux Desert is styled “Old Plantation lake.”— (*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii., p. 204)

Captain Cram concluded that it would be exceedingly difficult to run a line between the headwaters of the Montreal and Menomonee; utterly impossible, in fact, to exactly follow the official description. He said that it would involve elaborate and expensive surveys to determine “the middle” 477 of so crooked a lake as the Vieux Desert; he also pointed out that both the Montreal and Menomonee are filled with islands, many of them of great size, while in both rivers there are numerous channels of equal capacity, and suggested that the official description be so changed as to give onehalf of these islands to Michigan and the rest to Wisconsin, to specify a particular channel in each of the rivers, and also to establish some point in the lake that could be easily determined—for instance, the highest point of Middle island; he likewise suggested that some particular channel in Green bay should be named—for, owing to the islands in that body of water, there are several ship channels, none of which can be properly designated as “the most usual.” In short, he made it clear that a more specific description was essential, or there might be never-ending contention over the matter. While asking for a sufficient appropriation to properly complete his work the following season, Captain Cram recommended that the description of the boundary be amended so as to read as follows, the object being to equitably divide the islands and to allow of a line that “could be run without any material difficulty:”

“To the mouth of Montreal river (of Lake Superior); thence (in ascending) through the center of the extreme right-hand channel that the said Montreal river may be found to have, as far up the same as where the said channel shall be found to be intersected by a direct line drawn from the highest point of ground on Middle island of Lake Vieux Desert north,—degrees west; thence (from the said intersection), along the just-described direct line, to the said point of Middle island; thence (from the said point of Middle island) in a direct line to the center of the channel of the outlet of Lac Brulé;¹ thence following the

Library of Congress

center of the extreme left-hand channel of Brulé river (Wesacotasepe) down to the middle of the channel of the Menomonee river; thence following the center of the extreme right-hand channel of the Menomonee river, down the same, to the head of Pemene falls; thence following the center of the extreme left-hand

1 The headwater of the Brulé river, which is "that head of the Menomonee river nearest to the Lake of the Desert."

478 channel of the Menomonee river, down to the center of the best ship-channel of the Green bay of Lake Michigan; thence following the center of the best ship-channel of Green bay, to the middle of Lake Michigan."

In March, 1841, another reconnoissance was ordered by congress,¹ and Captain Cram was sent out to complete his task, which he did amid great hardships, his exploration lasting four months.² On the 24th of January, 1842, the senate made a request for his report, which was made to the topographical bureau February 10.³ He showed that there did "not exist in nature any continuous natural boundary—as had been supposed in the act of congress defining this boundary—between the headwaters of the Menomonee and Montreal rivers;" as for Lake Vieux Desert, it was found to be many miles northeast of a direct line drawn between the headwaters of the two rivers, so that the lake would have to be made the apex of an obtuse angle, if it were persisted in as a point in the boundary; he therefore argued strongly in favor of a straight line between Lake Brulé (the head proper of the Menomonee) and the head of the Montreal. This straight line, he said, would be sixty miles in length, while the indirect line, by way of Lake Vieux Desert, would be 100 miles and 2,199 feet. The report was accompanied by an excellent detailed map of the survey, which is still recognized as official authority.⁴

1 As the result of a joint resolution of the Michigan legislature, making a request therefor, approved February 2, 1841.—(*Senate Docs.*, No. 186, 26th Cong., 2nd sess., vol. iv.)

2 *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iv.. p. 193.

Library of Congress

3 *Senate Docs.*, No. 170, 27th Cong., 2nd sess., vol. iii.

4 For strictures on Captain Cram's work, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iv., pp. 360–363.

On the 16th of February, 1842, six days after the submission of Captain Cram's second report, but before it had been received by congress, Governor Doty sent in a message to the legislative assembly of "Wiskonsan" Territory,⁵ upon the boundary line in question. He said:

⁵ Governor Doty endeavored, long and hard, to secure the adoption of this ungainly orthography. The message will be found in *House Docs.* No. 147, 27th Cong., 2nd sess., vol. iii. It was transmitted to congress by resolution of the Wisconsin legislature approved February 18, 1842, and received in the house March 19.

479

"It is ascertained that a part of the western boundary of the state of Michigan, as prescribed by the act of congress of the 15th of June, 1836, is an impracticable line, there being no natural boundary as therein described. The Lake of the Desert does not discharge its waters into the Montreal river. It having, therefore, become necessary to designate a new line, I avail myself of the occasion to present the subject to the notice of the assembly, that such measures as are proper may be adopted to procure the recognition by the government of the United States of the boundary which was established between Michigan and Wiskonsan in the year 1805. * * * It is manifest from the provisions of the ordinance [of 1787] that they [the people on the northern peninsula living west of the Mackinaw meridian] belong to the fifth state to be formed in the Northwest Territory, and that Michigan, as a 'state' in the Union, has no jurisdiction over them. This was the doctrine of Michigan until she was admitted, and I think it was correct."

The governor's message was referred to the committee on territorial affairs, which reported resolutions in accordance with the position therein maintained, and the territorial delegate,

Library of Congress

Henry Dodge, was requested to use his influence in the reestablishment of the original boundary. The resolutions were promptly adopted, though Mr. Dodge appears to have been unable to accomplish anything in the matter, at that session. But Governor Dory returned to the charge,. and in his message of December 4, 1843, again awakened the attention of the legislature to the subject, and in plain terms “demanded” that “the birthright of the state” should be at once vouchsafed her by congress. The message was referred to a select council committee, of which Moses M. Strong was chairman, and Messrs. David Newland and Edward V. Whiten (afterwards chief-justice) were lay members. The committee—which had been instructed to report “whether the boundaries for the fifth state, by the ordinance of 1787, have been infringed by the government of the United States and in what manner”—submitted a report on the 18th of December.¹ It found that the boundaries had been infringed, on many sides, as charged, among the specifications being:

1 *Council Jour., Wis. Terr. Legis.*, 1844, document D.

“Second. By the act of June 15, 1836, for the admission of Michigan into the Union, by which the Montreal and the Menomonee rivers are declared to be the northeastern boundary of Wisconsin.”

In reference to this charge the committee asserted, as Governor Dory had, that there is not a natural boundary between the two rivers. “Such a boundary [as enacted] violates, if not the words, at least the spirit and intent of the ordinance.” Further: “If the country [the northern peninsula] should become inhabited, as it now is to some extent, and as it is reasonable to suppose it soon will be to a much greater, the convenience of its inhabitants would be much better consulted by uniting them with Wisconsin than with Michigan. Their facilities of intercourse with Wisconsin would be much greater, and they would enjoy their civil and political rights to a much greater extent by being united with a people to whom at all times they would be contiguous, than by being connected with those from whom all communication would be absolutely cut off nearly half the year.”

The committee concludes that the northeast boundary is still open, as that which congress "attempted to establish violates the spirit, intent and fair construction of the ordinance," and "should not be established as the permanent boundary between the two states."

The committee, however, confesses itself of the opinion that although Michigan had the northern peninsula thrust upon her against her solemn protests, "it is not in the nature of political communities to surrender any rights, especially rights of territory, to which any circumstances have given them the color of claim, and it is not reasonable to expect that Michigan will voluntarily surrender to us any claims she may have to territory west of Lake Michigan derived by virtue of the act admitting her to the Union."

481

The committee provided a way out of the difficulty they had raised, by suggesting that congress be importuned to compensate Wisconsin, "in some measure." for the loss of the upper peninsula, as Michigan had been compensated for the loss of the strip on her southern border. The compensation which the committeemen thought Wisconsin might accept, should come in the shape of: (1) The government construction of a railroad between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi; (2) The improvement of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers, so as to make a national waterway between the great lakes and the great river; (3) The connection, by canal, of the Fox and Rock rivers; (4) The construction of harbors on the west shore of Lake Michigan, at Southport [Kenosha], Racine, Milwaukee, Sauk Harbor, Sheboygan and Manitowoc.

The report of this committee, and the address to congress by which it was accompanied, are interesting reading, in view of subsequent events. Probably no state ever adopted a more belligerent tone towards congress than did Wisconsin in these singular documents, which read more like emanations from a South Carolina legislature than the sober judgment of a community which was among the foremost, in later days, in putting down by force of arms the rebellion which was the fruit of the state-rights doctrine carried to its logical sequence. The committee, after expressing its disposition to believe that congress

Library of Congress

“would hasten to make all the atonement in its power, and that they would guaranty the construction by the general government of the improvements before mentioned, or such reasonable equivalents as might be mutually agreed upon by the general government and Wisconsin,” adopts this lofty and threatening strain:

“Should we be disappointed in these reasonable expectations, we shall continue to occupy the same position that we do now, with this advantage, that we shall have shown to the world that we exhibited to the United States government a disposition in the first instance amicably to arrange the difficulties in which we are involved by their action, and we shall then have but to satisfy civilized communities that we 31 482 are right in our claims and pretensions, to secure their sympathy and kind feeling, if not kind action: and we could then safely entrench ourselves behind the ordinance of 1787, fortified by the doctrine, well understood in this country, that all political communities have the right to govern themselves in their own way, within their lawful boundaries, and take for ourselves and our state the boundaries fixed by that ordinance, form our state constitution, which should be republican, apply for admission into the Union with those boundaries, and if refused, so that we could not be a state in the Union, we would be a *state out of the Union* , and possess, exercise and enjoy all the rights, privileges and powers of the *sovereign, independent state of Wisconsin* , and if difficulties must ensue, we could appeal with confidence to the Great Umpire of nations to adjust them.”¹

¹ The italics are those of the original.

The accompanying address to congress is written in the same defiant spirit. “The unauthorized action of the general government” is sharply alluded to, in what the memorialists call “plain and candid” words. “It is confidently hoped that congress will guarantee to Wisconsin these improvements in return for her loss of border, * * * that thereby all cause for controversy between Wisconsin and the sovereignties on her borders, and with the national government, may cease, and she be admitted into the Union

Library of Congress

with that portion of her territory which has not been granted to other powers, upon an equal footing with the original states.” Then comes this warlike sentence:

“Should congress, however, turn a deaf ear to our claims upon their justice or refuse to atone for the wrongs they have done us, we ask them, before doing so, to reflect upon what they may reasonably imagine will be the consequences, and to know, as they well may, that Wisconsin will never peaceably submit to so gross a violation of her rights, and that, after she has done all to obtain a peaceable redress of her wrongs which reason demands, and shall have failed, she will resort to every other means in her power to protect and preserve her rights, and that she will never lose sight of the principle that, whatever may be the sacrifice, THE INTEGRITY OF HER BOUNDARIES MUST BE OBSERVED.”

The report closes with a “call” on congress to “do justice, while yet it is not too late, to a people who have hitherto been weak and unprotected, but who are rapidly rising to giant greatness, and who, at no distant day, will show to the world that they lack neither the disposition nor the ability to protect themselves.”

The address seems, very naturally, to have created no small disturbance in the territorial legislature, and some rather bitter speeches were made both in its advocacy and its denunciation; while proffered amendments fairly showered in, the most significant coming from Benjamin Hunkins of Milwaukee, who suggested that the bristling document should be entitled: “A declaration of war against Great Britain, Illinois, Michigan and the United States.”

Mr. Hunkins appears to have been in earnest over his proposed fire-eating amendment, for a few days afterward we find him offering still another, to the effect that the memorialists “hereby proclaim to the Union that they will never abandon their claim to that part of the state of Michigan formerly detached from this Territory and annexed to that state, but will maintain it to the death!” This amendment, like all the others, was negatived.

Library of Congress

The address was finally adopted in the house, January 24, 1844, after protracted filibustering, by the close vote of fourteen to twelve. In the council it was concurred in, three days later, without division. On the 18th of March it was formally laid before the United States senate.

It is, perhaps, needless to add that congress paid no attention to so belligerent a communication, and Wisconsin, with all her war talk, regained none of the territory which had been taken from her; nor, until long after, any of the internal improvements which she had so imperiously demanded.

The act of August 6, 1846, enabling the people of Wisconsin to form a state constitution, established the following northeast boundary: "Through Lake Michigan, Green bay, to the mouth of Menomonee river; thence up the channel of 484 the said river to the Brulé river; thence up said last mentioned river to Lake Brulé; thence along the southern shore of Lake Brulé in a direct line to the center of the channel between Middle and South islands, in the Lake of the Desert; thence in a direct line to the headwaters of the Montreal river, as marked upon the survey made by Captain Cram; thence down the main channel of the Montreal river to the middle of Lake Superior; thence," etc.

This description, which is the existing one, while it embodies some of the suggestions made by Captain Cram, is nevertheless faulty in several particulars—it fails to specify which channels of the Menomonee, Brulé and Montreal rivers are the ones intended, for there are more than one in each river; in all three streams there are numerous islands: in the Menomonee alone there being, Captain Cram reports, three hundred and eighteen, "of which some are over one mile in length and from one-eighth to one-fourth of a mile in breadth, and covered with excellent pine." Questions of state jurisdiction over these islands might readily occur, in cases of crime or tax disputes, when the country becomes thickly settled. Then again, the "southern shore of Lake Brulé" is indefinite, and leaves it in doubt whether Michigan has jurisdiction over the entire lake to the line of high-water on the southern beach, or whether Wisconsin might not claim, at least, a narrow strip

Library of Congress

of water along the shore. "Through Green bay" is ambiguous, but probably the courts would construe it as meaning through the geographical center of the bay. Captain Cram's proposed detail description would have equitably divided the islands between the states and left no room for future legal wrangling over the intent of the act.¹

¹ The Michigan constitution, while aiming to be more explicit, yet is sufficiently ambiguous, on account of the specification of the "main channel" in the rivers named, and of the "most usual ship channel of the Green bay." The Michigan description is as follows: "Thence [from a point where the international boundary last touches Lake Superior] in a direct line through Lake Superior to the mouth of the Montreal river; thence through the middle of the main channel of the said river Montreal to the headwaters thereof; thence in a 'direct line to the center of the channel between Middle and South islands, in the Lake of the Desert; thence in a direct line to the southern shore of Lake Brulé; thence along said southern shore and down the river Brulé to the main channel of the Menominee river; thence down the center of the main channel of the same to the center of the most usual ship channel of the Green bay of Lake Michigan; thence through the center of the most usual ship channel of the said bay to the middle of Lake Michigan; thence," etc.

485

In the constitutional convention held in Madison in 1846, it was attempted by some pugnacious members, remembering the squabble of earlier years, to place a proviso in the constitution, to the effect that Wisconsin would enter the Union on condition that she was "restored to her ancient boundaries." But the effort failed, as did, for some inexplicable reason, the following amendment, offered by John Crawford of Milwaukee, seeking to practically adopt Captain Cram's suggestions relative to the river islands: "Be it further ordained, that to prevent all disputes in reference to the jurisdiction of islands in the said Brulé and Menominee rivers, the line may be so run as to include within the jurisdiction of Michigan, all the islands in the Brulé and Menominee rivers (to the extent in which said rivers are adopted as a boundary) down to and inclusive of Quinisec falls of the Menominee; and from thence the line may be so run as to include within the jurisdiction

of Wisconsin, all the islands in the Menominee river, from the falls aforesaid, down to the junction of said river with Green bay.”

Finally, the northeast boundary clause was adopted by the convention in the language of the enabling act. This constitution was rejected by the people, for various reasons connected with the boundary dispute, and a second convention was called, which met in the winter of 1847–48. In this convention John H. Rountree of Grant county endeavored to work in the “ancient boundary” proviso, but without success; and the description of the northeast boundary as given in the enabling act and in the rejected constitution was engrafted upon the new document. This constitution was ratified by the people, and Wisconsin entered the Union in 1848, with Preston's line separating her from the northern peninsula of Michigan.

486

THE NORTHWESTERN BOUNDARY.

The western boundary of the Northwest Territory was the Mississippi river. Afterwards, when the trans-Mississippi country, westward to the Missouri and the White Earth, was added to Michigan Territory and retained by Wisconsin Territory, it was understood that it was merely for purposes of temporary government. Wisconsin never laid claim to any of this tract, but did insist on having as its western limit the Mississippi river to its source, and thence north to the international boundary, as prescribed by the ordinance of 1787. Had the territorial legislators of 1844 had the faintest idea that Wisconsin was to be still further reduced by taking from it the tract of country between the St. Croix and the upper Mississippi, and attaching the same to a new “sovereignty,” then unborn, there is no doubt that their famous address to congress would have not merely breathed threats, but have been a notice of nullification itself.

It was not until 1846 that the northwestern boundary question arose. On the 14th of January that year, Morgan L. Martin, Wisconsin's delegate in congress, introduced in the

Library of Congress

house a bill to enable his constituents to form a constitution and a state government. This bill claimed the “ancient boundaries.” May 11, Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois reported, as chairman of the committee on territories, an amendatory bill which cut the proposed new state down to its present boundaries, the clause relating to the northwest limit being: “Through the center of Lake Superior to the mouth of the St. Louis river; thence up the main channel of the said river to the first rapids in the same, above the Indian village according to Nicollet’s map;¹ thence due south to the main branch of the river St. Croix; thence down the main channel of said river to the Mississippi; thence,” etc.

1 For the map of and elaborate historical and scientific report on the upper Mississippi basin, made by Jean N. Nicollet, see *Senate Docs.*, No, 287, 26th Cong., 2nd sess.

Later, Mr. Martin secured the adoption of this important proviso in the substitute bill: “*Provided*, That the convention 487 which may assemble to form a constitution for said state shall be at liberty to adopt such northern and western boundaries, *in lieu of those herein prescribed*, as may be deemed expedient, not exceeding, however, the present limits of the said Territory.”

In this form the bill was passed the 9th of June, but on the following day the vote was reconsidered, and an animated debate sprung up over the proviso.¹ Mr. Douglas explained that his object in introducing the new northwest boundary line was, that it would then leave “as much of the old Northwest Territory out of Wisconsin as in it, so as to form a new state equal to it in size.” Allen G. Thurman of Ohio said this proviso would enable Wisconsin to form a state with sixty-eight thousand square miles, which he deemed a preposterous size. “We had enough,” he said, “of the Northwest Territory still left, unenclosed, to form two good states; or if it was not quite enough for that purpose, it would be easy to add a little territory on the west bank of the Mississippi;” but this proviso would “enable Wisconsin to so cut up She choicest land, to suit herself, that there would not be enough left together to form any other state.” John A. Rockwell of Connecticut thought the “assigning to these new states territories disproportionately large, would be eminently

Library of Congress

injurious both to them and to the Union at large.” Samuel F. Vinton of Ohio said that by the treaty with Great Britain of 1783, the western boundary of the United States was to commence at the Lake of the Woods and run thence by straight line to the source of the Mississippi, and then down that river—and such was understood by those who originally drafted this bill to be the present western boundary of Wisconsin; but Nicollet's map, which had heretofore been relied on by the house committee on territories, fell two degrees short of extending to the Lake of the Woods; by comparing the act which created the Territory of Wisconsin with Tanner's and Melish's maps, he found that “a line drawn from the source of the Mississippi due north to the latitude of 49° [the boundary of the United States] would pass eighty miles west of the Lake of

1 *Cong. Globe*, 1846, p. 952.

488 the Woods,¹ and would include a considerable portion of what we purchased in the Territory of Louisiana; so that, in any way in which the language of the act could be carried out, Wisconsin would have for her western boundary a line of at least one thousand miles in length;” and Mr. Vinton thus showed that, “according to the phraseology of the proviso, Wisconsin would embrace not only all the residue of the old Northwest Territory, but a great deal more.” And so the proviso was killed. The Douglas bill then passed the house, and subsequently the senate, the enabling act being approved on the 6th of August following.

1 The map issued by the general land office at Washington, in 1885, shows that Lake Itasca is exactly on the meridian which touches the extreme northwest corner of the Lake of the Woods.

In the constitutional convention which opened in Madison, October 5, 1846, ex-Governor Doty, who had been so prominent in insisting upon the “ancient limits” of Wisconsin, was made chairman of the committee on boundaries and name. The committee very naturally reported an ordinance insisting on the “birthright” of the proposed state and that all boundary questions in dispute should be referred to the supreme court of the United

Library of Congress

States. It soon developed in the convention that the people in the St. Croix valley, who had settlements at St. Anthony's Falls, Fort Snelling, Stillwater and other points, were extremely desirous of casting loose from Wisconsin and embarking their fortunes with the proposed Territory of Minnesota, beyond the Mississippi. They claimed that they were far removed from southern and eastern Wisconsin, the centers of population west of Lake Michigan, and had neither social nor commercial interests in common with the latter. Of course there was political ambition also, at the bottom of this desire, and it had been fostered by the proceedings in congress, above reported. William Holcomb of St. Croix county came down to the convention as the representative of this idea, and fought for separation with much persistence and parliamentary skill. The provisions of the enabling act did not go far enough to suit him. He sought to have a line drawn from the headwaters of the Montreal river to Mountain 489 island,¹ on the Mississippi river; the design being, to erect the country north of that line and west of the Mississippi—with the whole of the northern peninsula, if it could be obtained—into a state to be called Superior, commanding the southern and western shores of Lake Superior with the mouth of Green bay and the foot of Lake Michigan to the southeast. It was a bold scheme and had the merit of originality.

1 The Mont Trempealeau of to-day.

His first amendment to the boundary article was as follows: "Commencing at the headwaters of the Montreal river, as marked by Captain Cram, thence southwest to a point a half degree due north to the highest peak on Mountain island, on the Mississippi river; thence due south over said Mountain island to the center of the channel of the Mississippi river." This was voted down, fifty-one to twenty-nine. Filibustering ensued; and later, the same day, on motion of Mr. Strong of Iowa county an amendment to the same effect as Holcomb's was adopted, forty-nine to thirty-seven. The next day, however, the vote was reconsidered, and, after several calls of the house, the amendment negatived, sixty-eight to thirty-five.

Library of Congress

After numerous amendments had been defeated, through a skirmish lasting some weeks, all of them closely allied in phraseology to the original article in the enabling act, Mr. Holcomb secured the adoption—ayes forty-nine, nays thirty-eight—of the following proviso, which was attached to the constitution as it went from the convention: “ *Provided* , however, that the following alteration of the aforesaid boundary be and hereby is proposed to the congress of the United States, as the preference of the state of Wisconsin; and if the same shall be assented to and agreed to by the congress of the United States, then the same shall be and forever remain obligatory on the state of Wisconsin, viz.: Leaving the aforesaid boundary line at the first rapids in the river St. Louis; thence in a direct line southwardly to a point fifteen miles east of the most easterly point in Lake St. Croix; thence due south to the main channel of the Mississippi river on Lake Pepin; thence down the said main 490 channel of Lake Pepin and the Mississippi river, as prescribed in the aforesaid boundary.”

On the 3rd of March, 1847, congress passed an act giving Wisconsin permission to change her northwestern boundary in accordance with the above proviso. But at an election on the first Tuesday in April the people rejected the constitution, and the boundary proposition thus fell to the ground with it. Had the constitution been accepted by popular vote, nearly the entire basin of the St. Croix river with its many thrifty towns and broad, fertile prairies, would have been lost to Wisconsin—the boundary sought being a continuation southward to the Mississippi, of the straight line that now runs only from the St. Louis to the St. Croix.

A second constitutional convention assembled at Madison on the 15th of December, 1847. Byron Kilbourn of Milwaukee, from the committee on general provisions, reported, December 23, a boundary article which accepted the conditions of the enabling act, but with this proviso: “ *Provided* , however, that the following alteration of the aforesaid boundary be and hereby is proposed to the congress of the United States, as the preference of the state of Wisconsin; and if the same shall be assented and agreed to by

Library of Congress

the congress of the United States, then the same shall be and forever remain obligatory on the state of Wisconsin, viz.: Leaving the aforesaid boundary line at the foot of the rapids of the St. Louis river; thence in a direct line, bearing southwesterly to the mouth of Rum river, where the same empties into the Mississippi river;¹ thence down the main channel of the Mississippi river, as prescribed in the aforesaid boundary."

1 The Rum empties into the Mississippi at Anoka, about twenty-five miles up river, from St. Paul.

This amendment, which was bitterly antagonized by the St. Croix-valley people, sought to secure to Wisconsin a large tract which embraces the whole of what are now the Minnesota counties of Washington and Ramsey, and considerable portions of Anoka, Isanti, Chisago, Pine and Carlton, with, of course, what is now the city of St. Paul.

491

George W. Brownell of St. Croix occupied the same position in this convention that Mr. Holcomb had in the previous body. On the 7th of January he introduced an amendment which was essentially the same as that for which his predecessor originally fought—a straight line from the headwaters of the Montreal to a point in the Mississippi "a half degree due north of Mountain island." In submitting this amendment, Mr. Brownell spoke at length¹ in its advocacy; he said that his proposal equitably divided the territory into two parts, according to the spirit of Mr. Douglas's proposition in congress, and "conformed to a natural geographical division;" that the people of the proposed new state along Lake Superior were severed from the settled portions of Wisconsin by "a wide, uninteresting and unsettled region of country of some one hundred and fifty miles, which forms a reasonable barrier to a connection;" the settlements on the Black and Chipewewa rivers and on Lake Superior, he said, were without any civil officers; they were distant and neglected. Finally, as a clincher, he represented that the region he spoke for was a low and fiat country, of no particular use to Wisconsin; it was "characterized for its pine barrens, lakes, tamarack swamps and marshes," and "would not pay the expense of surveying,

Library of Congress

for ages to come”—all of which reads strangely at this day, with an interval of barely forty years, to one acquainted with the development and possibilities of the marvelously rich agricultural, manufacturing, lumbering and mining regions of northern Wisconsin. Mr. Brownell said the people of that country had different pursuits, interests and feelings from the body of Wisconsin settlers, and their progress would be “greatly hampered by being connected politically with a country from which they are separated by nature—cut off from communication by immense spaces of wilderness between;” this was before the day of railroad facilities, which easily conquer such “spaces of wilderness” and cause them to resound with the hum of industry and to “blossom as the rose.” Mr. Brownell won to his side several members

1 *Jour. Wis. Const. Conv.*, 1847–48, p. 241.

492 from the south, who were touched by his earnest appeals and thought Wisconsin would have an abundance of land left, after allowing the St. Croix valley to be taken out of the state. But the majority were against the project and voted down the amendments as fast as Brownell and his friends would offer them. Even the proviso of the previous convention was promptly defeated, and the Rum-river proviso finally passed, forty-six to twelve.

The convention adjourned on the 1st of February, 1848, and the constitution was forwarded to congress for approval. The boundary proviso which it contained, at once raised a storm among the people in the St. Croix valley and about Fort Snelling, who wanted to be included in Minnesota. They accordingly united in a memorial to congress protesting against the Rum-river proposition, which memorial was presented on the 28th of March.¹ The petitioners—among whom were H. H. Sibley, Henry M. Rice, Franklin Steele, William R. Marshall² and others who afterwards became prominent in Minnesota affairs—wrote:

1 Neill's *Minnesota* (ed, 1882), p. 489.

2 See Marshall's reminiscences of this boundary dispute, in *Mag. West. Hist.*, vii., pp. 248—250.

“Your memorialists conceive it to be the intention of your honorable bodies so to divide the present Territory of Wisconsin as to form two states nearly equal in size, as well as other respects. A line drawn due south from Shagwamigan [Chequamegon] bay, on Lake Superior, to the intersection of the main Chippeway river, and from thence down the middle of said stream to its *debouchure* into the Mississippi, would seem to your memorialists a very proper and equitable division, which, while it would secure to Wisconsin a portion of the Lake Superior shore, would also afford to Minnesota some countervailing advantages. But if the northern line should be changed, as suggested by the convention, Minnesota would not have a single point on the Mississippi below the falls of St. Anthony, which is the limit of steam-boat navigation. This alone, to the apprehension of your memorialists, would be a good and sufficient reason why the mouth of Rum river should not be the 49th boundary, as that stream pours its waters into the Mississippi twenty miles above the falls. Besides this, the Chippeway and St. Croix valleys are closely connected in geographical position with the upper Mississippi, while they are widely separated from the settled parts of Wisconsin, not only by hundreds of miles of mostly waste and barren lands, which must remain uncultivated for ages, but equally so by a diversity of interests and character in the population.”

Moved by the arguments of these memorialists, and also by some active lobbying in Washington, congress declined to consent to the Rum-river proviso; and the act of May 29, 1848, admitting Wisconsin to the Union, recognized only such boundaries as were specified in the enabling act of 1846.

In 1852 the general government employed George R. Stuntz to run and mark the land line from “the first rapids in St. Louis river, above the Indian village, according to Nicollet's map, thence due south to the main branch of the river St. Croix.” He performed the task with the aid of nine men, between October 20 and November 18.¹ The site of Nicollet's

Library of Congress

Indian village is known as Fond du Lac, being on the north side of the river St. Louis, and eighteen miles from Lake Superior. It is at the point where the waters of the lake ordinarily meet, in a narrow bay, those of the river. The point of juncture, however, varies with the height of the water-level in the lake—in some years and in some seasons receding, while advancing in others. When Mr. Stuntz arrived, he was assured by the Chippewa chief at Fond du Lac that the first rapids of the river were opposite a trading warehouse at his village. But the water being high, no rapids were visible at this place. Whereupon, the surveyor proceeded up stream to a point where he was no longer able to propel his canoe with a single paddle, against the rushing current. Here, where the river runs due south for a few rods, he decided the “first rapids” to be; and on a high bluff, a quarter of a mile due south of this, he set his first post in the boundary. His plan of establishing the location

1 *Wis. Jour. of Educ.*, ii., p. 282.

494 of the first rapids was accepted by the topographical bureau; and thus Wisconsin gained, by the high water which chanced to prevail at the Fond du Lac that October day, thirty-six years ago, a ribbon of dense pine forest forty-two miles long by about half a mile broad.

THE SOUTHERN BOUNDARY.

Article V. of the ordinance of 1787, after providing for the eventual erection of three states out of the Northwest Territory, further specified: “That if congress shall hereafter find it expedient, they shall have authority to form one or two states in that part of the said Territory which lies north of an east and west line drawn through the southerly bend of Lake Michigan.”

Thus the southern boundaries of Michigan and Wisconsin, the fourth and fifth states that were to be, were established by the ordinance on this line,—41° 37' 07.9", according to Talcott's survey. This compact was to “forever remain unalterable except by common consent.” We have shown how Michigan was deprived of her birthright, though for a

Library of Congress

compensation and after an enforced consent. It remains to be seen how Wisconsin lost a strip of her southern border ten times as wide, without compensation and without consent of the people settled within the limits assigned by the ordinance of 1787, and confirmed by the act of 1805, to the fifth northwestern state.

In 1818 Illinois, the third state, applied for entry to the Union. The original bill for the purpose, as introduced by Nathaniel Pope, the delegate from Illinois, provided for the northern boundary prescribed by the ordinance. But, while his measure was still pending, he appears to have suddenly bethought himself of the advantages of giving to his state a share of the lake coast, and proposed an amendment making the latitude of 42° 30' its northern limits. This was a bold move, for the additional strip of territory sought to be thus obtained for Illinois was 61 miles, 19 chains and 13 495 links in width, embracing a surface of 8,500 square miles¹ of exceedingly fertile soil, and numerous river and lake ports, many miles of fine water-power, and the sites of Chicago, Rockford, Freeport, Galena, Oregon, Dixon and numerous other prosperous cities.

¹ Appendix to *Council Jour., Wis. Terr. Legis.*, 1844, p. 8. By the terms of the treaty at St. Louis, August 24, 1816, between the United States and the Ottawas, Chippewas and Pottawatamies, it became necessary to establish the point where a line "due west from the southern extremity of Lake Michigan" would strike the Mississippi. The line was surveyed by John Sullivan in 1818. He erected a monument at its terminus, "on the bank of the Mississippi near the head of Rock island." This was said to be still visible about the year 1840. In 1833 Captain Talcott, while upon the Ohio-Michigan boundary survey, had been instructed, under act of July 14, 1832, to "ascertain the point on the Mississippi river which is due west from the southerly extreme of Lake Michigan." He established this point as being "about seven miles north of the fort on Rock island," and erected several monuments there and on the line east of that to the southern extremity of the lake.

Mr. Pope, in advocacy of his amendment, said² that his chief purpose was to gain for the new state a coast on Lake Michigan, and lake communication with Indiana, Ohio,

Library of Congress

Pennsylvania and New York, thereby "affording additional security to the perpetuity of the Union." Illinois, he said, had practical control, along her southern and western borders, of the Wabash, Ohio and Mississippi rivers, all of which flowed south; she was the key to the west; in the event of a disruption of the Union, it would be important that Illinois should be so balanced as to have no great leaning to any particular confederacy. If left entirely upon the waters of the great southern-flowing rivers, it was plain, Judge Pope argued, that "in case of national disruption the interest of the state would be to join a southern and western confederacy. But if a large portion of it could be made dependent upon the commerce and navigation of the northern lakes, connected as they were with the eastern states, a rival interest would be created, to check the wish for a western or southern confederacy. Her interest would thus be balanced and her inclination turned to the north."

2 Ford's *Hist. of Ill.*, p. 22; Davidson and Struve's *Hist. of Ill.*, p. 295; *Annals of Congress* (1818), ii., p. 1677.

496

The amendment was agreed to in the house, without division, April 4, 1818, and the enabling act approved two weeks later. It contained no provision for the obtaining of permission from the people living north of 43° 30' and west of Lake Michigan; whereas the act enabling Indiana to form a state constitution, two years before, required the people interested to ratify the boundary change; and in later years, as we have seen, Michigan's consent was required before Ohio's claim could be allowed.

The act of 1836, erecting Wisconsin Territory, recognized the Illinois-Wisconsin border at 42° 30', as in the Illinois enabling act of 1818. And there the matter rested until the 22nd of December, 1838, when Governor Dodge approved a memorial to congress adopted by the territorial legislature of Wisconsin, wherein it was represented to congress that the act of 1818, fixing Illinois's northern boundary, came "directly in collision with, and [was] repugnant to, the compact entered into by the original states, with people and states within this Northwestern Territory," and praying that, as a measure of justice, "the southern

Library of Congress

boundary of [Wisconsin] Territory may be so far altered as to include all the country lying north of a line drawn due west from the southern extreme of Lake Michigan.” This memorial was presented to the senate January 28, 1839,¹ and conveniently pigeon-holed by the judiciary committee.

1 *Senate Docs.*, No. 149, 25th Cong., 3rd sess., vol. iii.

Wisconsin renewed the attack on the 31st of December, 1839, when a select council committee of the territorial legislature of Wisconsin reported resolutions² declaring that in the matter of the southern border, the ordinance of 1787 had been violated by congress, and that “a large and valuable tract of country is now held by the state of Illinois, contrary to the manifest right and consent of the people of this territory.” The resolutions requested that on the next general election day, the fourth Monday in September, the inhabitants of the territory vote upon the question of forming a state constitution, and that the people living in the district in northern Illinois, which was claimed

2 *House Jour., Wis. Terr. Legis.*, 1844, p. 14

497 by Wisconsin, be invited upon that day to express their opinion on the matter; and, in case a constitutional convention should be called, that the people in the disputed tract send delegates thereto. These resolutions were adopted by the legislature, and on the 13th of January were approved by Governor Dodge.

The passage of these resolutions gave rise to a decided uproar among the settlements in Wisconsin and northern Illinois. Public meetings were held at Galena, Rockford and Belvidere—Illinois towns in the disputed strip—and resolutions were adopted, declaring in favor of the Wisconsin claim.¹ These culminated in a convention at Rockford, July 6, in which Jo Daviess, Stephenson, Winnebago, Boone, 32

1 It will be seen by Editor Warren's letter to Governor Edwards, *ante*, p. 465, note, that as early as 1829 Judge Dory had worked up a strong popular sentiment in northern Illinois, in favor of the Wisconsin claim. May 25, 1840, there was presented to the United

Library of Congress

States senate a petition signed by sixty-two citizens of Stephenson county, asking that "Wiskonsin" be given those "ancient rights secured to them by the ordinance [of 1787] aforesaid," by the "repeal of so much of the act for the admission of Illinois as conflicts with the ordinance before referred to."—(*Senate Docs.*, No. 225, 26th Cong., 1st sess., vol. vi.) On the same day, the senate received the proceedings of a meeting "of the citizens of Galena and vicinity," held at Galena, May 7, 1840.—(*Ibid.*, Doc. No. 226.) It appears therefrom that a preliminary meeting had been held at the Galena court-house, February 1, Thomas Melvill being appointed chairman of a committee on correspondence, to ascertain the views held on the boundary dispute by the people of northern Illinois. May 1, another meeting was held, and Charles S. Hempstead was appointed to draw up a report, which was laid before the meeting of May 7. This report went over the ground quite thoroughly, from a historical point of view. The report of the committee on correspondence, also submitted, stated that it has been discovered "that an opinion is generally entertained by the inhabitants of these portions of the [disputed] district, that the territory in dispute rightfully belongs to Wiskonsin, according to the compact; that it is for the general welfare to be detached from the former [Illinois], and annexed to the latter [Wiskonsin]." The meeting thereupon adopted a series of resolutions demanding the admission of Wisconsin to the Union, with the territory in dispute, and inviting the people in each county in northern Illinois to send delegates to a convention to be held at Rockford the first Monday in July following. A committee headed by John Stark was "appointed to address a circular letter to all parts of said tract of country," advising the endorsement of the Wisconsin claim.

498 McHenry, Ogle, Carroll, Whitesides and Rock Island counties were represented. The convention formally declared that Wisconsin was entitled to the fourteen northern counties of Illinois, as claimed, and the citizens were recommended to elect delegates to a convention to be held at Madison, on the third Monday in November, "for the purpose of adopting such lawful and constitutional measures as may seem to be necessary and proper for the early adjustment of the southern boundary." But in Wisconsin Territory itself, popular sentiment seemed generally against this movement; and at a public meeting held in Green Bay, April 24, 1840, it was voted that the people of that section "viewed

Library of Congress

the resolutions of the legislature with concern and regret,” and the members thereof were requested to rescind them.¹ When the returns from the election were canvassed, it was found that the vote was light and almost wholly against state government.

¹ The objection, however, was laid more against the premature attempt to form a state government, than against the boundary claim.

During the legislative session of 1841, the question of forming a state government was not agitated, while an attempt to revive the southern boundary question, in the form of a memorial to congress, was promptly tabled, sixteen to nine, and not revived.

Mr. Doty became the chief executive in October, 1841. During the previous congress he had, as territorial delegate, attempted to secure consideration for a bill changing the southern boundary of Wisconsin, but was defeated by Illinois tactics and could not even get it presented. He was extremely enthusiastic in the advocacy of Wisconsin's “ancient limits.” His first message to the legislature, December 10, was outspoken in advocacy of a state government, saying that “if the district of country now under the jurisdiction of Illinois should sustain her claim, to be made a part of the state of Wisconsin,” then there would be one hundred thousand people in the territory, whereas the ordinance of 1787 required but sixty thousand for the purpose of state formation.

499

In the legislative council the committee on territorial affairs reported, February 8, 1842, that Wisconsin surely had the right to claim admission, with her southern border on the line drawn due west from the southern bend of Lake Michigan, but expressed some doubt as to the expediency of demanding that right. However, they reported a bill referring the question of state government to the people at the next election, and a resolution inviting the inhabitants of the disputed tract to hold an election at the same time on the question of uniting with Wisconsin in forming such state government.

Library of Congress

D.A.J. Upham of Milwaukee, one of the committee, was of a belligerent spirit. In a speech stoutly asserting the right of Wisconsin to assume jurisdiction over northern Illinois, he said: "Let us maintain that right at all hazards—unite in convention, form a state constitution, extend our jurisdiction over the disputed tract, if desired by the inhabitants there, and then, with legal right and immutable justice on our side, the moral and physical force of Illinois, of the whole Union, cannot make us retrace our steps."

In the house, the territorial affairs committee reported against any present attempt towards statehood. The legislature took no action on either report.

As the result of a meeting of the citizens of Stephenson county, Illinois, February 19, an election was actually held throughout the disputed tract, on the 5th of March, at which, of five hundred and seventy votes cast, all but one were in favor of uniting with Wisconsin. June 28, Governor Doty officially informed the governor of Illinois that the fourteen northern counties of the latter state were within the limits of the fifth of the Northwestern states established by the ordinance of 1787, and not, therefore, within the constitutional boundaries of the state of Illinois. He told his correspondent that the district in question was one over which Illinois was "exercising an accidental and temporary jurisdiction." The object of Governor Dory, in this letter, was to protest against the action of the commissioners appointed to locate the lands granted by the United States to Illinois, in making their selections chiefly within the Wisconsin 500 claim. At the general election in August, in Boone county, Illinois, the question of attachment to Wisconsin came up, with the result that of four hundred and ninety-six votes all but one were in the affirmative.

August 13 Governor Dory issued a proclamation, on his own responsibility, calling on all the people within the "ancient limits of Wisconsin," to vote, the fourth Monday in September, on the question of forming a state government. In the recognized limits of the Territory, however, but a small proportion of the inhabitants paid any attention to the proclamation, and of those three-fourths were against the proposition.

Library of Congress

Not at all abashed by the manner in which his proclamation had been ignored, the governor again solicited the legislature to call for a popular vote on the constitution question; with, of course, an invitation to the people of northern Illinois to join. But the legislature declined and the governor, again of his own motion, issued another proclamation—August 23, 1843—of the same import as that of the previous year. Less attention was paid to the matter, however, than in 1842, only one-eighth of the citizens caring to record their sentiments and nearly all of those voting “nay.”

December 4, 1843, in a message covering all of the boundary troubles, Governor Doty once more called legislative attention to the claim of Wisconsin to the sixty-one-mile-wide strip through northern Illinois. The special committee to whom the matter was referred found, among other things, that congress had, in fixing the northern boundary of Illinois at 42° 30', violated the compact of 1787. The report of the committee on this branch of the subject is elaborate and convincing.

The warlike address to congress accompanying the report, both of which were adopted, contains this phrase: “Had we formed a constitution and state government, and extended our jurisdiction over all the territory appropriated by the ordinance to the fifth state, though it might have involved us in a conflict with Illinois * * * no one could truly say we had done more than exercise our lawful rights in a lawful manner.”

501

But, as we have already seen, this pugnacious address to congress met with no response from that body, and nothing more was officially heard of Wisconsin's claim to the fourteen northern counties of Illinois until the enabling act of 1846, which confirmed the line of 42° 30'. In the first state constitutional convention which met in October, at Madison, there was a strong attempt to secure the introduction of a clause in the constitution referring all boundary disputes to the supreme court of the United States—Wisconsin to be meanwhile admitted with indefinite boundaries. But this failed—owing, in part, it is said, to the jealousy entertained by Wisconsin politicians of those in northern Illinois, whom they did not care

Library of Congress

to meet in competition for office—and the constitution-makers accepted the southern boundary that congress had established. In the second constitutional convention, the same result was harmoniously attained. And Wisconsin became a state, in 1848, stripped by the youthful greed of her southern neighbor and political manoeuvring in congress, of 8,500 square miles of the richest and most populous territory in the entire Northwest.¹

¹ Since the above article was written I have been in correspondence with Prof. John E. Davies of the United States coast and geodetic survey, who has spent much time in triangulation work in Wisconsin. In answer to a question as to whether the existing boundary posts between Illinois and Wisconsin are correctly located, Professor Davies writes: "The line as it is, does not represent the parallel of 42deg; 30#, as the constitution of each state prescribes. It zigzags to and fro, having been made by a surveyor's compass, apparently in the hands of Mr. Lucius Lyon, United States commissioner. The line should go further south than it now is—about three-fourths of a mile in the western part of Wisconsin, and further north in and east of Beloit."

LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN WISCONSIN.¹

¹ Annotated by the author.— Ed.

BY DAVID E. SPENCER.

The form of local government is of importance both as educating the whole people in public affairs and as affecting the purity and economy of local administration. The town-meeting in New England, and later in the whole Northwest, has performed a very important office in developing intelligence and interest in political affairs. Again, purity and economy in local administration depend upon the degree in which small communities control their own special financial concerns.

The same natural and social forces which developed the political tendencies of North and South so diversely, also produced in the two sections very different types of local

Library of Congress

government. And, by a curious train of events, these opposite systems have contended for mastery on the soil of Wisconsin.

There are in the United States three general types of local government—the town, the county, and the mixed system—represented respectively by New England, Virginia, and New York. The causes which developed such different institutions are to be found partly in the natural conditions of climate, soil, and industry, and partly in the character of the early colonists.

In Massachusetts,² the town is the only local division for administrative purposes aside from the school district. The county is but an aggregation of towns for judicial purposes,

² This brief outline of the local institutions of New England, Virginia and New York is introduced for the purpose of showing the significance of the changes in town and county government that have taken place in Wisconsin. The materials for this preliminary sketch have been drawn mainly from the *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*.

503 without political functions. The people in town-meeting direct the policy of the small commonwealth, pass appropriations, and vote internal improvements. We have here our nearest approach to complete democracy. In this parliament every voter has a voice. Moreover, no villages are incorporated; and the varied concerns of the village, with its higher organization, give to the statutes of the small town-commonwealths of New England a much wider range than in those states where the village manages its own affairs independently of the town in general.

In Virginia, whose system has been extended throughout the South, the county is the only local administrative division. Both the Virginia county and the New England town were the direct outgrowths of the parish, to which the American immigrants had been accustomed in England. But in the South, population, owing to the large size of the tobacco, rice, or cotton plantations, was not dense enough to permit of any smaller division than the county.

Library of Congress

The large number of indentured servants and transported criminals, the progenitors of the "poor-white trash" of the Southern states, and later the growth of slavery, still further developed aristocratic tendencies in the South. The system of Massachusetts was democratic in form; that of Virginia, aristocratic. In Massachusetts, the voters in town-meeting formed the local parliament; in Virginia, the local legislature was appointed by the governor. As the commissioners were always men of the greatest wealth and influence in the community, the system, while republican in form, was essentially aristocratic. The power over local affairs was concentrated in the hands of a few.

To the reasons already mentioned for the wide divergence between the local governments of Massachusetts or Connecticut and those of Virginia, may be added another, most important of all, viz.: the different religious and political ideas that the Puritans and the Virginia colonists brought from England; and it is to be noted that the system of local government adopted in the South did not differ materially from that which then existed in England. It was the departure of Massachusetts from the English model that produced 504 the wide divergence. It is the town-meeting that constitutes the fundamental and essential diversity between the towns of New England and the counties or parishes of the South. And the town-meeting was the outgrowth of the Puritans' religious ideas and church organization. The independent control of ecclesiastical affairs by the entire congregation,—in other words, democracy in the church,—led naturally to democracy in political institutions. The town grew up about church and school as a nucleus. The Southern gentleman prided himself on his broad acres, his numerous slaves, his fast horses, and fleet hounds; but the church and school were the centers of New England life. Thus the extremely popularized, local governments of New England were in part the result of the Puritan character; but also preserved and developed the religious and political tendencies of the Puritans, and in this way have formed a controlling force in our history that can hardly be overrated.

The third type of local government, the New York plan, combines the features of the systems existing in Massachusetts and Virginia. Control of local matters is divided

Library of Congress

between county and town. The town-meeting is retained; and, in so far, the plan resembles that of Massachusetts; but the county affairs are managed by a board consisting of one supervisor from each town; and in this the Virginia system is followed. Probably the origin of this mixed system is to be found chiefly in the character of the early colonists. It was the Dutch control that gave the bent to local government in New York, as the Puritan influence did in Massachusetts. The system of patroonships among the Dutch would have made any smaller division than the county impracticable. But the later English settlement, and the westerly migration from Massachusetts, counteracted the tendency which New York had shown toward the Virginia system, and finally developed local institutions of a mixed character.

The present Wisconsin was a part of Illinois before the admission of that territory into the Union. Illinois had long been a part of Virginia, whose claim was strengthened by the conquest of the territory by George Rogers Clark, 505 in 1778. Hence, the population in 1818, confined to the southern half of the state, was mainly of Southern origin; and Southern influences controlled all political affairs and moulded the institutions. Thus the local institutions of the South were left as a heritage to Wisconsin, in common with Michigan, when severed from Illinois. In 1820, a law of Michigan Territory made it the duty of the governor to appoint for each county three commissioners, with the usual powers over local matters. The confirmation of this system in a Territory whose inhabitants were then mostly of northern birth, was probably due to the sparse settlement, which would have made the town organization impracticable. This law remained in force until 1827; but it was provided, in 1825, that the commissioners should be elected by the people of the county.

In 1822, the *borough* of Prairie du Chien was incorporated. There were to be elected a warden and two burgesses, corresponding to the president and trustees of our villages. The organization and powers of Prairie du Chien "borough" were essentially the same as those of villages in Wisconsin and other states. With the exception of Green Bay in 1838, this is the only instance of the use of the term "borough" in Wisconsin. These early

Library of Congress

laws were copied from the codes of Eastern states, and the one for the incorporation of Prairie du Chien was taken from the statutes of Connecticut and Ohio.¹ Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Connecticut are the only states that have "boroughs."² And the name as applied here, doubtless came from the Connecticut laws. "The borough," says the annalist of Prairie du Chien,³ "passed and repealed by-laws for about three years and stopped business in 1825."

¹ *Laws of Michigan Territory*, i., p. 236.

² *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, No. 4, Fourth series, p. 8.

³ Durrie's *Annals of Prairie du Chien*, p. 7.

It was the influence of Governor Cass, who, born and bred in New Hampshire, was thoroughly imbued with New England ideas of local government, that led congress in 1827 to establish the New York system in Michigan Territory. The county commissioner system was abolished, and towns 506 were organized. Each town was to elect one supervisor, and the supervisors from all the towns in the county were collectively to form the county board. The towns had the more important business, e.g., control of highways, management of poor-houses, supervision of schools; but town accounts were audited and allowed by the county board.

As far as the present territory of Wisconsin is concerned, this law is of little account. The towns of Green Bay and St. Anthony, which included respectively the villages of Green Bay and Prairie du Chien, were then the only settled portions of Wisconsin, and hence the only parts having regular civil government. These towns were specially excepted from this law of 1827, and given a special organization better suited to the scant population. In each were to be elected three supervisors, who were to perform the duties of both town and county supervisors. This was virtually the old system. There appear to have been no towns organized in the present Wisconsin. under this law.

Library of Congress

No important changes were made until after the organization of Wisconsin Territory in 1836. The discovery of lead in southwestern Wisconsin, in 1827, brought a large immigration, chiefly from Southern states, into that region during the next decade. Thus, in the new territory, the Southern people of the lead region formed the majority, and in 1837 established the system of county commissioners. This shows the strong sympathies of southwestern Wisconsin with Southern institutions.

In 1836 was passed a general law of village incorporation, and in 1838 towns were organized for judicial and police purposes, and given some minor power in regard to roads.

The Black Hawk expedition of 1832 had reported a rich farming region on the western shore of Lake Michigan. The land was purchased from the Indians, and an immense immigration immediately took place from New England and New York. This new element soon overbalanced the population of the lead region. A demand arose for the restoration of the more democratic form of local government, and in 1841 Northern influences and ideas once more triumphed.¹

¹ "An act to provide for the government of the several towns in Territory and for the revision of county government" (1841).

507 Numerous petitions for the change had been presented to the legislature, chiefly from citizens of the eastern counties, while petitions on the other side came from the lead region. Newspaper editorials denounced the existing system as "anti-democratic," and as causing "heavy taxes and unequal and improper assessments." "Each town," said *The Milwaukee Sentinel* of September 8, 1840, "is most competent to judge of its own wants and regulate its own affairs, and if left to itself would better secure the interests of its inhabitants than a more remote, expensive, and to them, in a measure, irresponsible body." These extracts sum up the chief grounds on which the county-commissioner plan was opposed. In some localities also, as in Washington county, the requirements of the increasing population burdened the three commissioners with an excessive amount of

Library of Congress

work in regard to roads, schools, valuation, and levy of taxes. A larger body became necessary to cope with the growth of local business. The continued attachment of the people of the lead region to the existing system was doubtless due solely to their Southern proclivities.

The new law provided that the people of each county might vote “for” or “against” county government. The vote was taken at the general election in 1841; and the returns, as reported to the legislature on February 3, 1842, show that the eastern counties, settled by Northern people, voted by large majorities against county government, while Green, Crawford and Iowa counties voted for the old system.¹ In the spring of 1842, the change was thus effected in the counties of Jefferson, Milwaukee, Walworth, Racine, Fond du Lac, Rock and Brown. Others made the change in succeeding years, so that when Wisconsin was admitted as a state, in 1848, all had adopted the town organization except the southwestern counties,—Grant, Green, La Fayette, Iowa and Sauk. In these the Southern influence still prevailed.

¹ *House Jour., Wis. Terr. Legis.*, 1841, p. 224.

By the new state constitution, the legislature was required to establish “but one system of town and county government, which shall be as uniform as practicable.”²

² *Const. of Wis.*, art. iv., sec. 23.

508 Accordingly, the New York system, substantially what we now have, was adopted, and the southwestern counties were obliged to re-organize on this plan.

Doubtless these would have retained the old system for many years but for the provision in the constitution requiring uniformity. The lead region must then have contained a large element, perhaps a majority, of citizens bred under Northern influences; but other causes than sectional prejudice or tradition were operating in favor of Southern methods of local government. It was urged, in numerous petitions to the legislature, that the system of three county commissioners involved less expense than that in which the governing body

Library of Congress

consisted of as many individuals as there were towns in the county. These petitions came from all portions of the state.

Section 22, article IV., of the constitution reads, in part, "The legislature may confer upon the boards of supervisors of the several counties" certain powers, thus implying that the "uniform" system established by the legislature should be the supervisor system. This term and that of commissioner had come to have definite and distinct meanings; and were in common usage, in legal signification, and in the intent of the framers of the constitution, not interchangeable. The one, by general and legal usage, designated the system of New York, in which the county board consists of supervisors from the towns; by the other was understood the system of commissioners chosen for the entire county. The bill presented to the legislature provided that the "county board of supervisors should consist of three electors," one to be elected in each of the three districts in which the county was to be divided. But in those counties that contained three or more assembly districts a supervisor was to be elected in each assembly district, and one additional supervisor for the county at large where there was an even number of assembly districts. This arrangement was made with the purpose of making the number of supervisors proportionate to the population of the respective counties; and, in consequence, to the amount of business in regard to roads, schools, taxes, etc., to be transacted in each. Each county board would consist of at least three members, but the number in every county would be much smaller than under the existing system. As far as the rather limited business of the county is concerned, this was at least an approach to the spirit of the Virginia plan, with its concentration of power in the hands of a few. But the main purpose of the supporters of the new plan was to have a smaller body to transact county business, and at the same time to adjust the number composing it to the population and public business of each county. The system in which each town furnishes a member of the county board, making a comparatively large number in that body, was regarded as too cumbersome and expensive for the newer and more thinly settled counties of the state. It was thought that, in these at least, business would be transacted with greater efficiency and dispatch by a board of three or

Library of Congress

five members. On the other hand, in the older counties, where population was denser and more compact, and where local affairs had attained a great extent and a considerable complexity, a larger board, securing representation to each small locality, was deemed necessary. The extent of the financial and general interests involved in such counties demanded a large body to secure careful attention to the interests of each locality.

The people of these counties, therefore, regarded the new plan as a step backward; as a return to the spirit of institutions that the constitution had specially sought to avoid. The petitioners generally used the term “county commissioners” to express the desired system, but the legislators who framed the law used the word “supervisors,” and thus evaded the plain and well-known intent of the constitution.

The opponents of the proposed plan accordingly argued that it was unconstitutional, and also urged its repugnance to the spirit and forms of democratic institutions. The minority report of the committee on town and county organization¹ declared that the bill “contracts the representative privileges of the people and concentrates power in the hands of the few.” Further,—“Person and property are periled.

¹ *Wis. Assembly Jour.*, 1861, p. 563.

510 It is a miserly policy that seeks to put money into the scale against popular rights.”

In accordance with a very general desire for a change in the county organization, the bill became a law. The town organization, however, remained intact; and as the town with us is more prominent than the county, having in charge the most important local interests, this change in the county organization was of relatively small consequence.

But it was of sufficient moment to secure repeated consideration on the part of succeeding legislatures; and from 1867 on, a series of successful attempts on the part of some counties to secure an organization similar in effect, if not in form, to that which had prevailed from 1849 to 1861. We may take the case of Washington county as an example. There, a special law of 1868 provided for a board of eight members, while its population

Library of Congress

entitled it to but three under the general law. The question was brought before the supreme court, which decided that the board of eight members was clearly illegal as being hostile to the uniformity in the different counties required by the constitution.¹ But several other counties,² in the two or three years previous to 1870, made similar changes in such manner as to conform to the constitutional provision; at least, the question of the legality of their organization was not brought before the supreme court.

1 State *ex rel.* Peck vs. Riordan and others, 24 Wis., 484.

2 Sheboygan, Green and Calumet.

In 1870, the supervisor system was restored. As in 1861, the unconstitutionality of the existing system, as evinced by the wording of the constitution, the debates in the convention, and the manner in which the law was put in force, was urged on one side, while cheapness was the main argument on the other. Representation of each town in the county board was thought necessary to prevent injustice toward any one town and to bring the governing body into closer relations of responsibility to the tax-payers. The transfer of local business from the legislature to the county boards and the consequent reduction of the length of the 511 sessions was also urged by the advocates of the change. The argument in regard to cost was very strong, but the spirit of republican government triumphed over the consideration of expense, and the New York system was re-established and has continued in operation to the present time.

INDEX.

Abbott, James, fur trader, 377.

Aberdeen, Scotland, 437.

Abraham, plains of, 100.

Library of Congress

Academy, the French, 20.

Acadia, 37, 41, 43.

A'Carp river, 205.

A'Chemin river, 209.

Achipoés Indians, 27.

Achoabeme. See Ashawaubomay.

Ada (Mich.), 374.

Adam and Anderson, Scotch lawyers, 437.

Adams, Aurora, tavern keeper, 231.

Adams, John Quincy, president of United States, 368, 392, 396.

“Adventure,” British sloop, 187, 199.

Agency City (Iowa), 357.

Agos Indians, 110.

Agovoin Indians, 102, 105, 107, 110.

Agriculture (at Green Bay in 1827), 388.

Ahkeeneebéway (Standing Earth), Menomonee chief, 220, 234–237.

Ail Rouge, Sioux chief, 276, 286, 290.

Library of Congress

Ainsea,—, Indian interpreter, 122, 149, 157.

Aird, James, fur trader, 286, 308, 315.

Aird, Robert, fur trader, 99.

Aitkin, William A., fur trader, 374.

Ajovoin. See Agovoin.

Akansas (country), La Salle's taking possession, 29.

Akansas Indians, 29, 30, 32, 33.

Alabama island, 372.

Albany (N. Y.), 65.

Albemarle county (Va.), 113.

Alder, Rolf, British midshipman, 197.

Alexander the Great, 448, 449.

Alger county (Mich.), 460.

Algonquin Indians, 11, 18; of Allumette island, 9; of Lake Nipissing, 9, 10; of Three Rivers, 16; name for salt water, 13; language, 15.

Aligne de Petch, 290.

Allanson, Lieut. John S., obtains Maxwell's Narrative, 214.

Allegheny river, 31, 33.

Library of Congress

Allen, Capt.—,vessel master, 385.

Allison, James, British midshipman, 197.

Allouéz, Father Claude, with St. Lusson, 28; visits Mascoutins, 66.

Allumette island, visited by Nicolet, 1, 9, 12.

Altamaha river, 48.

American domination in the west, documents promulgated during, 60–63.

American Fur Company, relations with Jacques Vieau, Sr., 224, 405; with Solomon Juneau, 224, 226, 405; with James Kinzie, 224; with Green Bay traders, 386; with Prairie du Chien traders, 362, 387; invoices (1821–22), 370–379; Chicago factory, 228.

American State Papers, 137, 224, 236, 237, 249, 251, 363.

Amherst, Sir Jeffrey, British officer, 115, 213.

Amherst (Mass.), 214.

Anatchie, Sac chief, 167, 169.

Ance Quirvinan. *See* L'Anse and Keweenaw.

Anderson, Thomas G., trader at Milwaukee, 240; in attack on Prairie du Chien, 261, 264, 266, 286, 306, 308–312; Narrative and Journal criticised, 255, 256.

André, Father, Jesuit missionary, 28.

Andrews, James, British naval officer, 185, 186, 191, 193, 202.

Library of Congress

Andriani, Count, at Grand Portage, 125.

Ange, Augustin, fur trader, 249.

“Angelica,” British sloop, 185, 187, 189, 199, 200.

“Ann,” fur trade vessel, 375, 377.

Annals of Congress, 462, 495.

Anoka (Minn.), 490.

Anoka county (Minn.), 490.

Antaya, Pierre, fur trader, 249.

Anticosti, island of, 47.

Anti-federalist party, 381, 382.

Apalachicola river, 47.

Apostle island, on Schoolcraft's and McKenney's maps, 372; proposed state names, 372.

Apple river (Wis.), 278.

Appleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography, 114.

514

“Aquila,” early vessel on Fox river, 412, 413.

“Archangel,” British sloop, 187, 189, 199.

Aristocracy in the south, 503, 504.

Library of Congress

Arndt, Charles C. P., killed by Vineyard, 408.

Arrowstone creek, 345.

Art, early, in Milwaukee, 218.

Ashawaubomay (Side Looks), au Ottawa, 234–237.

Ashland county, visited by Radisson, 67, 72–75, 93.

Ashwaubenon creek, origin of name, 234.

Ashwaubenon (town), 219, 225, 233; origin of name, 234–237.

Askin, John, ship-owner, 189.

Askin. Capt. John, in attack on Prairie du Chien, 275, 289; letters from Louis Grignon, 283, 305, 310.

Askjahr,—, Sr., an Indian, 293.

“Assenisipia,” 453.

Assiniboine river, 124.

Assinipoal Indians, 27.

Astor (Green Bay), 226, 388.

Astor, John Jacob, fur trader, 387.

Atkinson, Gen. Henry, in Red Bird war, 249, 361, 367, 368.

Atlantic ocean, 47, 50.

Library of Congress

Atwood, Ann, Lake Mills pioneer, 430.

Atwood, David, *Fathers of Wisconsin*, 380, 409.

Atwood, E. L., Lake Mills pioneer, 430.

Atwood, Elvira, Lake Mills pioneer, 430.

Atwood, John, Lake Mills pioneer, 430.

Aumoussonnite Indians, 27.

Aungnou,—,murders a Fox, 127.

Austria, Emperor of, 291.

Antray, Sieur d'. See Bourdon.

Aztalan, prehistories at, 419; early settlement, 420, 422; town organized, 421.

Bad river, See Matchesepe.

Bailly, Joseph, fur trader, 372, 375.

Baird, Miss Elizabeth T., cited, 373.

Baird, Henry S., overland trip to Prairie du Chien, 402, 403.

Baker,—,British officer, 202.

Baker, George, early Methodist, 431.

Baldwin, Philander, Watertown pioneer, 418.

Library of Congress

Banabeouik Indians, 27.

Bancroft, George, *History of the United States*, 137.

Banks and Banking. See Finance.

Baptiste,—(in war of 1812–15), 294, 299, 300.

Baptiste, Jean, American partisan in the Revolution, 143.

Baptists, at Lake Mills, 431.

Bark river, 420, 427.

Barney, Hiram, New York capitalist, 413.

Barth and Son, ship-owners, 189.

Barthe, Jean Baptiste, fur trader, 99, 104, 105, 134.

Bartlett, M. L., Milford pioneer, 419.

Bascom,—,lumberman, 232.

Bay de Noque, 164.

Bay, The. See Green Bay.

Beach, Samuel, Milwaukee pioneer, 245.

Beall, Samuel W., county-seat commissioner, 357.

Bears, 78, 94, 95.

Library of Congress

Beaubien, Jean Baptiste, fur trader, 228, 374, 375.

Beaubien, Medore B., early Chicago trader, 228.

Beau, Jean. See Vieau, Jacques, Sr. and Jr.

Beaupré, Louis, Green Bay settler, 284, 388.

Beaupré, Mrs.—(wife of Louis), 297.

Beaver islands, 203, 394.

Beavers, 69, 77, 87, 92, 93, 181.

Becker Lawrence, pioneer farm-hand, 425.

Bedford (Mass.), 213, 214.

Beebee, W. T., 232.

Beker, William, British naval officer, 185.

Belleborne brook. 16.

Belle Fountain (Ill.), 318. 319, 321.

Belleisle, 45.

Belleville (Ill.), 362.

Bello, Michael, fur trader's clerk, 143.

Beloit, 501

Library of Congress

Belvidere (Ill.), claimed by Wisconsin, 497.

Benclo. See Linctot, Godefroy.

Bennet, John, British naval officer, 200, 202.

Bennett, Lieut. Thomas, British officer, 112, 123.

Benton, Thomas, H., relations with James D. Doty, 463; in Ohio-Michigan boundary dispute, 473.

Berthe, Louison, Indian interpreter, 287, 312.

Berthelotte, Jean Baptiste, letter from Louis Grignon, 314.

Bertrand, Joseph, fur trader, 376.

Bethesda spring (Waukesha), 418.

“Betsey,” British sloop, 198.

Bezhike, Chippewa chief, 372.

Bibaud, M., *Histoire du Canada*, 254.

Bibeau,—, fur trader, 373.

Bidaud, François, with St. Luson, 29.

Biddle, Edward, fur trader, 374.

515

Biddle, Maj. John indian agent at Green Bay, 391, 392.

Library of Congress

Big Woman. See Keecheeaqua.

Bingham, John A., river-improvement commissioner, 410.

Binette,—, fur trader, 373.

Bingley, Capt.—, early vessel master, 385.

Bird, Capt. Henry, British officer, 114, 157.

Biron, Joseph, fur trader, 99.

Bismarck (Dak.), near western limit of Michigan Territory, 462, 463.

Black Hawk, Sac leader, village on Rock river, 348, 349; in custody of Keokuk, 357; *Autobiography*, 238.

Black Hawk war, 226, 316, 365, 403, 426, 427; Waubasha in, 132; Street's services, 357; Stambaugh's expedition, 393; induces immigration, 506.

Black Partridge, Pottawattomie chief, 322, 323, 337, 340, 347.

Black Peter, negro fur trader, 207.

Black river, 359; early settlements on, 491.

Black Thunder. See Tonnerre Noir.

Blair,—, machinist, 418.

Blake, Capt.—, vessel master, 377.

Blein,—, with Perrot, 36.

Library of Congress

Blondeau,—, fur trader, 164, 313.

Bloody Run (Detroit), Dalzell's fight at, 213, 217.

Blossom, Levi, Milwaukee pioneer, 245.

Blue Book, Wisconsin, 415, 432.

Blue Mounds, lead-mining at, 397, 399; visited by Martin, 402; in Black Hawk war, 403.

Bodleian library, 64.

Bœuf Blanc, a Winnebago, killed by traders, 164.

Bœuf Sioux. See Sioux.

Boilvin,—, early Chicago confectioner, 228.

Boilvin, Nicholas, Indian agent at Prairie du Chien, 289, 290, 295, 357; describes Prairie du Chien (1811), 247; sketch. 247–249.

Bois Blanc island, 464.

Boisrondet, François de, with La Salle, 32, 35. Bolton, David, British naval officer, 185, 186, 189, 193, 202.

Bolton, Lieut. Col. Mason, British army officer, 111, 123, 131, 145, 177; letter to Haldimand, 130; letter from Sinclair, 154; from Clowes, 155.

Bonaparte, Napoleon, 291.

Bonhomme, Guillaume, with St. Luson, 29.

Library of Congress

Bonneterre, Augustin, Green Bay settler, 295, 306.

Boone county (Ill.) claimed by Wisconsin, 497, 500.

Boone's Lick. 323.

Borie-Guillot,—de, French commandant on the Wisconsin, 36.

Boroughs, in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Connecticut and Wisconsin, 595.

Boston Bank Note Company, 436.

“Boston,” British schooner, 199.

Boston (Mass.) tea party, 214; in Revolutionary war, 214; visited by Gomo, 336.

Bostonniens, Indian nickname for Americans, 108, 110, 126, 127, 183, 184.

Boucher,—, fur trader, 169.

Bouchette, B., British naval officer, 193, 202.

Boundaries, claimed for France, by St. Lusson, 28; by La Salle, 31, 33, 34; by Perrot, 36; in preliminary articles of peace, by England, 38; in definitive treaty, 43; under King George's proclamation, 46–48; under Quebec act, 53, 54; Washington's plan for western states, 451, 452; Jefferson's plan, 61, 452, 453; of Northwest Territory, 453, 454; of Ohio, 455–460; of Indiana, 455, 456, 460–462; of Illinois, 460, 461; of Michigan, 457–462; Wisconsin Territory, 465–467; State of Wisconsin, 468, 469; northeast boundary of Wisconsin, 469–485; northwest, 486–494; southern, 494–501; of “Chippewau Territory,” 463–465; of “Huron Territory,” 465; Ohio-Michigan dispute, 465; 471–475; Ohio-Indiana boundary, 465; international, between United States and Canada, 453–457, 463, 464, 470, 474, 475, 486, 487.

Library of Congress

Bourdon, Jean, with La Salle, 32, 35.

Bourne, Capt. W. R., Indian agent at Green Bay, 381.

Bouscoutton Indians, 27.

Bowman, Oscar, early Methodist, 431.

Bowyer, Col. John, Indian agent at Green Bay, 391; sketch, 393, 394.

Bowyer's bluff, 394.

Boyd, Col. George, Indian agent at Green Bay, 392, 393; his papers, 393.

Boyd, James M., executor of Lawe estate, 271.

Boyer, Michelle, British partisan, 279, 282, 289.

Braddock's defeat, 100.

Bradstreet's Reports, 438.

Brady, Gen. Hugh, U. S. A., 228, 385.

Brant, Joseph, British partisan, 114.

Brassar, Antoine, with La Salle, 82.

Brayton, Alfred A., Aztalan pioneer, 422.

516

Brayton, Aztaline, first girl born in Jefferson county, 422.

Brayton, Jeremiah, Aztalan pioneer, 422.

Library of Congress

Brayton, Louisa M., first teacher in Madison, 422.

Brayton, Thomas, Aztalan pioneer, 422.

Brayton, William, Aztalan pioneer, 422.

Bread. See Pohquaygeegun.

Bread, Daniel, Oneida chief, 228.

Brébeuf, Father, ascends the Ottawa, 12; *Relation*, 24.

Breed, A. O. T., Milwaukee pioneer, 245.

Breevoort, Maj. Henry B., Indian agent at Green Bay, 390, 391.

Brehm, Capt. Diedrick, British army officer, 136, 147, 153, 170; letters from Sinclair, 141, 144; to Sinclair, 149.

Brewer, Capt.—, in Rogers's rangers, 213.

Brigham, Ebenezer, at Blue Mounds, 397, 401; in territorial council, 408.

Brillevast, France, 18.

Brisbois, B. W., cited, 248.

Brisbois, Michael, Jr., 100.

Brisbois, Michael, Sr., 100, 248; in war of 1812–15, 266, 290; in the fur trade, 387.

Bristol, Mrs. Mary Ann Breevoort, cited, 391.

Library of Congress

British domination in the West, documents promulgated during, 36–60; in the Northwest during Pontiac's war, 213–217; possessions in 1763, 453; operations in the Northwest during the Revolution, 97–212; relations with Spain in Revolutionary war, 145; defeat at Natchez, 137; land cession in 1783, 454; intrigues among Wisconsin Indians, 251, 252; operations in war of 1812–15, 224; expedition against prairie du Chien, 254–270; methods of conducting Indian agencies, 344.

British Museum, 64; American historical material in, 97, 115.

British *Statutes at Large*, 53.

“Brochete,” British sloop, 198.

Brooks, Capt.—, early vessel master, 413.

Brown,—, gives information to Sinclair, 161.

Brown county, represented by Arndt, 408.

Brown, Joseph, early legislator, 381.

Brownell, George W., in constitutional convention, 491, 492.

Brownstown (Mich.), battle of, 214, 331.

Brulé river, as a boundary point, 477, 484, 485.

Brunet, Dominique, Sr., Green Bay settler, 388. See Masca.

Brunet, John B., fur trader, 387, 396.

“Brunswick,” British schooner, 198.

Library of Congress

Bryant, Guy, fur trader, 252.

Brymner, Douglas, Canadian archivist, 115, 258; "Capture of Fort McKay," 254.

Buchanan, James, United States senator, 474.

Buck, an Indian, 278.

Buck, James S., *Pioneer History of Milwaukee*, 218, 222, 226, 245, 403; *Milwaukee Under the Charter*, 405.

Buckatte,—, 287.

Buck fever, 424.

Buckland (Mass.), 214.

Buckner, James, early tavern keeper, 418.

Buffalo (N. Y.), 417.

Buffaloes, 79, 83, 87, 88, 93.

Buisson, Louis, fur trader, 341, 372, 373.

Bulger, Capt. A., British army officer, 256, 258, 306, 308, 310; his papers, 258; letter to Governor Clark, 259; to Lawe, 312, 313.

Bulger, A. E., 258.

Bullock, Capt. Richard, British commandant at Mackinaw, 276, 294, 296.

Bunker Hill, battle of, 214.

Library of Congress

“Bunker Hill,” early steamboat, 417.

Burdicke, Oscar, mail carrier, 232, 233.

Burlington (Vt.), 417.

Burnet, Jacob, *Notes on Northwest Territory*, 456.

Burnet, John, British naval officer, 193, 202.

Burnett, Thomas P., Indian sub-agent at Prairie du Chien, 357.

Burnett, William, fur trader, 240.

Burns, Robert, drilled by De Peyster, 97.

Burroughs and Campbell, Quebec notaries, 22.

Busché,—, voyageur, 393.

“Buscowen,” British sloop, 198.

Butler county (Ohio), 214.

Butler, James D., cited, 250; translations from the French, 283, 304, 310; “Alexander Mitchell, the Financier,” 435.

Buttes des Morts, Petit, 399, 402; treaty of 1827, 385; fur trade at, 387; Oshkosh at, 395.

Butterfield, Consul Willshire, 250; *Discorery of the Northwest*, 2, 5, 12–15, 18, 25, 66, 101; *Washington-Irvine Correspondence*, 97, 180; in *Mag. of Western History*, 66, 179; “Bibliography of Jean Nicolet,” 23.

Library of Congress

Cabonné,—, imprisoned by Americans, 295.

Cadillac, La Mothe. Governor of Detroit, 178.

Cadle, R. F., Episcopalian missionary, 226.

Cadott, Jean Baptiste, fur trader, 134, 142, 145; letter to Gautier, 170; sketch, 170.

Cadott, Joseph, in war of 1812–15, 372.

517

Cadotte, Michael, Sr., fur trader at La Pointe, operations, 372, 374; sketch, 372.

Cadotte's island, 372.

Caen, France, 3.

Cahokia (Ill.), George Rogers Clark at, 113, 119, 178; McCarty at, 133; Gratiot at, 151; Calvé at, 154–156, 161.

Caientonon island. See Manitoulin.

“Caldwell,” British sloop, 185, 189, 199.

Calumet county, county-commissioner system in, 510; Indians of (1812–15), 293, 294.

Calumet, pipe of peace, 83, 84, 88, 89.

Calumet (town), 400.

Calvé, Joseph, fur trader, 108, 109, 111, 134, 135, 139, 140, 142, 155, 156, 158, 161, 162.

Calhoun, John C., letter from Forsyth, 352.

Library of Congress

California island. 372.

Callières, François de, 19.

Callières, James de, 19, 20.

Callières, Louis Hector de, governor of New France, 19, 20.

Cambridge (Wis.), 416.

Cambridge (Mass.), 214.

Campbell, Gen.—, British officer, 144, 145, 147, 148.

Campbell, Lieut. James, British and Indian attack on, 328, 332.

Campbell. J. B.. lead miner. 397.

Campbell, Lieut. Col. John, British officer, 121, 140.

Campbell,—, British paymaster, 150.

Campion, Alerr, fur trader, 99.

Campion, Etienne, fur trader, 99.

Camp Smith (Green Bay), 391.

Canada, ceded by France to England, 2, 37, 41–43; operations in the Northwest, during the Revolution, 97–212; boundary between United States and, 453–457, 463–465, 469, 470, 474, 475, 486, 457; interest felt in, by French, 1–3; Royal Society, 3, 5; archives of, 97–212, 254, 256–270.

Library of Congress

Canals, at Portage, 403, 404, 410, 481; Milwaukee and Rock-river. 449.

“Canceaux.” British naval vessel, 197.

Canfroy, Antony, British midshipman, 197.

Canoe voyages, from Green Bay to Mackinaw, 394; Fox and Wisconsin rivers, 395, 396, 399, 402.

Cape aux Gris, 323, 338.

Cape Breton, island of, 37, 42, 43, 48.

Cape Girardeau (Mo.), 252.

Cape Rosieres, 47.

Carleton, Sir Guy, governor of Canada, 97, 115, 121, 142, 174; letters from De Peyster, 97, 111, 177; to De Peyster, 174; from Gautier, 100; to Hamilton, 175; from Lord Germain, 175.

Carlton county (Minn.), 490.

Carminis. See Karrymaunee.

Carn, France, academy of, 19.

Carnegey, Patrick, British midshipman, 197.

Caron, Menomonee chief, death of, 164.

Carribous, 79.

Library of Congress

Carroll county (Ill.), claimed by Wisconsin, 498.

Carron, Thomas. *See* Tomah.

Cartier, James, 11.

Carver, Jonathan, *Travels*, 124.

Case, Asa, Saukville pioneer, 231.

Cuss,—, British partisan, 275.

Cass, Lewis, governor of Michigan Territory, 357, 375, 390, 476; befriends Maxwell, 214; in war of 1812–15, 283: treats with Indians, 361, 385; in boundary dispute, 471; ideas of county government. 505.

Cassville (Wis.), first settlement at, 365.

Cassée, La Main, Sauk warrior, 106, 110, 126.

Catahouchee river, 47.

Catfish river, 401.

Catholics, in Canada, 2, 3; missions, 65, 241; status under Quebec act, 55–57, 59: at Waukesha, 231; at Green Bay, 233, 385.

Carlin, Rosa, early Lake Mills teacher, 416.

Cattle Yard. *See* Cowpens.

Cauchois, Jacques, with La Salle, 32, 35.

Library of Congress

Caumont, Sieur de. See Legardeur.

Canne, Pierre, fur trader, 375.

Cave Hill, Louisville (Ky.), 114.

Céloron,— de, 181.

Chabollier, Louis, fur trader, 99.

Chaboly, Hyppolite, fur trader, 208.

Chætar, a Winnebago, delivers up Black Hawk, 357.

Chaleur, Bay des, 47, 53.

Chambers, Col. Talbot, arrival at Green Bay, 393, 894; sketch, 393.

Chambers, William, British naval officer, 197.

Chambers's island, 394.

Chamblée, Canada. 121.

Chambolée, Indian chief at Milwaukee. 210.

Champlain, Samuel de, trains interpreters, 4; ascends the Ottawa, 9; visits Georgian bay, 10; Indian reports to, 10, 11; efforts to reach China. 11, 12; map of the Northwest, 10; his god-daughter marries Nicolet, 16; death of, 15, 19.

518

Chandonnai, Lieut. J. B., British partisan, 278, 285, 287, 293, 298, 303; murders his uncle, 322.

Library of Congress

Chandonnai, John, Indian agent, murdered by his nephew, 322.

Chaouesnon Indians. See Shawanoes.

“Chapantier,” fur-trading vessel, 373.

Chappeu, Stanislaus, fur trader, 281, 285, 294, 388.

Chaquet, Lieut.—, British naval officer, 202.

Chardon, Father, on St. Josephs river, 179.

“Charity,” British sloop, 199.

Charles II., king of England, 64.

Charlevoix, Father, cited, 19; on St. Josephs river, 179.

“Charlotte,” British sloop, 199.

Chase, Enoch, Milwaukee pioneer, 245.

Chase, Horace, Milwaukee pioneer, 226, 245.

Chat, Le, Fox warrior, 107.

Chatham, chest of, on the upper lakes in the Revolution, 187, 190.

Chavigny, François de, with St. Lusson, 29.

Chemical bank, New York, 439.

Chemin convert, 181.

Library of Congress

Chenie,—, imprisoned by Americans. 295. Chequamegon bay, visited by Radisson, 67, 72–74, 93; J. B. Cadott at, 170; Michael Cadotte at, 372; Northwest Fur Co. at, 220; on Schoolcraft's map, 372: as a boundary point, 492.

Cherbourg, France, 1. 3. 5 9. 18–20.

Cherokee Indians. in Revolutionary war, 175; war of 1812–15, 335.

“Chersonesus,” 453.

Chevalier, Barthelemie Green Bay pioneer, 282.

Chevalier, Louis, fur trader, 116, 119, 123, 125, 133, 152–157, 178.

Chevalier, Madame—, 294.

Chevalier, Madelaine, wife of Charles Gautier, 100.

Chevallier, Marinette, wife of John B. Jacobs, 225.

Chewabiney river. See Ashwaubenon creek.

Chevriottiere,—de la, with St. Lusson, 29.

Chicacha Indians. See Chickasaws.

Chicago, 224, 246, 267, 288, 304, 370, 374, 375, 377, 430; Mascoutins at 24; mentioned by La Salle, 31, 33; visited by Maxwell (1763), 213, 215; in the Revolutionary war, 130, 131 133, 151, 154, 155; mentioned by Le Clair, 241; early fur trade at, 222, 240, 316; in war of 1812–15, 322–324, 329, 330, 334, 337, 340, 351, 354, 355; in 1836, 228, 229; in 1837, 417; mentioned by Martin, 403, 404, 406; early banking in, 436, 437, 440–443;

Library of Congress

railway interests of 446, 447; portage at, 130; claimed by Wisconsin, 495; Clark street, 228; Dearborn street, 228; South Water street, 228; Tremont house, 228.

Chicago Historical Society, 370.

Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul railway, 446–450.

Chicago and Northwestern railway, 446, 447.

Chickasaw Indians, 33, 335.

Chillicothe (Ohio), 455, 456; constitutional convention at, 458.

China, early French attempts to reach, 11. 14.

Chippewa county (Mich.), 461.

Chippewa county (Wis.), 376.

Chippewa Indians, in Revolutionary war. 98, 103–105, 109, 111, 120, 121, 125–127, 129, 131, 132, 134, 139, 142, 148, 151, 155, 164, 166, 175, 178, 180, 181; war of 1812–15, 251, 255, 267, 269 275, 276, 279, 286, 294, 319, 321, 331–334, 339, 341, 342, 347, 350, 495; Cadette among, 372; La Framboise among, 374; mentioned by Le Clair, 239: mentioned by Vieau, 221. 230. 236: in 1827, 358–360: at Lake of the Desert. 476: at Fond du Lac (L. S.), 493.

“Chippewa,” British sloop, 199.

Chippewa river, Hurons on the, 67, 70; early white settlements on, 491; as a boundary point, 492, 493.

“Chippewau Territory,” attempts to create, 463–465. 470.

Library of Congress

Chisago county (Minn.), 490.

Chocolate river, as a boundary point. 474.

Choctaw Indians, war of 1812–15, 335.

Chouart, Médard. See Groseilliers.

Chourachon, Winnebago chief, 113, 114.

Chouteau, Auguste, treats with Indians. 251, 338, 354.

Christino Indians. See Crees.

Chukagoua. See Chicago.

Cincinnati (Ohio), 243, 443.

City of the Four Lakes, 402.

Claiborne, J. F. H., *Mississippi*, 137.

Clairemont, Jeremie, fur trader, 376.

Clark, Gen. George Rogers, 105, 136, 258, 329; conquest of the Illinois country, 97, 98, 504, 505: at Kaskaskia, 123; at Vincennes, 97, 126, 136: intrigues with Wisconsin Indians. 126–128: with the French. 143; commission to a Winnebago chief, 113; to a Fox chief 177; sketch, 113.

519

Clark, Grace, translations from the French, 1, 25, 29, 100, 126, 150, 164, 166, 170.

Clark, Capt. Nathan, American officer, 361; sketch, 362, 363.

Library of Congress

Clark, Gov. William, governor of Missouri, 242, 259–263, 320–322, 324, 332, 337, 353, 354, 361; treats with Indians, 251, 338; letter from Bulger, 258; from Forsyth, 316–319, 347; sketch, 258, 259.

Clay, Henry, befriends Street, 248.

Clayton, John M., United States senator, 473.

Cleveland (Ohio), 370.

Climate, in southern Wisconsin, 428, 429.

Clinton (N.Y.), 380.

Clintonians, led by Melanethon Smith, 381, 382.

Clowes, Lieut. George, British officer, letter to Bolton, 155.

Coast and geodetic survey, 501.

Cohen, Peter, early Chicago shop-keeper, 228.

Coillart, William, Nicolet's father-in-law, 16.

Colbert river. *See* Mississippi.

Cole, Henry S., Detroit lawyer, 380.

Cole, John W., Watertown pioneer, 419.

Cole, Luther A., early lumberman, 419.

Cole, Capt. William T., murdered by Indians, 320.

Library of Congress

Collins,—, lawyer, 380.

Collins, James, candidate for congress, 380.

Columbia river, 258.

Commerce, under Quebec act, 60; of Wisconsin, 433. See Fur Trade, Finance and Navigation.

Concord (N. H.), 213, 214.

Confederacy, Southern, suggested in 1818, 462, 495, 496.

Confederation, articles of, 62, 63.

Confederation, congress of the, 453, 455.

Congregationalism, at Lake Mills, 431.

Congress. See Legislatures. *Secret Journals of*, 452.

Congressional Globe, 474, 487.

Conkey, Theodore, with Fox and Wisconsin Improvement Company, 412, 413.

Conklin, Edgar, with Fox and Wisconsin Improvement Company, 412.

Connecticut, land session, 454; local government in, 503; influence on Wisconsin local system, 505.

Connecticut island, 372.

Connecticut river, 54.

Library of Congress

Constitutional conventions in Wisconsin, the first, 485, 489, 490, 501; the second, 380, 381, 408–410, 485, 490–492, 501.

Constitutions, King George's proclamation, 46; Quebec act, 53; Jefferson's plan, 61; articles of confederation, 62, 63; ordinance of 1787, 63; of United States, 381, 382; of Wisconsin, 507–511.

Cook, Daniel P., Illinois congressman, sketch, 368, 869.

Cook county (Minn.), 125.

Cooperstown. See New Denmark.

Copper mines, mentioned by St. Lusson, 26, 27; discovered by Jesuits, 469; English operations in, 469, 470.

Corbin, Jean Baptiste, fur trader, 376.

Corn, 71, 83, 93.

Corning, Erastus, New York capitalist, 413.

Corn Stalk, See Oseebwaisum.

Cornwell, Richard, British ship-builder, 185, 187, 189, 202.

Cossacks, 291.

Cottage Grove, 427.

Cottage inn (Milwaukee), 219.

Cotte  , Gable, fur trader, 99.

Library of Congress

Cottonwood river, 339.

Couillart, Guillaume, 20–22.

Couillart, Margaret, wife of Nicolet, 16, 20–22.

Council Bluffs (Iowa), 234.

County boards. See “Local Government in Wisconsin.”

County-commissioner system, in Wisconsin, 505–511.

County government, in New England, 502.

Cour de Neige, Montreal suburb, 219.

Courcy, Seigneur of. See Pottier.

Courier des bois, Nicolet as a, 12.

Court Orreilles. See Chippewas.

Courts, United States, 391; Wisconsin supreme, 416, 510.

Coutances, France, 19.

Cowpens, on St. Josephs river, 238.

Coy. See Ellice and Coy.

Craig, Capt. Thomas E., raid on Peoria. 351, 353, 355.

Cram, Capt. Thomas Jefferson, 489; surveys Wisconsin-Michigan boundary, 475–478, 484, 485; surveys Fox and Wisconsin rivers. 410.

Library of Congress

Crawfish river, 422, 424.

Crawford,—, fur trader, 273.

Crawford, John, in constitutional convention, 485.

Crawford, Louis, letters from L. Grignon, 303, 304.

Crawford county, first settlers in, 249; *History of*, 361.

520

Cree (Cristino) Indians mentioned by St. Lusson, 27; heard of by Radisson, 66–69, 85, 88, 90; visited by Radisson, 91, 92, 96.

Creek Indians, war 1812–15; 291; 317.

Creige,—, British soldier, 155.

Croghan, Col. George, Sr., American officer in Revolutionary war, 329.

Croghan, Col. George, Jr., American officer in war 1812–15, 329.

Croisilles, Le Gardeur de, 18.

Crooks, Ramsey, agent American Fur Company, 373.

Cuba, restored to Spain, 38, 45.

Cullat, Jean, fur trader, 99.

Cumberland river, 33.

Curot, Amable, fur trader, 99.

Library of Congress

Cutler. A. R., Waukesha pioneer, 418.

Cutler. M. D., Waukesha pioneer, 418.

Dabin,—, messenger, 281, 284.

Dablon, Father Claude, at Sault Ste. Marie, 28.

Dahkotah Indians. See Sioux.

Dakota, railway interests of, 447.

Dalzell, Capt.—, fight at Bloody Run, 213, 217.

Dane county, early lead mining in, 397, 398; represented by Ebenezer Brigham, 408.

Daniels, George C., land speculator, 231.

Danville (Ill.), 230.

Darcy, Thomas, early Methodist, 431.

Darling, Enoch G., cited, 420.

Darling, Mason C., with Fox and Wisconsin Improvement Company, 412.

Dartmouth, Earl of, Gov. Hamilton writes to, 175.

Daumont, Simon François. See Saint Lusson.

Davenport (Iowa), 238.

David, an Indian, 314.

Library of Congress

Davidson and Stuvé, *History of Illinois*, 462, 495.

Davies, Prof. John E., cited, 501.

Davis, Lieut. Jefferson, at Fort Winnebago, 399.

Davis, John Henry, fur trader, 375, 376.

Dease, Capt. Francis Michael, in attack on Prairie du Chien, 266, 286, 288.

Decheneau, Joseph C., fur trader, 371, 373, 374.

Dechereau. See Decheneau.

Decorah, One-eyed, Winnebago chief, 357.

Deer, 79.

Delamer, Marguerite, mother of Jean Nicolet, 5–8, 20.

Delamer, Philip, a Cherbourg notary, 7.

Delaplaine. George P., Milwaukee pioneer, 229; "Statement," 243.

Delaware Indians, in the Revolution, 144, 175; in war of 1812–15, 322, 332, 335.

Delaware island, 372.

Delta county (Mich.), 164. 460.

Demonchell,—, imprisoned by British, 289, 290.

Demons, Abbe, *Histoire de Cherbourg*, 19, 20.

Library of Congress

Denonville, Marquis de, governor of New France, 35.

Depere, rapids, 236; town, in war of 1812–15, 310; in 1827, 388, 389.

De Peyster, Maj. Arent Schuyler, British commandant at Michilimackinac, 100, 103, 105, 108–111, 113, 116, 123, 130, 131, 133, 135–138, 141, 143, 145, 149, 158, 174, 184, 189; letters to Carleton, 97, 111; to Haldimand, 115, 117, 118, 121, 122, 124, 127, 129, 131, 133, 135; from Carleton, 174; from Haldimand, 138, 139; from Gautier de Verville, 126; from Mompesson, 162; *Miscellanies*, 97, 174, 178; list of Indian licenses, 99; sketch, 97.

De Peyster, Catharine Schuyler, mother of A. S., 97.

De Peyster, Pierre Guillaume, father of A. S., 97.

De Pin,—, trader, 288.

Derré François. Sieur de Gan, 20, 22.

Deschamps, Antoine, fur trader, 373, 377.

Deschenaux. See Decheneau.

Desirade, 45.

Des Moines river, 283, 327, 330, 357.

Detour de Pin, 278.

Detroit, 225, 238–240, 272, 283, 377, 417, 443; in Pontiac's war, 213–217; in Revolutionary war, 97, 98, 105, 113–115, 117–120, 122, 128–131, 133–136, 141, 145, 147, 155, 157, 158, 166, 175, 178–180, 185, 186, 188, 189, 191, 192, 199–202; in war of 1812–15, 318, 320–323, 325–328, 330–332, 340, 350–352, 354; Hull's surrender,

Library of Congress

214; mentioned by Martin, 380, 385, 391, 392, 395, 396, 490, 403, 406; in the division of Northwest Territory into states, 451, 452, 456, 459, 463, 464, 470; early banking, 441, 442.

Detroit river, 215, 331.

De Veau. See Vieau.

Dewey, Nelson, governor of Wisconsin, 410, 411.

Dickinson, William, fur trader, 386, 389.

Dickson, Col. Robert, 240, 286, 295, 305, 306, 521 312–314; attack on Prairie du Chien, 269; letters to Lawe, 273, 276, 278, 279, 282–285, 287, 289, 292, 295, 297, 299, 300, 302, 306–309, 311; to Franks, 271, 272; to Louis Grignon, 307; to Grignon and Lawe, 276, 277; from Grignon, 274, 275, 304; 309, 315; orders to lieutenants, 303; mentioned by Forsyth, 318, 321, 328, 350, 358, 354; his son, 350; his papers, 224, 271.

Dieppe, France, 3.

Dingley, Daniel, fur trader, 374.

Dinwiddie, Capt.—, early school teacher, 226.

Dixon (Ill.), claimed by Wisconsin, 495.

Dobbins, Capt.—, vessel master 394.

Dodge, Augustus C., son of Henry, 407.

Dodge, Henry, governor of Wisconsin Territory, 230; lead-mining, 397; in boundary dispute, 469, 479, 496, 497; character, 407, 408.

Dodgeville, visited by Martin, 397, 399, 401, 402.

Library of Congress

Dog Plains. See Prairie du Chien.

Dog's Head. See Tete du Chien.

Dole, George W., early Chicago trader, 228.

Dominico island, 47, 98.

Door county, 460.

Doty, Chillus, father of James D., 380.

Doty, James Duane, 404; invites Martin to Wisconsin, 380; early map of northern Wisconsin, 476; report on fur trade, 375; postmaster at Prairie du Chien, 364; canoe voyages, 394, 395, 402; at trial of Red Bird, 395–397; court at Prairie du Chien, 395–397, 401; overland trip to Prairie du Chien, 399–402; at Milwaukee in 1834, 405, 406; early efforts to erect Wisconsin Territory, 463–465, 470; participates in boundary disputes, 478–480, 488, 479–500.

Doty's island, 395.

Douglas, Stephen A., fixes Wisconsin's northwest boundary, 486–488, 491; proposes new name for Minnesota, 381.

Dousman, George, Milwaukee pioneer, 245.

Dousman, Hercules L., agent of American Fur Company 362; river-improvement commissioner, 410.

Dousman, Michael, fur trader, 224.

Dousman, Talbot C., Milwaukee pioneer, 245.

Library of Congress

Drake, L. P., Milford pioneer, 419.

Draper, Lyman C., cited, 142, 250; on Nicolet, 2; owns De Peyster's *Miscellanies*, 97; writes biography of George Rogers Clark, 114; obtains "Statement of Antoine le Clair," 238; obtains Grignon's "Narrative," 254.

Dresden, Saxony, 291.

Dreuilletes, Father Gabriel, Jesuit missionary, 28.

Drew, Daniel, cited, 364.

Driol, Vital, with St. Luson, 29.

Druet,—, Cherbourg notary, 7.

Drummond, Gen. Gordon, British officer 257.

Drummond island, 371–373, 375; as a boundary point, 464.

Duane, James, letter from Washington, 451, 452; reports Jefferson's plan, 452.

Dubuque, Julian, early lead-miner, 247, 249.

Dubuque (Iowa), 247.

Ducharme, Jean Marie, fur trader, 99, 109, 154, 156, 157, 161, 162.

Ducharme, Joseph, Green Bay settler, 293, 388.

Ducharme family, 385.

Duck Creek, 407.

Library of Congress

Du Creux' *Historia Canadensis* , 24; map, 69.

“Duke of Cumberland,” British brig, 198.

Du Laurent,—, clerk, 22.

Du Lignon, Jean, with La Salle, 32, 35.

Duluth (Minn.), 125.

Dumfries, Scotland, 97.

Dunmore, Lord (John Murray), governor of Virginia, campaign against Shawnees and Mingoes, 113; in the Revolution, 176, 177.

“Dunmore,” British schooner, 185, 186, 189, 199, 200.

Dunn, Judge Charles, characterized by Martin, 408, 409.

Dunn, Thomas, British naval officer, 193, 195.

Dunstable (N. H.), 213.

Duperon, Joseph I., Jesuit missionary, 65.

Dupuis, Nicolas, with St. Luson, 29.

Duport, 134.

Duprat, Robert, with St. Luson, 29.

Dupré, J. B., early school teacher, 225, 226.

Durand and Co., 439.

Library of Congress

Durocher, L., fur trader, 99.

Durham boats, 415.

Durors,—, British partisan, 207.

Durrand, Pierre, fur trader, 143, 153.

Durrie, Daniel S., *Annals of Prairie du Chien*, 505.

Dutch, colonists at Albany, 65; government in New York, 504.

Duties, under Quebec act, 59.

Du Vernet, Lieut. Henry, British army officer, 178–180.

522

Eagle totem, 83.

East Florida, province of, 46–52.

East Indies, 45, 46.

East Twin river, 221.

Eaton, Rufus, delegate in congress, letter from Forsyth, 331.

Eberts (misspelled Ebberts in body of volume), Robert M., millwright, 232.

Education, early schools at Green Bay, 225, 226, 389, 390; in Jefferson county, 416, 417; first school in Madison, 422; Wisconsin school-houses, 433: Illinois regulations, 443; Mitchell's charity, 446; school lands in Michigan, 475; local management of Wisconsin schools. 505. 508.

Library of Congress

Edwardsville (Ill.), 364. 365.

Edwards, Ninian, governor of Illinois. 247, 341, 354, 856, 357; letter to Forsyth. 316; from Forsyth, 318, 820, 324. 325, 327, 329, 330, 341, 345; from Street, 356, 362: from Warren. 497; his *Papers*, 247, 248, 316, 318, 351, 356, 465; treats with Indians, 251, 338; his wife, 869; his son, 369.

Eel river, 339.

Eland, hunted by Radisson, 79.

Elections, on Wisconsin constitution, 490, 496–498, 500; on Wisconsin-Illinois boundary dispute, 496–500; on county government, 507.

Elizabeth, queen of England, 55–57.

Elkhart (Ind.), 332, 339, 346.

Ellice and Coy, Montreal forwarding agents, 171, 173.

Ellis, Gen. Albert G., early school-teacher, 226; cited, 390.

Elvirado (Iowa), 316.

Engineer department, U.S. A.. cited, 248.

England, preliminary articles of pears with France and Spain. 36: definitive treaty with French, 39; King George's proclamation, 46; Quebec act, 53: treaties with the United States, 60, 61; employs Radisson and Groseilliers, 64.

English language, in Canada. 2.

Esprit, Margaret d', sister of Radisson, 64.

Library of Congress

Esprit, Pierre d'. See Radisson.

Episcopalian mission, at Green Bay, 226, 390.

Essex Institute Historical Collections, 214.

Estabrook, Experience, attorney-general of Wisconsin, 412.

Estes, James B., river-improvement commissioner, 410.

Estienne, Claude, 21, 22.

Eustis, William, secretary of war, letters from Boilvin, 247, 248.

Explorations, Jean Nicolet, 4, 5, 9–15, 23, 24; Radisson and Groseilliers, 64–96; Maxwell, on Lakes Superior and Michigan, 215; Robertson, on Lake Michigan, 203–212; Vieau, on Lake Michigan, 220–223.

“Faith,” British naval vessel, 185, 187, 189, 199, 200.

Falconer, J. R.. British naval officer, 197.

Famine, described by Radisson, 79–82.

Farmers' and Mechanics' bank, Detroit. 391.

Farnham, Russel, fur trader, 371, 372.

Farnsworth, William fur trader, 374, 388.

Farquhar, Maj. F. N., U. S. engineers, cited, 248.

Farwell, Leonard J., governor of Wisconsin, 411, 412.

Library of Congress

Fauvel, Father—, Catholic priest at Green Bay, 226, 385, 389.

Faville, Alpheus, early Methodist, 431.

Faville, Stephen, early Methodist. 431.

Fay,—. far trader at Two Rivers, 211.

Fécamp, France, 3.

Federal and State Constitutions, 63.

“Felicity,” British sloop, 141, 187, 189, 199. 200; her voyage on Lake Michigan in 1779. 203–212.

Felix, Mrs. B. F., cited. 370.

Ferguson, David, cashier in Mitchell's bank, 442.

Ferland. J. B. A., *Notes Sur les Registres de Notre-Dame*, 25; *Cours d'Histoire du Canada*, 25.

Ferrin, William, British naval officer, 200.

Ferron, William, British naval officer, 185.

Ferries, at Havana, Ill., 366; at Milford, 419.

Fete, Jaune, 285.

Feuille, La. See Wabasha.

Fever river, on early map, 247; opening of lead region, 358, 360, 363–366, 368.

Library of Congress

Fighting island, off Detroit, 216.

Finances, Revolutionary paper money, 143, 153, 160: York currency mentioned, 185, 191; specie used in Indian trade, 246; British currency used in 1812–15, 247, 275, 312; bank question in constitutional convention, 409; issue of state scrip in Wisconsin, 411, 412, 414; Alexander Mitchell's operations, 435–450: opposition to banks, 436–437, 443, 444; wild-cat currency, 486, 489, 410, 444: Wisconsin 523 state loans, 444, 445; Mitchell and the treasury department, 446; Wisconsin railway finances, 446–450.

Finley and Gregory, fur traders, 99.

Fisher, Henry, pioneer of Prairie du Chien, 100.

Fisheries, rights granted to France by England, 42, 43; Canadian, 47, 53; in Chequamegon bay, 72, 73; at Two Rivers, 232; in Lake Winnebago, 279, 280, 282, 284, 289, 292, 298, 299; in Jefferson county, 424, 425.

Fitchburg (Mass.), 213.

Fire nation. See Mascoutins.

Flint river, 47.

Florida, ceded to England by Spain, 44; in Revolutionary war, 146; in war of 1812–15, 292. See East Florida; West Florida.

Folleavoine lake. See Rice lake.

Follett, Dwight I., cited, 381, 414, 415.

Fond du Lac (Wis.), 230, 413; in war of 1812–15, 309; early fur trade, 387; visited by Martin, 400, 402, 404.

Library of Congress

Fond du Lac (Lake Superior), 170, 374, 376, 493, 494.

Fontainebleau, preliminary peace articles signed at, 36.

Ford, Gov. Thomas, *History of Illinois* , 463, 495.

Fork, The. See Nissowagnet.

Forsyth, Robert, fur trader, 240, 316.

Forsyth, Thomas, Indian agent at Peoria, 242; letter from Edwards, 316; to Edwards, 318, 320, 324, 325, 327, 329, 330, 341, 345; to Howard, 326; to Eaton, 331; to Monroe, 336, 338; to Indian treaty commissioners, 388; to Clark, 342, 347; to Graham, 351; to Calhoun, 352; sketch, 316.

Fort Armstrong (Rock Island), 347, 349, 365, 495.

Fort Atkinson, early settlement at, 420.

Fort Bowman (Cahokia), Geo. Rogers Clark at, 114, 178.

Fort Charlotte, 124.

Fort Clark (Peoria), 290, 294, 295, 305, 315; built, 242, 263; war of 1812–15, 283; Forsyth at, 316–355.

Fort Crawford, 362, 364, 365, 393.

Fort Dearborn (Chicago), 228, 246.

Fort Erie, 188, 189, 393.

Fort Frontenac, 29.

Library of Congress

Fort Gage (Kaskaskia), 136.

Fort George, 198.

Fort Haldimand (Michilimackinac), 159.

Fort Harrison, 340.

Fort Howard, Wis. (town), 218–220, 233, 234, 246, 271, 362, 383.

Fort Howard, Wis. (fort), in 1827, 385; in 1828, 415.

Fort Jefferson, built by Clark, 113, 114.

“Fort McKay (Prairie du Chien), Capture of,” 247, 254–270.

Fort Madison, 253, 268, 283, 290.

Fort Massac, G. R. Clark at, 113.

Fort Miami, 178, 451, 452.

Fort Natchez, 136, 137, 145–148.

Fort Niagara, 111, 112, 130, 162, 189, 191, 192, 198, 199, 201.

Fort Ouatenon, Gibault's mission to, 123.

Fort Peoria, 137, 139, 143.

Fort Pitt, in Revolution, 180.

Fort Recovery, as a boundary point, 455.

Library of Congress

Fort Sackville, 98, 133.

Fort St. Augustine (Florida), 44.

Fort St. Josephs, its location in the Revolution, 115, 116, 119–123, 125, 152, 153, 157, 160, 163, 178–180.

Fort St. Pierre, 124.

Fort Shelby (Detroit), 391.

Fort Shelby (Prairie du Chien), 254, 256, 257.

Fort Slossar, 189.

Fort Snelling, 488, 492.

Fort Stoddard, 291.

Fort Ticonderoga, 199.

Fort Wayne, 238, 309, 319, 325–328, 337, 340, 346.

Fort William,, 125.

Fort Winnebago, 36, 396, 399, 402.

Fort York, 261.

Forts, built by Radisson and Groseilliers, on Chequamegon bay, 67, 72–74, 93; in Mille Lacs country, 85.

Fossils, found by Hamilton, 179.

Library of Congress

Fourinier,—,courier, 326, 327.

Four Lake country, visited by Martin, 400–402.

Four Legs, Winnebago chief, 395.

Fowle, Maj. John, American officer, 362.

Fowler, Albert, Milwaukee pioneer, 226.

Fox hill, near Green Bay, 236.

Fox Indians, 27, 221, 238, 249, 252, 316, 357; in the Revolution, 102, 106–110, 125–127, 129, 132, 134, 135, 139, 142, 147, 152, 154–156, 159, 162, 163, 166–170, 177, 178; in war of 1812–15, 283, 286, 302, 322, 327, 329, 331, 334, 341, 347–349.

Fox river, 148, 219, 224, 225, 233, 234, 236, 264, 524 271–315, 399, 402, 403, 430; ascended by Nicolet, 13–15, 66; early knowledge of, 23, 24; Perrot's taking possession, 35; explored by Radisson, 66–68; in 1827, 359, 360; fur trade on, 387; early canoe voyages, 395, 396, 399, 402; early vessels on, 412, 413; early map of, 396, 397.

Fox-Wisconsin water-course, on Champlain's map, 10; history of river improvement, 403, 404, 409–415; early legislation on, 481.

Fox and Wisconsin Improvement Company, 412, 413.

Fox's bluff, 401.

France, preliminary articles of peace with England and Spain, 36; definitive treaty, 39.

Franchere, Louis, clerk to Juneau, 245.

Frankfort (Ky.), 356.

Library of Congress

Franks, Jacob, fur trader, 234, 292, 301, 309; letters from Dickson, 271, 272; his wife, 236.

Franquelin's map of New France, 96.

Freeport (Ill.), claimed by Wisconsin, 495.

French, B. F., *Louisiana Historical Collections* , 33.

French, Bella, *History of Brown Co.* , 385.

French, the, domination in the west, 1–36; rights vouchsafed by England in Canada, 37, 41–43; boundaries in America established, 38, 43; Quebec act, 53, 57; revolution (1789), 97; in Wisconsin during Revolutionary war, 102, 103, 105, 106, 109, 130; operations in the West, 114, 119, 120, 131, 132, 139, 143–145, 152, 157, 163, 179, 180, 183, 184, 207, 210; fur trade operations in the Northwest, 125; military post on St. Josephs river, 179; operations in East and West Indies during Revolution, 184; fort at Prairie du Chien, 249, 250; at Green Bay in 1827, 225, 226, 386, 388, 389; in war 1812–15, 347; at Cassville, 365; ownership of Louisiana, 453. See Fur Trade.

French river, 12, 65, 116.

“French train,” described, 229.

Fulton county (Ill.), 365, 366.

Fur trade, Hudson Bay Company, 50, 51, 261; under King George's proclamation, 52; at Sault Ste. Marie, 69; Radisson and Groseilliers, 75, 88, 94; in the Northwest, during the Revolution, 97–212; Northwest Fur Company, 215, 220, 261; Jacques Vieau's operations, 220, 221, 223, 224, 226–228, 404–407, 418; Juneau's operations, 224, 226–229, 231, 232, 243–246, 404–407, 418; A. J. Vieau's operations, 229–232; in Racine county, 233, 234; the Le Clairs, 238–241; Thomas G. Anderson, 240; Joseph la Croix, 240; La Frambois, 239, 240; at Prairie du Chien in 1811, 247, 249–253; the Morrisons' operations,

Library of Congress

252, 253; McKay's operations, 255; Dickson's operations, 271–273, 277, 287, 350, 351; mentioned by Forsyth, 316, 320–324, 328, 329, 331, 333, 337, 339, 343–345, 349–351, 354, 355; American Fur Company's operations (1821–22), 370–379; women in the, 373375; Southwest Fur Company, 375; a sample invoice, 377; described by Judge Martin, 386–389, 395, 396, 400; La Salle's operations, 394; in Jefferson county, 428; miscellaneous, 310, 314, 315, 362, 364, 433.

“ Gage ,” British schooner, 185, 189, 199, 200.

Gage, Gen. Thomas, British commander-in-chief, 150.

Gaines, Gen. Edmund P., 249.

Galena (Ill.), lead mining at, 247, 358, 365, 366; in 1828, 396, 399; in Black Hawk war, 427; claimed by Wisconsin, 495, 497; early banking, 443; *Gazette* , 465.

Gambling among Indians, 227.

Game in Wisconsin, 70–74, 77–79, 227, 298, 299, 404, 424, 426. See Fisheries.

Garlic island, Martin at, 395.

Gates, Gen. Horatio, in Revolution, 214.

Gates, John P., interpreter, 357.

Gauthier, Joseph, fur trader, 375.

Gautier, Charles. See Verville.

Gautly, —, on board “Felicity,” 205, 207–211.

Gebease. See Gibault.

Library of Congress

Genet, Edmond Charles, commissions G. R. Clark, 114.

Genevieve (Mo.), Wabasha's expedition against, 152.

Gentleman's Magazine , 36, 39, 46.

George III., of England, proclamation of 1763, 46, 53–60.

George, —, at Mackinaw, 273.

George, Capt. Robert, American officer, 136.

Georgia island, 372.

Georgia, province of, 48.

Georgian bay, visited by Champlain, 10; by Nicolet, 12; early knowledge of, 24.

Germain, Lord George, British secretary for the colonies, writes to Haldimand, 145; circular letter to western governors. 146, 147, 156; letter to Carleton, 175.

525

Germans, at Jefferson, 426.

Giard, Basil, fur trader, 249.

Gibault, Father Pierre, priest at Kaskaskia, 123, 144.

Giblett, Bartlett S., Milwaukee pioneer, 245.

Gibson, Manitowoc county, 221.

Gigny, France, Seignior of, 19.

Library of Congress

Gillespie, —, fur trader, 272.

Girty, Simon, British partisan, 114, 180.

Gladwyn, Major Henry, ordered to Detroit, 213, 214; at Detroit, 215.

“Gladwin,” British schooner, 199.

Goggs, Heading & Co., London wine merchants, 245.

Gomo, Pottawattomie chief (1812–15), 290, 318–328, 330, 336.

Good Hope, cape of, 11.

Goodhue, Charles F. H., and son, early lumbermen, 419, 420.

Goodman, Alfred T., historical writer, 370.

Gorce, Ottawa chief, 130.

Gordon, Alexander, British midshipman, 197.

Gordon family (Chicago), 229.

Goree island, 45.

“Governor Clark,” American gunboat, 264, 265, 268, 270.

Graham, Lieut. Duncan, expedition against Prairie du Chien, 266, 279, 286, 298, 299, 306, 311, 314.

Graham, George, letter from Thomas Forsyth, 351.

Graham, James, British naval officer, 200, 202.

Library of Congress

Graham, John, British naval officer, 185.

Grand Calumet, 293.

“Grand Diable,” British row-galley, 198.

Grand Haven (Mich.), 373.

Grand Irarane island, 204.

Grand Kackalin. See Kaukauna.

Grand Marais (Minn.), 125.

Grand Portage (west end of Lake Superior), 112, 124, 125, 131, 134, 137, 142, 150; visited by Radisson, 96; Maxwell at, 213, 215; description, and historical sketch, 123–125; village, 124, 125.

Grand Quet, Pottawattomie chief, 347.

Grand Rapids (Wis.), 222.

Grand Rapids (Mich.), 374.

Grand river (Mich.), 99, 119, 129; in the Revolution, 121, 122, 127, 129–131, 208; American Fur Company's trade on, 374, 376.

Grand Sabra, Indian chief, 207.

Grand Soldat, Indian chief, 278.

Grand Traverse (Mich.), 130, 131.

Library of Congress

Grant and Soloman, fur traders, 99.

Grant, Capt. Alexander, British navy, 159, 185, 190–193, 200, 202.

Grant county, early lead-mining in, 397, 398; represented by Vineyard, 407; by Rountree, 485; county-commissioner system in, 507; *History*, 397.

Gratiot, Charles, fur trader, 151.

Gratiot's diggings, 365.

Gratiot's grove, 398, 399.

Gravelle, Louis, fur trader, 295.

Graves, Samuel, British commodore, 193, 195.

Great Algonquin lake. See Lake Michigan.

Great Kanawha river, 61.

Great Miami river, Clarke on, 114; as a boundary point, 454.

Green Bay (city), 228–230, 232, 233, 381, 384, 416; Gautier at, 101, 102, 110, 111, 120, 126–129; Langlade at, 97, 98, 123, 128, 164; in the Revolution, 100, 105, 111, 116–118, 120, 128, 129, 152, 153, 160; Jacques Vieau at, 219, 224, 225; Reaume at, 237, 238; in war of 1812–15, 255, 256, 261, 262, 266, 269–315, 321, 322, 324, 326, 328–330, 332, 334, 337, 353; early Indian agents, 381, 390–394; early schools, 225, 226, 389, 390; early farming, 388, 389; early fur traders, 373, 375, 386–388, 395–399, 401, 402, 404–406; Martin's advent, 380, 385; mentioned by Martin, 410, 411, 413, 414; Camp Smith, 391; Pawnee slave at, 393; survey of French land claims, 396; as a borough, 505; early

Library of Congress

government of, 506; first public meeting, 403, 414; treaty of 1828, 361; protest against state organization, 498; an Indian tradition, 234–237; *Gazette*, 381, 385, 402, 414, 415.

Green bay, information of, given by Nicolet, 15; early knowledge of, 24; visited by Radisson, 66–69; mentioned by St. Luson, 27; Perrot's taking possession, 35, 36; islands at mouth of, 393, 394: as a boundary point, 466, 472, 474–478, 483–485, 489.

Green Bay and Mississippi Canal Company, 413.

Green, Charles, vessel owner, 413.

Green county, county-commissioner system in, 507, 510.

Green island, 394.

Green Lake county, probable home of the Mascoutins, 14, 66.

Greene, Emerson, killed in Black Hawk war, 403.

Greene, Maj. John, commandant at Fort Dearborn, 228.

526

Greenville (Ohio), treaty with Indians, 321, 455, 456.

Greenwich hospital, on the upper lakes in the Revolution, 187, 190.

Gregory, —, fur trader, 99.

Gregory, John, *History of Northfield, Vt.*, 417.

Grenada, island of, 47.

Grenada, province of, 46, 47.

Library of Congress

Grenadier island, 291.

Grenadine islands, 47.

“Griffin,” La Salle's vessel, 394.

Grignon, Alexander, half-breed Menomonee, 399.

Grignon, Augustin, fur trader, 130, 219, 297, 300, 306, 308, 315, 373, 375, 389, 395; in war of 1812–15, 261, 264, 296; his Narrative, 254–256; his papers, 224.

Grignon, Charles de Langlade, presents Louis Grignon's papers to the Society, 271.

Grignon, Louis, fur trader, 226, 273, 279–281, 285–289, 294, 296, 297, 299, 300–303, 306, 312, 313, 357, 373, 375, 386, 388, 389, 403; letters to Dickson, 274, 275, 304, 309, 315; to McDouall, 305, 307; to Askin, 283, 305, 310; to Crawford, 303, 304; to Berthelotte, 295, 314; from Dickson, 276, 277, 307.

Grignon, P. B., 404.

Grignon, Perrische, interpreter, 307, 312.

Grignon, Pierre, fur trader, 301, 306–308, 373, 375.

Grimmer, George, cited, 221.

Grist-mills, early, in Green Bay, 278, 280, 281, 287–289, 293, 301–303, 306; in Dane and Jefferson counties, 416, 420.

Griswold, Reeve, Watertown pioneer, 318.

Groseilliers, Sieur des, sketch, 64–68. See Radisson.

Library of Congress

Groseilliers river. See Pigeon river.

Grosselier, J. B. de, British military agent, 118.

Groult, curé of Cherbourg, 7.

Grushong, James, fur trader, 365.

Guadalupe, 45, 141.

Guerette, Joseph, fur trader, 373.

Guillon, J. B., fur trader, 99.

Guitet, Jean, 22.

Gulf of Florida, 47.

Gulf of Mexico, mentioned by La Salle, 34; in King George's proclamation, 47.

Gulf of St. Lawrence, 47.

Guytet, Jean. See Guitet.

Hainneville, France, 8.

Haldimand, Sir Frederick, governor of Canada, 105, 128, 136, 137, 141–145, 155, 159, 165, 166, 171–173, 178, 188, 190, 191, 193, 195–197, 200, 201; letters to Sinclair, 160, 161; to De Peyster, 138, 139; from Sinclair, 147, 149, 151, 153, 155, 157, 158; from De Peyster, 115, 117, 118, 121, 122, 124, 127, 129, 131, 133, 135; from Hamilton, 178; from Bolton, 130; from Mrs. Langlade, 150; speech to Northwestern Indians, 181; his papers, 97; sketch, 115. “Haldimand,” British scow, 185, 189, 191, 199, 202.

Library of Congress

Hall girls (Rachel and Sylvia), stolen by Indians, 427.

Hamilton, Alexander, 448; antagonizes anti-federalists, 381, 382.

Hamilton, Henry, British lieutenant governor of Detroit, 141, 144, 146, 185, 186, 189, 191; leads border forays, 175–177; expedition against Vincennes, 118, 119, 121–123, 125, 126, 128, 132–134, 136, 169, 178–181; letter to Haldimand, 178; from Carleton, 175; captured by Clark, 97, 113; sketch, 98.

Hamilton college, 380.

Hampton, Gen. Wade, in war of 1812–15, 291.

Hancock, John, connection with Boston tea party, 214.

Hardwick, —, Green Bay settler, 389.

Harmon, Daniel W., *Journal*, 124.

Harrison, J. Parker, British naval officer, 197.

Harrison, William H., governor of Indiana Territory, 318, 321, 323, 326, 331, 333, 360, 455.

Harrison, Wooster, land speculator, 231.

Harrodsburg (Ky.), 113.

Harrow, Lieut. Alexander, British naval officer, 158, 159, 202.

Havana (Ill.), 366.

Havanna, restored to Spain, 38, 45.

Library of Congress

Havre, France, 3.

Hawley, Emma A., translations from the French, 274, 275, 295, 303–305, 307, 309, 315.

Hawley, Thomas G., Cassville pioneer, 365.

Hay, John, fur trader, 99.

Hay, Maj. John, British officer, 179.

Hay, William, fur trader, 99.

Hayes, Rutherford B., president of United States, 446.

Hazelwood, home of Morgan L. Martin, 382.

Heading, Francis W., Milwaukee pioneer, 245.

Healey, George P. A., portrait painter, 218.

527

Health, among early settlers, 428, 429.

Hebert, —, with Perrot, 36.

Hébert, Guillaume, 22.

Hébert, Guillemette, 20–22.

Hebron, Jefferson county, 420.

Heigimaunce, a Pottawattomie hostage, 323.

Hempstead, Charles S., Galena pioneer, 497.

Library of Congress

Hennepin, Father Louis, at Fort Miami, 178; account of the “Griffin,” 394.

Henry, —, Spanish agent, 282.

Hesse, Capt. —, British officer, 147, 152, 155.

Highland regiment, in Revolution, 141.

Hogle, John F., fur trader, 375.

Holcomb, William, in constitutional convention, 488, 489, 491.

Holland, 65.

Holliday, John, fur trader, 376.

Hollister, Elder —, early Methodist preacher, 431.

Holton, E. D., candidate for congress, 380.

Honfleur, France, 3.

Honoré, Lieut. Lewis, interpreter, in attack on Prairie du Chien, 266.

Hootschope. See Four Legs.

Hope, Col. Henry, British army officer, 170, 171, 174.

“Hope,” British naval vessel 185, 186, 189, 199, 200.

Hopkins, Gen. Samuel, American officer, 328.

Horses, early use of, in Wisconsin, 241, 308, 339–402, 404; thefts of, by Indians, 334.

Library of Congress

Hough, Franklin, B., *American Constitutions*, 460.

Howard, Gen. Benjamin, 242, 283, 327, 353, 354; builds Fort Clark, 263; letter from Forsyth, 326.

Howard, Joseph, fur trader, 137, 138.

Howell, Elias, member of congress, 473.

Hubbard, Gurdon S., fur trader, 374, 377.

Hubbard family (Chicago), 229.

Hubout, Guillaume, 20, 22.

Hudson's bay, 64, 66, 68, 89, 92, 96, 124.

Hudson Bay Company, 54, 64, 125, 261, 349; land grant to, 50, 51.

Hudson's straits, 47.

Huguenots, immigration to America, 219.

Hull, Gen. William, evacuation of Canada, 214, 258, 331.

Hundred Associates, company of the, 10.

Hunkins, Benjamin, in territorial legislature, 483.

Hurlbut, Henry H., *Chicago Antiquities*, 240, 316.

Huron Indians, visited by Nicolet, 12, 13; visited by Radisson, 64–74, 79, 82; language, 15.

Huron river, 214, 215, 331.

Library of Congress

"Huron Territory," attempts to create, 380, 465, 470.

Hutchins, Thomas, early map of the west, 178, 456.

Hyland, Amasa, Watertown pioneer, 419.

Hyott, Prisque, Green Bay settler, 294, 306, 388.

Iberville, Lemoyne d', finds mouth of Mississippi river, 15.

Iberville river, 43

"Illinoia," 453.

Illinois canal, 361.

Illinois Indians, 26, 27, 30, 33.

Illinois (country), the, 253, 256; visited by Nicolet, 14, 15; attacked by Wisconsin Indians, 109; in the Revolution, 97–212.

Illinois (territory and state), 247, 248, 253, 316, 320, 351, 354, 425; Indian affairs at Peoria (1812–15), 316–355; early mail routes, 363–366, 368; militia, 358, 367; Territory erected, 460; Wisconsin detached, 504, 505; admitted to the Union, 461, 462; boundary dispute with Wisconsin, 462–465, 468, 494–501; kept to the Union by extension of area, 462, 495; land grant locations, objected to by Doty, 499; in 1837, 417; early congressmen, 368, 369; early banking, 436, 437, 439, 444.

Illinois island, 372.

Library of Congress

Illinois river, 119, 137, 151, 263, 324, 328–330, 322–337, 341, 345, 352, 353, 358, 360, 365, 372, 373, 376; fur trade on, 99; Clark's operations, 105; in Revolutionary war, 120, 128, 142, 152, 180; in war of 1812–15, 242, 305.

Immigration to the Northwest, 426, 451.

Indiana, 115, 253, 417, 439, 440; erected as a Territory, 455, 460; Ohio detached, 457; Illinois detached, 460; Indiana admitted, 461; Indiana-Ohio boundary, 465; Michigan detached, 470.

Indiana island, 372.

Indians, torture of prisoners by, 16; feasts, 14, 68, 77, 83, 85, 88, 89, 91, 92; sorcery, 227; gambling, 227; sugar-making, 223; trails, 229, 230; goods used in trade with, 377; status under King George's proclamation, 50–52; in Pontiac's war, 215–217; in Northwest during the Revolution, 97–212; in Northwest Territory, 451, 452, 456; in war of 1812–15, 254–315; Boilvin's agency at Prairie du 528 Chien, 247–253, 289, 290, 295; Street's, 248, 249, 356–369; Forsyth's agency, at Peoria, 316–355; Biddle's agency, at Green Bay, 391, 392; Breevoort's, 390, 391; Stambaugh's, 392; Boyd's, 392, 393; Bowyer's, 393, 394; Martin's, 381; Williams's mission, 390; mentioned by Le Clair, 239–242; by Vieau, 219–228, 230, 231, 233–237; by Delaplaine, 244, 246; visited by Martin, 395, 396, 399–401, 404; on Green-bay islands, 393, 394; in lead region, 397, 398; at Milwaukee (1827), 394; (1833), 404–407; in Jefferson county, 426–428, 430, 431. See Fur trade, and the several tribes.

Inman, John, founds Janesville, 418.

Insurance, early, in Milwaukee, 435–439, 433–445; in Illinois, 436; in New York, 436.

Interpreters, French. See article, "Nicolet, Jean." Trained to their calling, 3, 4.

Library of Congress

Iowa county, organized, 357; county-commissioner system in, 507; shot-making in, 403; represented by Strong, 489.

Iowa Territory, erection of, 467, 469.

Iowa Indians, 155, 252, 270, 319, 357.

Iowa river, 70, 359.

Ireland, 213.

Irish settlers in Wisconsin, 426.

Iroquois Indians, 16; make peace with Algonquins, 9; struggle against New France, 19; pursue Hurons and Ottawas to Wisconsin, 70; attack Radisson and Groseilliers, 65; in the Revolution, 175.

Iroquois river, 376, 377.

Irwin, A. J, trader at Green Bay, 226, 386.

Irwin, Matthew, factor at Green Bay, 224.

Irwin, Robert, Green Bay settler, 226, 385, 386.

Isanti county (Minn.), 490.

"Isis," British naval vessel, 197.

Iskikinaibé, an Indian, 288.

Isle Royale, 48.

Library of Congress

Itasca, proposed substitute name for Minnesota, 381.

Jackson, Andrew , president of United States, 392, 459.

Jackson, David, Waukesha pioneer, 418.

Jacobs, John B., early school teacher, 225, 278, 282, 312.

Jacrot, —, American partisan, 290, 295.

Jambeau. See Vieau, Jacques, Sr. and Jr.

Jambeau creek, 221.

James II., king of England, 64.

Janes, Henry F., settlement at Janesville, 418.

Janesville, founded, 418.

Janisse, Sieur, fur trader, 108.

Japanese, 11.

Jarot. See Jacrot.

Jay, John, treaty of, 214.

Jean Beau creek, 221.

Jefferson, Thomas, 133, 258; report on government of Western Territory, 61, 452, 453; Randall's *Life* of, 61. Jefferson barracks, 415.

“Jefferson County, Early Days in,” 416.

Library of Congress

Jefferson (town), genesis of, 418, 420, 421; advent of Germans, 426.

Jefferson Junction, 427.

Jesuit missionaries, 35, 65, 66; at Sault Ste. Marie, 27, 28; discover copper mines, 469; at Sillery, 17; at Depere, 389; at Kaskaskia, 136; *Relations*, 1, 4, 5, 9, 11–16, 24, 66, 67.

Jo Daviess county (Ill.), 365, 465; claimed by Wisconsin, 497.

Johns Hopkins Studies, 502, 505.

Johnson. Andrew, president United States, 381.

Johnson, Sir John, British Indian superintendent, 172.

Johnson, Timothy, founder of Watertown, sketch, 418, 419, 422.

Johnson, Sir William, British Indian superintendent, 142, 180.

Johnson's rapids. *See* Watertown.

Johnston, John, early Methodist, 431.

“Johnston,” British scow, 198.

Joliet, Louis, at Sault de Marie, 28; discovery of Mississippi, 66.

Jouan, Henri, “Jean Nicolet,” 1, 25.

Joviel, Jacques, with St. Lussou, 29.

Juchareau, Noël, 20, 22.

Juneau, Eugène, 226.

Library of Congress

Juneau, Frank, 226.

Juneau, Harriet, 226.

Juneau, Laurent Solomon, 222; arrival at Milwaukee, 224; fur trade operations at Milwaukee, 243–246, 386, 387, 404; at Waukesha, 231, 418; life at Milwaukee, 226–229, 231, 332; plats Milwaukee, 224; correspondence with A. J. Vieau, 218; his character, 244, 405–407; his wife, 219, 220, 224, 244.

Juneau, Narcisse, 226.

Juneau, Paul, 226.

Juneau, Thérèse, 226.

Justice, administration of, under King George's proclamation, 48, 49, 52; under 529 Quebec act, 53, 55 60; Indian law, 334, 344; British court-martial in the Revolution, 188; Boilvin's court, 247, 248; early justices, 366: laxity west of Lake Michigan, 463; trial of Red Bird, 395–397; Doty's court (Prairie du Chien), 395–397, 401–403; Vineyard-Arndt tragedy, 407, 403; in Wisconsin towns, 506; circuit judges, 368.

Kackalin , Grand. See Kaukauna.

Kalamazoo river, in Revolution, 208, 209.

Kamanistigonia, 125.

Kane, Elias Kent, United States senator, 363.

Kankakee Indians, war 1812–15, 320.

Kankakee river, 115, 178, 179, 377.

Library of Congress

Kansas City (Mo.), 447, 462, 463.

Kansas Indians, war 1812–15, 335, 348, 349.

Kansas, removal of Pottawattomies to, 219, 222, 234, 246.

Kapaha (Indian village), 29–32.

Karrymaunee, Winnebago chief, 127, 170.

Kaskaskia (Ill.), 132, 137, 242, 252, 253, 363, 368; in Revolutionary war, 113, 123, 136, 144, 152, 258; in war of 1812–15, 334.

Kaukauna, 359, 360, 389, 395, 411; in war 1812–15, 271, 277, 278, 294, 300, 301, 307.

Keating, William H., *Narrative of Long's Expedition* , 124.

Keecheeaqua (Big Woman), Pottawattomie squaw, 246.

Kellogg, La Fayette, clerk of supreme court, 416.

Kelton, Capt. Dwight H., *Annals of Fort Mackinac* , 164.

Kenisteno. *See* Crees.

Kenosha (city), early harbor proposition, 481.

Kenosha county, 233, 409.

Kenozhaykum (Lake Pickerel), Pottawattomie chief, 227.

Kent county (Mich.), 374.

Kentucky, 356; Chickasaws in, 33; G. R. Clark in, 113, 114.

Library of Congress

Kentucky island, 372.

Kentucky river, as a boundary point, 455.

Keokuk, Fox chief, 357.

Kewaunee, 220, 221, 394.

Keweenaw point, portaged by Radisson, 67; fur trade at, 376.

Key, John, British partisan, 145, 147.

Keyes, Elisha W., "Early Days in Jefferson County," 416.

Keyes, Joseph, sketch, 416, 417; removal to Wisconsin, 416, 417; founds Lake Mills, 418–420; his wife, 417, 423.

Keyes, Oliver A., son of Joseph, 424.

Keyes, Simon S., early school clerk, 416.

Kichekemit, a Pottawattomie, 346.

Kickapoo Indians, in Revolution, 144, 155; in war 1812–15, 270, 290, 318–320, 323–327, 329, 330, 332, 334, 338–340, 342, 345, 346.

Kilbourn, Byron, at Milwaukee in 1834, 405, 406; in constitutional convention, 490.

Kilbourn road, 230.

Kilistinons. *See* Crees.

Kimball, Walter, early Chicago shop-keeper, 228.

Library of Congress

Kinaytounak, Fox chief, receives commission from George Rogers Clark, 177.

Kinnikinnick river, 227, 228.

Kinzie, James, fur trader, 224, 225, 375.

Kinzie, John, fur trader, 240, 329, 351, 355.

Kinzie family (Chicago), 222, 229.

Kious. See Sioux.

Koroas Indians, 33.

L'Aile, Rouge . See Ail Rouge.

L'Anse (Mich.), 374, 376.

L'Anse Quiwywenong. See L'Anse and Keweenaw.

L'Arbre Croche (Mich.), 162, 207, 234.

L'Auguille river, 180.

L'Epais, Sac chief, 169.

La Baye Verte. See Green Bay.

Labeau, J. B., fur trader, 99.

Labelle, Curé —, 2.

La Borde, John B., Green Bay settler, 389.

Library of Congress

La Boull, an Indian, 315.

Labrador, 46, 47.

La Chasse, 239.

La Croix, Jean Baptiste, 142, 143.

La Croix, Joseph, fur trader, 240.

La Croix, Pt., fur trader, 99.

La Crosse (city), railway interests of, 447.

La crosse (game), 227.

Lac du Bœuf. See Lake Buffalo.

Lac Vieux Desert. See Lake of the Desert.

La Fayette county, county-commissioner system in, 507.

Lafayette (Ind.), 123.

Lafie du Fableu, Ottawa chief, 207.

La Fourche. See Nissowagnet.

La Framboise, Alexander, fur trader at Milwaukee, 218, 373.

La Framboise, Francis, fur trader, death of, 373.

La Framboise, Joseph, fur trader at Milwaukee, 239, 240. 34

530

Library of Congress

La Framboise, Josette, marries Lieut. Pierce, 374.

La Framboise, Madeline, fur trader, sketch of, 373, 374; operations, 373, 376.

Lagillier, Jacques, with St. Lussou, 29.

“La Grange,” early vessel on upper lakes, 385, 389.

Laine, Delinctot. See Linctot.

La Jemeraye, explores Grand Portage, 125.

Lake Assiniboine, visited by Radisson, 67.

Lake Athabasca, 124.

Lake Brulé, as a boundary point, 477, 478, 484, 485.

Lake Buffalo, 103.

Lake Champlain, 47, 54, 194, 198, 201, 417.

Lake Court Orielles, 376.

Lake du Flambeau, 315, 375, 376.

Lake Erie, 10, 54, 61; naval operations in the Revolution, 185, 188, 189, 193, 198–201; in war of 1812–15, 319–321; as a boundary point, 451, 452, 456, 457, 462.

Lake, Fourth, 401, 402.

Lake, Fox, 400.

Lake George, British naval operations on, in Revolution, 194, 198.

Library of Congress

Lake, Green, 400, 402.

Lake Horicon, 400.

Lake Huron, 10, 12, 23, 24, 28, 65, 66; in Pontiac's war, 215; during the Revolution, 116, 142, 149, 160, 161, 185, 188, 189, 193, 198–201; war of 1812–15, 321, 332; as a boundary, 452, 462, 464; American Fur Company's trade on, 371.

Lake Itasca, visited by Morrison, 374; as a boundary point, 488.

Lake Katakitekton. See Lake of the Desert.

Lake Koshkonong, 427.

Lake Maurepas, 43, 47.

Lake Michigan, 10, 12, 15, 24, 223, 224, 355, 361, 365, 395, 399, 404, 410, 416, 417, 439; visited by Radisson, 66, 69; Maxwell's voyage (1763), 213, 215; Vieau's trip (1795), 220, 221; during the Revolution, 100, 113, 119, 120, 127–129; war of 1812–15, 328, 332, 334; as a boundary point, 452, 454, 456–458, 460–463, 465, 466, 470–473, 475, 478, 480, 481, 483, 485, 488, 489, 494–496, 499; fur trade on (1800–9), 239 240, 371, 372, 374, 376.

Lake Mills (village), early settlement at, 416–422, 426, 427.

Lake, Muddy (Manitoba), 123.

Lake Namekagon, visited by Radisson, 76.

Lake Nicolet, 4.

Lake Nipigon, 99, 134.

Library of Congress

Lake Nipissing, 9, 11, 12, 47.

Lake of the Desert, as a boundary point, 466, 472, 475–479, 484.

Lake of the Woods, 96, 124, 454, 487, 488.

Lake of Two Mountains, 100, 112.

Lake Ontario, 54; in the Revolution, 185, 189, 193, 194, 198, 199, 202; in war of 1812–15, 291, 321.

Lake Peoria, 137, 318–323, 339.

Lake Pepin, 70, 489, 490.

Lake Pewaukee, 360.

Lake Pickerel. *See* Kenozhaykum.

Lake Pontchartrain, 43, 47.

Lake, Rainy, 124, 125, 170.

Lake, Rice, 374, 376.

Lake St. Clair, in Pontiac war, 215; as a boundary point, 452, 462.

Lake St. Croix, as a boundary point, 489.

Lake St. John, 47.

Lake St. Martin (Manitoba), 123.

Lake, Sandy, 170.

Library of Congress

Lake, Second, 402.

Lake Shawano, 234, 235, 315.

Lake Superior, 12, 28; early knowledge of, 23; on Champlain's map, 10; visited by Radisson, 67–69, 71, 82, 96, 96; Crees at, 66; mentioned by St. Luson, 26, 27; in the Revolution, 105, 112, 123, 133, 134, 138, 142, 145, 150, 157, 160, 161, 170; Jacques Vieau, Sr., on, 220; first voyage under British flag, 213, 215; British naval operations on, 185, 188, 193; in wax of 1812–15, 321, 334, 350; Grand Portage of, 123–125, 131, 141, 150; far trade on, 99, 372, 374–376; lumber belt, 447; as a boundary point, 466, 469, 471, 472, 474–477, 484, 486, 489, 491–493.

Lake, Third, 401, 402.

Lake Wingra, 401.

Lake Winnebago, 230, 241, 299, 402, 410, 411; early knowledge of, 23, 24; Perrot's taking possession, 35; Dickson's expedition to, 276–302; fur trade on, 387; in 1827, 359.

Lake Winnepeg, 124, 125, 261.

Lake (town), Milwaukee county, 222.

Lalarné, —, 281.

La Manche, France, 16, 20.

Lamarche, C., fur trader, 99.

Lamorandiere, Etienne, fur trader, 371.

La Mothe's volunteers, 180.

Library of Congress

La Mure, —, Green Bay settler, 388.

Lancette, —, 299.

Lanchevine, Mrs. —, 277.

Lanchevine. See Langevin.

Land cessions beyond Ohio river, 454.

531

Land grants under King George's proclamation, 49, 50; under Quebec act, 57; Spanish, at McGregor (Iowa), 249; by British in the Revolution, 176; at Green Bay, 236, 237; on the lower Fox, 219, 224–226, 233; to Michigan in compensation for loss of territory on southern border, 475; to Fox-Wisconsin river improvement, 410–413; to C., M. and St. P. railway, 447.

Land speculations, 422, 425, 439.

Landrin, François, royal tabellion, 7.

Langelier, J., archivist of Quebec, 20.

Langevin, —, 287, 292.

Langlade, Madame Augustin de, 100.

Langlade, Charles Michel de, in the employ of the British, 97, 100, 101, 105, 110–113, 117, 121–124, 128, 135, 139, 149–151, 153, 177, 287; letter to Robertson, 164.

Langlade, Charles de, Jr., British agent in the Revolution, 165, 166.

Langlade, Dourana, wife of Chas. M. de, letter to Haldimand, 150.

Library of Congress

Languinet, Josh., fur trader, 99.

La Perche, Joseph (alias St. Jean), fur trader, 372.

La Pointe, visited by J. B. Cadott, 170; by Michael Cadotte, 372, 376; by Jacques Vieau, 220; by Schoolcraft, 372; by McKenney, 372; by Warren, 376.

La Porte (Ind.), 440.

La Porte, Pierre de, 20, 22.

La Prille, 301.

Larkin, James W., 222.

Larned, Maj. Benjamin F., U. S. A., 385.

La Rose, —, 307, 308, 311, 313.

La Rose, Æneas, 292.

La Rose, Alexis, 284, 285, 313.

La Rose, Susan, 237.

La Rose, Thérèse, 236.

La Salle, Nicolas de, with Chevalier La Salle, 32, 35.

La Salle, Chevalier, explores Mississippi river, 15, 66; procès-verbal of March, 1682, 29; procès-verbal of April 9, 1682, 33; builds Fort Miami, 178.

La Suassage, —, 273.

Library of Congress

La Terre Coupee, Pottawattomie village, 238.

La Torteux. See Turtle.

Laval, France, 8.

Lavigna, P. J., fur trader. 99.

Lawe, John, Green Bay pioneer, 229, 232, 271–273, 310, 373, 375, 386, 388, 389; correspondence with A. J. Vieau, 218; letters from Bulger, 312, 313; from Dickson, 273, 276–279, 282–285, 287–289, 292–295, 297, 299, 300, 302, 306–309, 311; his wife, 236.

Lawe, Rebecca R., wife of A. J. Vieau, Sr., 229.

Lawrence, Brown county, 220.

Lawton, Joseph G., with Fox and Wisconsin Improvement Company, 412.

Lawyers, Martin at Detroit, 380; at Green Bay, 381; Doty at Detroit, 380; early United States district attorneys, 395, 396, 401; Baird at Prairie du Chien, 402, 403; defense of Vineyard, 408.

Lead mines, British operations against, in the Revolution, 151, 152, 154, 156; at Dubuque, in 1811, 217, 252; induce immigration, 506–508; opening of Fever river region, 358, 360, 361, 365, 366, 368, 396–399, 401, 403; Martin's tour (1828), 396–399.

Leaf, The. See Wabasha.

Le Beau, —, early Chicago confectioner, 228.

Le Clair, Antoine, Sr., fur trader, at Milwaukee, 238–241; at Peoria, 239, 242; sketch, 238.

Le Clair, Antoine, Jr., "Statement," 223, 238.

Library of Congress

Le Clair, Francis C., fur trader, 238.

Le Clair, Pierre, 298.

Le Croix, —, fur trader, 158.

Le Gardeur (family), 18.

Legardeur, Augustin, with Perrot, 36.

Lee, Isaac, map of Green Bay land claims, 236, 237.

Legislatures, British parliament, 53, 57, 60; parliament of Quebec province, 57–60; United States congress, 61–63, 123, 331, 352, 355, 361, 368, 369, 380, 381, 391, 392, 396, 403, 407, 410, 412, 413, 446, 451–467, 470–475, 478, 483, 486–488, 490–493, 496–498, 500, 501, 505; legislature of Virginia, 113; of Wisconsin, 381, 407, 408, 410–414, 436, 437, 440–442, 467, 469, 478–483, 486, 496, 498–501, 506, 507, 510, 511; of Michigan, 403, 404, 471, 474.

Legons, —, fur trader, 208.

Le Jeune, Father, Jesuit missionary, 1, 15, 24.

Lemire, —, with Perrot, 36.

Le Mitasse, Sac chief, 169.

Lemoult, Capt. —, 134.

Le Nicollais, —, 8.

Le Pé. See Peoria.

Library of Congress

Le Pettéel, Mike, clerk to Jacques Vieau, 220, 226.

Leroy, Daniel, 395, 404.

Le Roy, Francis, at Portage, 223, 387, 396.

Le Roy, Joseph, fur trader, father-in-law of Jacques Vieau, Sr., 219, 220, 225; his wife, 220, 234.

Lese, Sieur, See Lisse.

532

Le Sellier, —, 281, 285, 293, 298, 310.

Lessé, Sieur. See Lisse.

Le Sueur, —, with Perrot, 36.

Le Tardif, Olivier, Jean Nicolet's brother-in-law, 16, 20, 22.

Le Tendre, Jean Baptiste, voyageur, 245, 246.

Lewis, Capt. Meriwether, Columbia-river expedition, 258.

Lewis county (N. Y.), 380.

Lewistown (Ill.), 365, 366.

Leyba, Don Ferdinand de, Spanish lieut, governor at St. Louis, 143.

Liancourt, Duke de la Rochefoucault, *Travels*, 125.

Liberty party, 380.

Library of Congress

Lincoln county, 375.

Linctot, Godefroy, Sr., American partisan, 107, 137, 144; coöperates with G. R. Clark 105; intrigues at Milwaukee, 210; sketch, 105, 106.

Linctot, Godefroy, Jr., 110.

Lisse, Sieur —, fur trader, 102.

Little Crow, Sioux chief, 276.

Little Crow, an Ottawa, See Ashawaubomay.

Little Deer, Kickapoo chief, 330, 332.

Little Eagle, a Pottawattomie, 324.

Little Frenchman. See Wahmeteeegoosh.

Little river, 123, 178.

Lake Sakægan, See Lake Pewaukee.

“Local Government in Wisconsin,” 502.

“Lochegeon,” British sloop, 198.

Lockwood, Ezekiel, Galena storekeeper, 398.

Lockwood, James H., postmaster at Prairie du Chien, 364; fur trader, 387.

Locust Grove (Ky.), 114.

Lodegand, Indian chief at Milwaukee, 210.

Library of Congress

London, England, 115, 245, 368.

Long, J., *Voyages and Travels*, 123.

Long, Maj. Stephen H., *Expedition* (1823), 124, 281.

Long island (N. Y.), Sinclair on, 141.

Los Angeles (Cal.), 245.

Lossing, Benson J., *Field Book of War of 1812*, 254.

Loughton, John, British naval officer, 200.

Lougrine, Oliver, surveyor, 232.

Louis XIV., king of France, 28, 29, 31, 33.

Louisbourg, 50.

Louisiana (province and Territory), 29, 31, 33, 258, 453; purchase of, 462, 463, 488.

Louisiana (state), *Historical Collections*, 33.

Louisiana island, 372.

Louisville (Ky.), 113, 114, 258.

Loutre settlement, 320.

Lovell, F. S., characterized by Martin, 409.

Lovewell, Capt. Nehemiah, in French and Indian war, 213.

Library of Congress

Lowville (N. Y.), 380.

Ludington, Harrison, governor of Wisconsin 232.

Lumbering, 232, 416–420, 447.

Lyon, Benjamin, fur trader, 99.

Lyon, Lucius, tour through the lead mines 396–399, 501; delegate in congress, 472.

Macard, —, marries Nicolet's widow, 18.

McBeath, George, fur trader, 165, 166, 171, 173, 174; letter to Robertson, 171; from Robertson, 165.

McCarty, Richard, fur trader and American partisan, 133.

McCrary, —, lead smelter, 401.

McDonald, —, early trader. 230.

McDonald, —, British soldier at Prairie du Chien, 155.

McDouall, Col. Robert, British officer, 254, 256, 257, 259, 307, 311; cited, 324; letter to Drummond, 260; from Louis Grignon, 305, 307.

McGalpin, Sergt. —, British soldier, 276.

McGill, Messrs. —, 284.

McGillivray, William, of Northwest Fur Company, 125.

McGregor (Iowa), 249.

Library of Congress

McGulpin, —, British soldier, 279.

McHenry county (Ill.), claimed by Wisconsin, 498.

Machiquewish. See Matchekewis.

McKay, Major William, captures Prairie du Chien, 247, 254–270; report to McDouall, 263; cited, 326.

McKee, Alexander, British partisan, 114, 180.

McKenney, Thomas L., superintendent of Indian trade, 224; visits La Pointe, 372; treats with Indians, 385; *Tour to the Lakes*, 372.

Mackinac county (Mich.), 461.

Mackinaw (Michilimackinac), 230, 234, 238–241, 392, 394; in Pontiac war, 150, 213–215, 217; in the Revolution, 97–212; Jacques Vieau at, 220, 223, 224; in war of 1812–15, 254, 256, 259, 264, 268–272, 274–277, 279, 280, 283, 284, 287, 292, 293, 295, 296, 298–301, 306–315, 318, 321, 322, 328–330, 342, 351, 354, 355; American Fur Company at, 370–379; as a boundary point, 457, 460, 464, 465, 469–472, 479.

Mackinaw boats, 220, 397.

533

Mackinaw, straits of, 12, 66, 67.

McKnight, Thomas, lead-mine agent, 358.

McLean, John, Illinois congressman, 368.

McLeod, Ronald, 370.

Library of Congress

McMaster, John B., *History of People of United States*, 454.

M'Millan, Capt. —, in Rogers's rangers, 213.

McNamara, —, at Mackinaw, 134.

Mad river, as a boundary, 451.

Madelaine island (Gulf of St. Lawrence), 47.

Madeline island (Lake Superior), Cadotte at, 372; various names for, 372.

Madison, James, president United States, 258.

Madison (city), 245, 417; in Black Hawk war, 427; visited by Martin, 401, 402; first school teacher, 422; road to Milwaukee, 429; legislature of 1838, 436; boundary convention at, 498; constitutional conventions at, 408, 485, 488–492, 501; contest over Fox-Wisconsin river improvement, 414.

Madison county (Illinois Terr.), 248.

Magazine of Western History, 65, 66, 163, 179, 218, 427, 492.

Mahan Indians, war 1812–15, 335.

Mail routes in Illinois and Wisconsin (1827), 363–366, 368.

Main Pogue, Indian chief, 345.

Maine island, 372.

Makomitek Indians, 27.

Library of Congress

Malamech Indians, 27.

Malden, war 1812–15, 321, 346, 349, 350.

Malhonmines. See Menomonees.

Maliby, —, early trader, 230.

Mallon, Michael, British midshipman, 197.

Mandan Indians, war of 1812–15, 335.

Manhattan, Dutch at, 65.

Manistique, 287, 298.

Manitou islands, 65–67, 203–205, 211.

Manitowoc county, 233; early trading post in, 221.

Manitowoc (town), 229, 232, 233; early trading post at, 221; Indians at, 394, 404; proposed early harbor improvement, 481.

Manomanisk, 104.

Manominikara, 103.

Mantantan Indians, 36.

Maps, Jefferson's plan for dividing the Western Territory, 452; division of Northwest Territory under the ordinance, 453; by act of May 7, 1800, 455; by act of Feb. 19, 1803, 457; by act of Jan. 11, 1805, 458; by act of Feb. 9, 1809, 460; by act of April 18, 1818, 461; Michigan (1834), 463; Wisconsin (1836), 464; Wisconsin (1838), 466; landmarks

Library of Congress

of boundary disputes, 468; Judson's Wisconsin. 472; Doty's Northern Wisconsin, 476; Mitchell's West, 456; Hutchins's West, 456; Nicollet's, of St. Louis rapids, 486; Tanner's and Melish's, 487: the first, of Fox-Wisconsin water-course, 397.

Maple sugar, Indian manufacture of, 223, 231, 241.

Marcotte, —, fur trader, 164.

Maréehepean, Mchs., fur trader, 99.

Marest, Father, Jesuit missionary, 35, 36.

Margry, Pierre, secures data relative to Nicolet, 6; cited, 179; *Découvertes et Établissements des Français dans L' Amérique*, 4, 26, 29, 33.

Marin (or Morong), —, fur trader at Milwaukee in 1779, 210.

Marquette, Father James, discovery of Mississippi, 66, 394.

Marie Galante, 45.

Marseilles, France, 219.

Marsh, John, Indian sub-agent at Prairie du Chien, 248, 249, 357.

Marshall, Samuel, early Madison banker, 444.

Marshall, William R., Minnesota pioneer, 492.

Marsollet, Nicolas, 20, 22.

Martin, Annie, 382.

Martin, Debbie, 382.

Library of Congress

Martin, Elizabeth Smith, widow of Morgan L., 381, 382.

Martin, Leonard, 382.

Martin, Melancthon, 382.

Martin, Morgan L., 226; canoe voyage to Mackinaw, 394; canoe voyage to Prairie du Chien, 395, 396, 399; tour through lead mines, 396, 399; overland trip to Prairie du Chien, 399–402; overland trip to Milwaukee, 404, 405; defends Juneau, 405–407; relations with Vineyard, 407, 408; characterizes Dodge, 407, 408; introduces bill making Wisconsin a state, 486, 487; reminiscences of second constitutional convention, 408, 409; death, 383; “Narrative,” 382, 383, 385; sketch, 380.

Martin, Morgan L., Jr., 332, 383.

Martin, Gen. Walter, father of Morgan L., 380.

Martinico, 45.

Martinsburgh (N. Y.), 380.

Maryland island, 372.

Mas, Jean, with La Salle, 32, 35.

Masca, C. B., Green Bay pioneer, 278, 280, 284, 292, 293, 297.

Mascoutin Indians, early knowledge of, 23, 534 24, 27; visited by Nicolet, 14; visited by Radisson, 66–70; mentioned by Perrot. 35; in the Revolution, 144, 155.

Mason, Stevens T., governor of Michigan Territory, 459.

“Masquenouge,” British sloop, 198.

Library of Congress

Masquikoukioek Indians, 27.

Massachusetts, land cession, 454; legislature of 1796, 214; local government in, 502–504.

Massachusetts island, 372.

Masse, Denis, with St. Luson, 29.

Masters, Mrs. Robert, early tavern-keeper, 452.

Matchekewis, Chippewa chief, 115, 142, 148, 151, 152.

Matchesepe (Mauvaise Riviere or Bad river), Pottawattomie chief, 239.

Matsigamea. See Metchigamias.

Matson, N., *Pioneers of Illinois*, 137.

Mathews, Capt. Robert, secretary to Haldimand, letters from Robertson, 165, 166, 171, 173.

Matthews, William W., fur trader, 371, 373, 375, 377.

Mauhesty river, 206.

Maumee bay, as a boundary point, 458.

Maumee river, 113, 123, 458.

Mauvais creek, 221.

Mauvaise Riviere. See Matchesepe.

Maxwell, Hugh, father of Thompson. 213.

Library of Congress

Maxwell, Maj. Thompson, in Pontiac war, 213–217; sketch, 213, 214; “Narrative,” 213.

Mayette, —, American partisan, 144.

Maynard, —, 313.

Maysere, Jeanne, with St. Lusson, 29.

Meldrum, William, deputy United States marshal, 395.

Melvill, Thomas, Galena pioneer, 497.

Membré, Father Zénobe, Recollect missionary, 31–35.

“Men of the Sea.” See Winnebago Indians.

Menard, Pierre, treats with Indians, 361.

Menasha, 424; early saw-mill at, 417.

Menchokatonx, 36.

Meneret, Gilles, with La Salle, 32, 35.

Menomonee Indians, 27, 251; visited by Nicolet, 13; visited by Radisson. 78; in the Revolution, 98, 101, 109, 116, 126, 130, 132, 147, 151, 152, 163, 164, 166–168, 170; in war of 1812–15, 255, 262, 265, 267, 271, 283, 289, 293, 294, 312, 219, 321, 334, 339–342, 347, 350; mentioned by Vieau, 219, 220, 284, 236; mentioned by Martin, 385, 393, 899, 400, 402.

Menomonee (Mich.), 416.

Library of Congress

Menomonee river (Mich.), 388; visited by Nicolet, 13; as a boundary point, 466, 472, 475, 476, 477, 478, 480, 483–485.

Menomonee river (Milwaukee), 221, 224, 228.

Menzie, Alexander, British midshipman, 197.

Mequon river, 323, 324.

“Mercury,” British schooner, 198.

Mermet, Father Jean, on St. Josephs river, 178, 179.

Métairie, Jaques de la, notary for La Salle, 29, 32, 35.

Metchigamia Indians, 33.

Methodists, early, in Jefferson county, 431.

“Metropotamia,” 453.

Mexican war, 329.

Mexico (country), 70.

Miami Indians, in the Revolution, 178–180; in war of 1812–15, 322, 332; mentioned by Charlevoix, 179.

Miami bay, as a boundary point, 457.

Miami river, 179, 180; visited by La Salle, 178; as a boundary, 451, 452, 456.

Michael, Chippewa chief, 339.

Library of Congress

Michael's island, 372.

Michel, Jean, with La Salle, 32, 35.

Michigan (territory and state), 119, 357, 395, 399, 505; discovery by Nicolet, 1; Washington's boundary scheme, 452; Territory erected, 457; boundary dispute with Ohio, 457–460, 465, 471–475; with Indiana, 461; with Wisconsin, 463–467, 469–485; territorial extent (1834), 462, 463, 467; admitted to the Union, 460; territorial legislature, 380, 392, 403, 404; in 1837, 417; early congressmen, 391; early banking, 439; Michigan Central railroad, 391; Fencibles (1812–15), 254, 255, 262, 263, 265, 266, 269, 276, 293; history of upper peninsula, 469, 470; fur trade on upper peninsula, 370–379; stare university, 391; Historical Society, 391; *Herald*, 464, *Historical and Scientific Sketches of*, 391; *Pioneer Collections*, 105, 109, 112, 118, 133, 136, 138, 159, 162, 170, 178.

Michigan City (Mich.), 231.

Michigan river, 207, 208.

“Michigania,” 453.

Michipiota, 134.

Middle island (Apostles group), 372.

Middle island (Lake of the Desert), 477, 484, 485.

Middletown (Conn.), 418.

Milan, Italy, 125.

Milford (town), 419, 421.

535

Library of Congress

Military affairs, 360–363, 367; under King George's proclamation, 52; land grants to British officers, 49, 50; British in the Northwest during the Revolution, 97–212; British attack on Prairie du Chien, 254–315; Americans at Peoria, war of 1812–15, 316–355; at Fort Howard, 385, 391, 393, 394; at Fort Winnebago, 399; Black Hawk war, 426, 427; removal of Winnebagoes, 431; Wisconsin territorial militia, 230; Illinois militia, 357. See Wars.

Mill Fortrie, Scotland, 437.

Millard, Mrs. Ann, early Methodist, 431.

Mille Lacs region, 82, 91.

Miller, Gen. James, obtains "Maxwell's Narrative," 214.

Miller, Col. John, commandant at Green Bay, 225.

Milton (Wis.), 447.

Milwaukee, 219, 220, 421, 429; in the Revolution, 102, 110, 120, 128–131, 152, 162, 206, 210, 211; some early traders at, 218; Jacques Vieau, Sr, at, 221–224, 232, 386, 387, 404, 405; the Le Clairs at, 238–241; La Framboise at, 239, 240, 373; La Croix at, 240; Anderson at, 240; Mirandeau at, 222, 241; Juneau at, 224, 226–229, 231, 243–246, 386, 387, 404–407; Beaubien at, 374; James Kinzie at, 224, 375, 377; A. J. Vieau at, 226–231; in war of 1812–15, 273, 281, 282, 289, 293, 294, 296, 298, 302, 304, 305, 309, 324, 328, 332, 334, 337, 339–342, 347; Indians at, 226–228, 394; invoice of Indian goods for, 377; visited by Martin (1833–34), 404–406; in 1837, 416–419; "Delaplaine's Statement," 243; original plat, 224, 406; early land speculations, 406; early art in 218; early proposition for harbor improvement, 481; history of Mitchell's bank, 435–450; railway interests of, 446–450; Rock river canal, 449; represented by Crawford, 485; represented by Kilbourn, 490; represented by Upham, 499; Pioneer Association, 405; East Water street, 226, 232, 243; Huron street, 232; Jackson street, 227; Jefferson street, 227; Main street, 222, 227;

Library of Congress

Michigan street, 222, 232; Milwaukee street, 227; Spring street, 227, 229, 243; Water street, 227; West Water street, 243; Wisconsin street, 226, 243, 245, 442; Wisconsin Marine and Fire Insurance Company bank, 435–450; *History of*, 405; *Advertiser*, 435, 442; *Sentinel*, 405, 435, 507. See Buck's *Pioneer History of Milwaukee*.

Milwaukee and Northern railway, 414.

Milwaukee river, 218, 221, 224, 226–228, 230, 239, 240, 404, 416, 417.

Minable, Ottawa chief, 142.

Mineral Point, 230, 408.

Mingo Indians, attacked by Dunmore, 113.

Minneapolis (Minn.), railway interests of, 447.

Minnesota (territory and state), 125, 132, 441; origin of name, 381; erection of Territory, 381, 468; boundary dispute with Wisconsin, 468, 469, 486–494; *Historical Collections*, 65, 82.

Minnesota island, 372.

Minnesota Junction (Wis.), 447.

Minorca island, 45.

Miquelon island, 45.

Mirandeau, Jean B, early Milwaukee blacksmith, 223; mentioned by Le Clair, 240, 241; sketch, 222.

Mirandeau, Josette, 222.

Library of Congress

Mirandean, Louis, 222.

Mirandean, Victoria, 222.

Mishicott, Manitowoc county, 221.

Misissagey Indians, 181.

Mississippi Territory, 256.

Mississippi island, 372.

Mississippi river, 247–255, 259–264, 267, 273, 276, 279, 283, 285, 290, 296, 297, 303, 305, 309, 316, 326–328, 331, 332, 334, 835, 337, 340, 342, 345–347, 349, 350, 357, 359, 365, 398, 402, 410, 430; meaning of name, 14; early theories regarding, 15; heard of by Nicolet, 14; presumably discovered by Radisson, 66, 67, 70; La Salle's expedition, 15, 29, 31, 33, 34; Perrot's taking possession, 35, 36; Hurons on the, 70; D'Iberville discovers mouth, 15; free navigation provided, 38, 43; G. R. Clark on the, 113, 114, 116; visited by Gautier de Verville, 100, 102–104, 107, 120, 128, 132; British–Indian expedition against Natchez, 145–147, 149; British-Indian expedition against St. Louis, 151–154; miscellaneous Revolutionary movements on, 105, 106, 111, 118, 122, 123, 126, 132, 142, 151–154; in war of 1812–15, 242; fur trade on, 99, 371, 372, 376, 388; Morrison at sources of, 374; early map of, 396, 397; distances on, 248; overflow in 1829, 403; as a boundary point, 35, 36, 38, 43, 45, 47, 54, 453, 454, 460, 462, 464, 467–469, 471, 486–490, 492, 493, 495.

Missouri (territory and state), 258, 258, 353; Indians of (1812–15), 334, 335, 349; early congressmen, 396; early banking, 444; relations 536 with Michigan Territory, 462; with Wisconsin, 464–466, 468, 469.

Missouri island, 372.

Library of Congress

Missouri river, 70, 249, 313; in the Revolution, 148, 152, 154; in war of 1812–15, 289; 320, 323, 331, 332, 334, 335; railway interests, 447; as a boundary point, 462, 464, 466, 471, 486.

Mitchell, Alexander, canal engineer. 449.

“Mitchell, Alexander, The Financier,” 435.

Mitchell, Eliza, fur trader, 375.

Mitchell. S. A., early map of the West, 456.

Mitchell, William, fur trader, 375.

Mobile (river and port), 43, 45.

Moccasin game, 227.

Moghill, D., fur trader. 209.

Mogras, Jacques, with St. Luson, 28.

Mohawk Indians visited by Radisson, 65.

“Mohawk,” British scow, 198.

Mohawk river, 214.

Mompesson, Capt. John, British officer in the Revolution, letter to De Peyster, 162.

Monegoinaic-cauning island, 272.

Monk, G. H., British commissary, 274, 312.

Library of Congress

Monroe, James, secretary of war, letters from Thomas Forsyth, 336, 338.

Monroe county (Ill.), 319.

Mont Trempealeau. See Trempealeau mountain.

Montgomery, Col. John, at Kaskaskia, 114, 136.

Monticello (Va.), 113.

Morny, —, British naval officer. 211.

Montreal, 98, 103, 106, 107, 109, 111, 116–118, 124, 125, 128, 138, 139, 161, 171, 174, 184, 196, 219, 220, 238, 258, 272, 274, 284, 291, 372, 377; Callières as governor of, 19; capitulation of, 213, 214.

“Montreal” British naval vessel, 197.

Montreal island (Apostles group), 372.

Montreal river, traversed by Radisson, 67, 68; as a boundary point. 466, 472, 475–480, 484, 488, 489, 491.

Moore, Benjamin F., with Fox and Wisconsin Improvement Company, 412.

Moose, 71, 74, 79, 86, 93, 96.

Moravians, at Lake Mills, 431.

Moreau, Gen. —, 291.

Moreau, Pierre, with St. Luson, 28.

Library of Congress

Morneau, —, messenger, 296, 298, 300–302.

Morning Star. See Wahbenukqua.

Morrison, James, fur trader, 253.

Morrison, Robert, fur trader, 253.

Morrison, William, fur trader, 374, 376; sketch, 252, 253.

Morse. L. M. R., Galena store-keeper, 308.

Mount Pleasant. Racine county, 233.

Mountain island. See Trempealeau mountain.

Mountraille county (Dak.), 462.

Mowat, F. R., British midshipman. 197.

Mulford, James, early Chicago jeweler, 228.

Muskego Center, Waukesha county, 219, 246.

Muskegon (Mich.), 373.

“Mussasago.” British sloop. 198.

Nabakoa Indians, 110.

Nadoneceronon or Nadousioux. See Sioux.

Naicetoche, an Indian, 278.

Library of Congress

Nasima. See Gomo.

Natchez Indians. 33.

"Nation of the Sault," 72, 93.

Naval affairs. *British* , in Pontiac's war, 215; on upper lakes during the Revolution, 120–122, 128, 129, 140, 141, 152, 153–155, 158, 159, 161, 185–217; on the St. Lawrence, during the Revolution, 182, 183, 184. *Americans* , in war 1812–15, 264, 265, 268–270.

Navarino (Green Bay), 388.

Navarre, Pierre, fur trader, 376.

Navarre, regiment of, 19.

Navigation, early vessels, 373, 375, 377, 385, 392, 394, 397, 416, 417; free on the Mississippi. 38, 43. See Naval affairs, and Fox-Wisconsin river improvement.

Navy island, 199.

Nebraska island, 372.

Neenah, 109, 278.

Negroes, in the fur trade, 154, 207; at St. Louis, in Revolution, 156; in British army, war 1812–15, 321.

Neill, Edward D., cited, 65, 125; *History of Minnesota* , 374, 376, 492.

Nelson river, 261.

Neshoto, 233.

Library of Congress

Nes Percez Indians, 26.

Nesscotlinaineg, a Pottawattomie murderer, 320

Nesscottinnemeg, an Indian, 346.

Newberry, Oliver, early Chicago trader, 228.

Newberry line of vessels, 385.

New Denmark (Wis.), 233.

New England, immigrants from, to Wisconsin, 506.

New England Indians, 16.

Newfoundland, 42, 47, 53, 54.

New France, Company of, 16, 17, 20.

New Hampshire, local government in, 505.

537

New Hampshire island, 372.

New Jersey, boroughs of, 505.

New Jersey island, 372.

Newland, David, in territorial council, 479.

New Madrid (Mo.), 252.

Library of Congress

New Orleans, in peace articles of 1762, 38; in treaty of 1763, 43; in the Revolution, 136, 145, 146, 156; in war of 1812–15, 314.

Newspapers, Wisconsin, 507.

New York (state), 336, 451; in the Revolution, 184; accepts United States constitution, 381, 382; early lawyers, 380; early banking, 439; local government in, 502, 504, 505, 508, 511; immigrants from, to Wisconsin, 506; *Colonial Documents*, 26, 27, 35, 101.

New York (city), 141, 373.

New York island, 372.

Niagara, falls of, 10.

Niagara river, 54.

Nibakoa, village of, 109.

Niccaroi, William, British naval officer, 185.

Nicodemus and Conover, *Map of Wisconsin*, 221.

Nicolet, Gilles, brother of Jean, 18.

Nicolet, Jean, article by Henri Jouan, 1: birthplace and parentage, 5–9; arrives in Canada, 5, 9; at Allumette island, 9; makes peace with Iroquois, 9; at Lake Nipissing, 9, 10; leaves for the Northwest, 11; discovers the Northwest, 1, 23; at Sault Ste. Marie, 12; at Green Bay, 13, 14; visits Mascoutins, 2, 66, 67; located at Three Rivers, 12, 15, 16; marriage, 6, 16, 20–22; as Sieur de Belleborne, 16; clerk and interpreter of the Hundred Associates, 10; death, 16–18; remembered in Canada, 4; his place in his tory, 19; mentioned by Shea, Suite and in Jesuit *Relations*, 1; “Bibliography,” 2, 23; his widow, 18.

Library of Congress

Nicolet, Peter, brother of Jean, 18.

Nicolet, Thomas, father of Jean, 5–8, 20.

Nicolet (city), Canada, 4.

Nicolet (diocese), Canada, 4.

Nicolet river, Canada, 4.

Nicolet (seignory and county), Canada, 4.

Nicolet seminary, Canada, 4.

Nicollet, Jean N., map of Upper Mississippi basin, 486, 487, 493.

Nicollet, Jeanne, sister of Jean Nicolet, 6.

Nicollet, Perrette, sister of Jean Nicolet, 6.

Nicollet, Roulland, brother of Jean Nicolet, 6.

Nicollet, Thomas, Jr., brother of Jean Nicolet, 6.

Nigunoquom, an Indian, 295.

Niles (Mich.), 179.

Nipissing (or Nipissirinen) Indians, 9, 10.

Niscaks, 27.

Nisonaquasit, a Fox, 170.

Library of Congress

Nissowagnet (La Fourche, or The Fork), Ottawa chief, 100.

"No Man's Land," 461, 462.

Noquet Indians, 27.

Normandy, France, emigrants from, 3.

North Carolina island, 372.

Northfield (Vt.), 417, 424.

Northwest, the, discovered by Nicolet. 1; in the Revolution, 97–212; local government in, 502–511.

Northwest Territory, 434; Washington's plan for a division. 451, 452; Jefferson's plan of government, 61, 63, 452, 453; adoption of ordinance. 453; boundary provisions. 453–456; first territorial division, 455; Ohio erected, 456; Indiana erected, 455, 460; Illinois erected, 460; Michigan erected, 457, 470; "No Man's Land," 461, 462; Wisconsin erected, 465, 466; Michigan's extent, 461, 462; early settlement in, 416.

Northwest Fur Company, 112, 125, 255, 261, 272; at Grand Portage in 1762, 215; employs Jacques Vieau, 220, 221, 223, 224.

Norwegian settlers, 426.

Nova Scotia, 37, 41, 43, 48.

Oak Point, portaged by Radisson, 67, 72, 93.

Oconomowoc, 243, 418.

Ogilvy, —, fur trader, 273.

Library of Congress

Ogle county, (Ill.), claimed by Wisconsin, 498.

Ohio, Washington's plan for, 452; constitutional convention, 456, 457; admitted, 457; boundary dispute with Michigan, 457–460, 465, 471–475; with Indiana, 465; influence on Wisconsin local system, 505.

Ohio island, 372.

Ohio river, 31, 33; taken possession of by La Salle, 29; G. R. Clark on the, 113, 120, 180, 182; in the Revolution, 157; in war of 1812–15, 340; as a boundary, 54, 61, 451–455, 460, 495.

Ojibwas. See Chippewas.

Old Faline, Pottawattomie chief, 296, 297.

Old Helena, shot tower at, 403.

Old Plantation lake. See Lake of the Desert.

Olighinsipou river, 31. See Alleghany.

Oliver, —, 273.

Ollivier, —, agent of Company of New France, 17.

538

Omaha (Nebr.), 447.

Onaugesa, Menomonee chief, 130, 131.

Onaugesa, Pottawattomie chief, relation to Jacques Vieau, Sr., 219: mentioned by Le Clair, 239.

Library of Congress

“Onedago,” British naval vessel, 198.

Oneida Indians, 228, 390, 407.

Onondaga Indians, 65.

Onongeesay. See Onaugesa.

Ontario (province), 12.

Ontonagon river, copper mining on, 469, 470.

Ordinance of 1787, 63; adoption of, 453; boundary provisions, 453–459, 461, 462, 465, 467, 471–473, 479, 482, 487, 488, 494–498.

Oregon (Ill.), claimed by Wisconsin, 495.

Oregon island, 372.

Oreshkaté, Sioux chief, 111.

Osage Indians, in war of 1812–15, 328, 335, 348, 349.

Oseebwaisum (Corn Stalk), Pottawattomie chief, 228.

Oshkosh, Menomonee chief, 395.

Oswegatchie (N. Y.), in Revolution, 198, 199.

Oswego (N. Y.), 198, 403.

Oswego river, 134.

Ototanta Indians, 33.

Library of Congress

Ottawa Indians, 26, 27, 100, 175; visited by Radisson, 64, 66, 68, 70, 79, 82, 94; in the Revolution, 98, 120–122, 125–127, 129–132, 142, 152, 155, 178, 180, 181, 207, 209; in war of 1812–15, 275, 280, 282, 319, 321, 322, 325, 326, 331–334, 339, 347, 495; in 1827, 358, 359; Madame la Framboise among, 373, 374; mentioned by Vieau, 221, 234–237; mentioned by Le Clair, 239–241; at mouth of Green bay, 394.

Ottawa, Canadian archives at, 97, 174, 258.

Ottawa (Ill.), 427.

Ottawa river, 9, 10, 23, 65–67, 100.

“Ottawa,” British naval vessel, 185, 186, 189, 199, 200.

Otter Indians, war 1812–15, 335.

Ouabache (8abache), Sioux chief, 103.

Ouinipigou or Ouinipeg. See Winnebagoes.

Ouiskonche (8iskonche) or Ouiskoinsin. See Wisconsin.

Oumalominis. See Menomonees.

Outaouacs. See Ottawas.

Outagamis or Outtougamis. See Foxes.

Owen, Thomas J. V., Indian agent at Chicago, 228.

Ozaukee county, early settlement in, 231.

Pacific ocean, 11, 14, 15, 452.

Library of Congress

Palmaipottoke (The Runner), Pottawattomie chief, 228.

Palmas, Rio de, 34.

Palmes, Riviere des, 31.

Pampeluna, 291.

Panther, a Pottawattomie, 320.

Paquette, Pierre, fur trader and forwarder, 387, 396.

“Paquit,” British naval vessel, 189, 199.

Para Vache. See Cowpens.

Paris, France, 18, 20, 125; treaty of, 39.

Parish, —, lawyer (Lowville, N. Y.), 380.

Parisien, Rivière de, 247.

Parkman, Francis, *La Salle*, 25; *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, 373.

Passenger travel, early, on the upper lakes, 188, 189, 192.

Patterson, J. B., interviews Black Hawk, 238.

Pauschkenana (The Ruptured), Pottawattomie chief, 227.

Pawnee Indians, war 1812–15, 335, 348.

Pawnee slave, at Green Bay, 393.

Library of Congress

Payne, William, early miller, 230.

Pays plat, term defined, 123.

Peak, Uriah H., with Fox and Wisconsin Improvement Company, 412.

Pecatonica river, 325.

Peek, trading post, 134.

Pees. See Peoria.

“Pelisipia,” 453.

Pemene falls, 477.

Pemwatome, Kickapoo chief, 325, 330, 332, 342, 345.

Penatongonshire. See Penetanguishene.

Pencour, nickname for St. Louis, 143.

Penetanguishene, Ontario, 371, 373.

Pennsylvania, boroughs of, 505.

Pennsylvania island, 372.

Pennsylvania (province), 54.

Pennsylvania (state), 61, 98, 451, 452, 454; Indian attack on, in Revolution, 175: British border forays against, 176; early newspapers in, 392.

Pensacola bay, 44.

Library of Congress

Personneau, Louis, Sr., fur trader, 372, 376.

Peoria (Ill.), 290, 294, 296, 315, 356, 357, 365, 366; burned by Gautier, 137; Le Clair at, 239, 242; in war of 1812–15, 263, 283, 289; Forsyth at, 316–355; Howard's expedition to, 242; synonyms, Le Pé. Lee Pee, Pay, Pé, Au Pay, Opa.

539

Pepeck, —, 294.

Pepper, a Sac, 328.

Pepys, Samuel, the diarist, 64.

Perdrex Noir, Pottawattomie chief, 290.

Perkins, Capt. Joseph, commandant at Fort Shelby, 256, 257.

Perrot, —, courier, 297.

Perrot, Nicholas, with St. Lusson, 27, 28; minute of taking possession, 35.

Perry, Commodore Oliver H., 347.

Petchaho, Pottawattomie chief, 337–341, 347.

Peterhead, Scotland, 437.

Petit Corbeaux. See Little Crow, Sioux chief.

“Petit Diable,” British row-galley, 198.

Petit , an Indian, 306.

Library of Congress

Petite Riviere. See Little river.

Pheasant Branch, 401.

Philadelphia, 115, 137, 252, 336, 452.

Phillips, Sergt. J. F., British soldier, 148, 152, 155.

Pichet, Ignace, fur trader, 374.

Pictured rocks, Lake Superior, 67.

Pierce, Franklin, president of United States, 374.

Pierce, Lieut. John S., marries Josette la Framboise, 374.

Pigeon river, 96, 124, 125, 394.

Pike, Zebulon M., visits Prairie du Chien, 249–251.

Pillet, Paschal, fur trader, 99.

Pine Bend (Old Helena), on Wisconsin river, 403.

Pine county (Minn.), 490.

Pine river, 199, 361.

Pine trees, mentioned by Radisson, 79, 85.

“Pioneer,” early vessel on Fox river, 413.

Pittsburgh (Pa.), 180, 413.

Library of Congress

Platte, —, shot-maker, 403.

Platte river, 335.

Platteville, 397, 408, 465.

Plymouth, England, 97.

Pohquaygeegun (Bread), Pottawattomie chief, 228.

Point au Sable, 206, 207.

“Polypotamia,” 453.

Pontiac's war, 142, 213–217.

Pontonatenick. See Pottawattomies.

Poole, William F., cited, 114, 136.

Poor-houses, local management of, in Wisconsin, 505.

Pope, Nathaniel, secures Illinois's northern boundary, 462, 494–496.

Population of Wisconsin (1818), 505; (1841), 498; west of Lake Michigan (1834), 471.

Porlier, Jacques, Sr., fur-trader, 373, 375, 386, 388, 389.

Porlier, Lieut.—, in war of 1812–15, 266, 269, 288, 302, 306, 312, 314, 315.

Port Washington, genesis of, 231, 232.

Portage (Wis.), 262, 292, 301, 302, 312, 361, 387, 396, 399, 403, 404, 410, 415.

Library of Congress

Portage des Sioux (Mo.), 238, 242, 339, 342, 347, 354.

Portages, Fox-Wisconsin, 14, 67, 109, 128, 129, 148, 164, 223, 262, 292, 300, 302, 312, 361, 387, 396, 399, 403, 404, 410, 415; St. Josephs and Kankakee rivers, 178, 179; Wabash and Little rivers, 178–181; Maumee and Little rivers, 123; Keweenaw point, 67; Oak point, 67, 72; Chequamegon bay and Chippewa river, 72, 73, 75, 77; Lake St. Martin and Muddy lake, 123. See Chicago and Grand Portage.

Portage river, 331, 332.

Porter, —, early Chicago shop-keeper, 228.

Porteret, Prer., with St. Lusson, 29.

Porthier, Joseph, 222.

Portuguese colonies, 46.

Post Vincents. See Vincennes.

Pothier, —, agent for Northwest Fur Company, 272, 285.

Pottawattomie Indians, 27; visited by Radisson, 66, 68; at mouth of Green bay, 393, 394; in the Revolution, 115, 120, 123, 125, 152, 153, 155, 175, 178–180; in war of 1812–15, 290, 298, 294, 296, 300, 316–355, 495; in 1827, 358, 359; mentioned by Vieau, 219–222, 226–228, 233, 234, 246; mentioned by Le Clair, 238, 239.

Pottawattomie islands, 393.

Pottier, —, seignior of Courcy, 19.

Pottier, Madeleine, 19.

Library of Congress

Poulxteattemis. See Pottawattomies, 27.

Powell, Lieut. —, in expedition against Prairie du Chien, 266, 288, 289.

Powell, Gen. Henry Watson, British officer in Revolution, letter from Sinclair, 163.

Prairie du Chien, 271, 399, 401; in the Revolution, 99, 100, 102, 105–107, 120, 122, 134, 151, 152, 165, 171, 174; British Indian council at, in 1783, 166; visited by Pike (1805), 249; described by Boilvin (1811), 247–253; Dickson's expedition, 271–315, 350; in war of 1812–15, 247–270, 319, 321–324, 326–330, 332, 337; as a borough, 505; in 1827, 356–369; fur trade in 1827–28, 387, 396; in Red Bird war, 249; trial of Red Bird, 395–397; early courts at, 395–397, 401–403; early government of, 506; distance from St. Louis, 248.

540

Prairie du Chien and McGregor Western railway, 447.

Prairie du Sac, 396.

Prairieville. See Waukesha.

Prentiss, —, early Milwaukee shop-keeper, 243, 245.

Prestige, William, imprisoned by Twiggs, 399.

Preston, William C., fixes Wisconsin's northeast boundary, 466, 471–473, 485.

Prices, early, in Jefferson county, 421, 425.

Prince Society publications, 64, 67, 68.

Prior, Richard M., fur trader, 373, 375.

Proclamation of King George (1763), 46.

Library of Congress

Proctor, Gen. Henry A., in war of 1812–15, 283.

Prophet, Tecumseh's brother, 320, 347.

Prophetstown (Ill.), 359.

Protestant missions, 226; at Green Bay, 390.

Protestant religion, under Quebec act, 56, 59.

Provencal, —, fur trader, 158.

Prussians, operations against Bonaparte, 291.

Pruyne, Peter, early Chicago druggist, 228.

Puant, Bay des. See Green bay.

Puant rapids. See Winnebago rapids.

Puants. See Winnebagoes.

Public debts, federal. 62.

Public lands, 61, 63; under King George's proclamation, 49–52: in Michigan, 475; in Wisconsin, 439.

Pullman, Capt. James, British officer in Prairie du Chien expedition. 255, 279, 280, 282, 285, 287, 290, 293, 294, 298, 299, 301–303, 306, 308.

Pumpkins, mentioned by Radisson, 71.

Puritans, local government of, 503, 504.

Library of Congress

Putney (Vt.), 416, 417.

Quashquamie, a Pottawattomie, 322.

Quebec (province). 46–60; in the Revolution, 97–212; pay of navy, 201; pay of civil officers, 201; *Archives*, 20, 22.

Quebec (city), 10, 11, 14–21, 29, 50, 185, 196, 198, 247, 275.

Quebec act, text of, 53.

“Quebec,” British naval vessel, 197.

Quincy (Ill.), 316.

Quindinaque, Winnebago chief, 127.

Quinisec falls, 485.

Rabbis, —, Green Bay miller, 278, 280.

Racine, Etienne, 20, 22.

Racine (city), 228, 418, 481.

Racine (county), 233, 234.

Racoon, a Pottawattomie hostage, 323.

Radisson, Sieur, commences third voyage, 64; commences fourth voyage, 71; visits Hurons and Ottawas, 64–70; visits Mascoutins, 66–70; hears of Bœuf Sioux, 67; visits Pottawattomies, 66, 68; goes “into ye great river.” 66, 67, 70; at Sault Ste. Marie, 67, 69; on Lake Superior, 67–69; on Lake Michigan, 66, 69; on Green Bay, 66–69; at Lake

Library of Congress

Assiniboine, 67; at Keweenaw point, 67; on Fox river, 66–68; at Montreal river, 67, 68, 71; at Oak point, 72; at Chequamegon bay, 72–75; at Montreal river, 71; builds fort at Chequamegon bay, 73; visits Hurons on headwaters of Chippewa river, 76–78; experiences a famine, 79–82; visits the Bœuf Sioux, 83–93; returns to Chequamegon bay, 93; visits the Christinos, 96; sketch, 64–68.

Ragueneau, Paul, Jesuit missionary, 65.

Railways in Wisconsin, 433, 446–450, 481.

Raisin river, 331. 456.

Ramsey county (Minn.), 490.

Randall Henry S., *Life of Jefferson*, 61, 452.

Rangé, —, with Dickson, 278.

Rankins, Thérèse, 237.

Ransom, Capt. —, vessel master, 375, 377.

Rawlinson, Richard, antiquarian collector, 64.

Raymbault, Father Charles, death of, 17.

Ré, François de. *See* Derre.

Reaume, Alexis, fur trader, 106, 107.

Reaume, Charles, fur trader, 115.

Reaume, Charles, early judge at Green Bay, 237, 248, 277.

Library of Congress

Reaume, Louis, fur trader, 105, 106.

Recollect missionaries, 31, 32, 35.

Rector, N., wounded by Indians, 320.

Rector, Lieut. Stephen, American officer, 320.

Red Bird, a Winnebago, surrender of, 366–368; trial of, 395–397; his wife, 368; his son, 367.

Red Bird disturbance (Prairie du Chien), 249.

Red river of the North, 261, 349, 350, 365.

Reed, Curtis, river-improvement commissioner, 410.

Reed, George, Milwaukee pioneer, 245.

Reilhe, Antoine, fur trader, 164.

Religion; under Quebec act, 59; churches in Wisconsin, 433. See Catholics and Protestants.

Renards. See Foxes.

Rennes, France, 8.

Renville, —, Indian interpreter, 266.

Repentigny, Jean Baptiste le Gardeur de, 18.

Library of Congress

Revolutionary war, 329; Maxwell's career in, 214; British operations in the Northwest, 97–212.

Revue Manchoise, 1.

Reynolds, John, *Pioneer History of Illinois*, 109, 263, 316, 319, 363, 368, 369.

Rhode Island, in the Revolution, 184.

Rhode Island island (Apostles group), 372.

Ribeau, —, imprisoned by British, 289.

Rice, Henry M., Minnesota pioneer, 492.

Richmond (Va.), 356; *Enquirer*, 363.

Rickaree Indians, war of 1812–15, 335.

River de Pomme. *See* Apple river.

River improvement. *See* Fox-Wisconsin river improvement.

Rivieres, Hippt. des, fur trader, 99.

Robert, Sieur —, fur trader, 103.

Robertson, Capt. Daniel, British officer in Revolution, letter from Langlade, 164; to Mathews, 165, 166, 171, 173; to McBeath, 165; from McBeath, 171; death of, 164.

Robertson, Samuel, British naval officer; his voyage on Lake Michigan in 1779, 203–212.

Robertson's Folly (Mackinaw island), legend of, 164.

Library of Congress

Robinson, —, British pilot, 141.

Robinson, —, Green Bay settler, 388.

Robinson, Rix, fur trader, 374.

Robinson, Thomas, British naval officer, 185.

Rochechellay, seignior of. See Callières, James de.

Rocher, Amable du, Green Bay settler, 388.

Rock county, first settlement of, 418.

Rockdæschel, John, early Jefferson cobbler, 426.

Rockford (Ill.), 418, 495, 497.

Rock island, as a boundary point, 464, 495; in 1827, 359, 361, 365, 368; in Black Hawk war, 238, 357; treaty of 1832, 430.

Rock Island county (Ill.), claimed by Wisconsin, 498.

Rock river, 105–110, 126, 239, 241, 264, 269, 279, 313; Gautier on the, 102; Verville at, 128; Winnebagoes on, in Revolution, 113; war 1812–15, 319–323, 325–333, 337–341, 348–350; early settlements on, 418, 419, 424; in 1827, 359, 360, 365.

Rockwell, John A., in congress, 487.

Rocque, —, Sioux interpreter, 111, 134, 135, 142, 145–147, 156.

Rocky mountains, 252, 258.

Library of Congress

Rodd, —, antiquarian dealer, 64.

Rogan, Capt. James, early lumberman, 419.

Rogan, Patrick, Milwaukee and Watertown pioneer, 245.

Rogers, Maj. Robert, commander of rangers, 213–217.

Rolette, Joseph, fur trader, 355, 387, 396; in attack on Prairie du Chien, 261, 266, 287, 290; operations under American Fur Company 372–374, 376.

Rolette, Laurent, fur trader, 373.

Rollet, Marie, 20, 22.

Roman Catholics, missions in the Northwest, 23; at Sillery, 17; protected in Canada by England, 37, 39, 42, 44. See Jesuits and Recollects.

Ross, Alexander, far trader, 180.

Ross, Ossian M., Illinois pioneer, 366.

Rouen, France, 3.

Rouge river, 215.

Rountree, John H., lead miner, 397; in constitutional convention, 485.

Rouse, Lewis, fur trader, 386, 388.

Roussain, Eustache, 376.

Rowland, Thomas, United States marshal, 395, 397.

Library of Congress

Roy, Sergt. —, British soldier, 287.

Ruby, William, lead miner, 397.

Rum river, as a boundary point, 490, 492, 493.

Runner. See Palmaipottoke.

Russell, Col. —, U. S. A., 259.

Russell, James, early Milwaukee trader, 230.

Russians, operations against Bonaparte, 291.

Ryswick, treaty of, 20.

Sabache, Indian chief, 104.

Sabacherez, Menomonee chief, 101.

Sac Indians, 238, 251, 252; in the Revolution, 102, 105–111, 116. 125–129, 132, 134, 135, 142, 147, 152, 154–156, 159, 162, 163, 166–170, 207; in war of 1812–15, 264, 269, 270, 282, 283, 286–290, 292, 302, 311, 313, 315, 319, 320, 322–324, 326–329, 331, 334, 337–339, 341, 345–351; in Black Hawk war, 316, 357; mentioned by Vieau, 221, 226.

Sagard, Father, *Relation*, 11.

Sagenash, Indian name for English, 314.

Saginaw (Mich.), 162, 332.

Saginaw bay, 316.

Library of Congress

St. Anthony, falls of, Forsyth at, 316; early settlement at, 488, 492.

St. Anthony (post), Perrot at, 36.

St. Anthony (town), 506.

St. Charles district, 320, 358.

542

St. Charles bay. See Chequamegon bay.

St. Clair, Arthur, on division of Northwest Territory, 455 *Papers*, 455.

St. Clair county (Illinois Territory), 248.

St. Clair river, 320.

St. Croix county, represented by Holcomb, 488; represented by Brownell, 491.

St. Croix river, mentioned by Perrot, 36; Gautier on, 102, 103; as a boundary point, 468, 486, 490, 493.

St. Croix valley, attempts to annex it to Minnesota, 468, 486–494.

Ste. Genevieve (Mo.), 252, 334, 368.

St. Germain, —, Indian interpreter, 266.

St. Germain-en-Laye, France, 29.

St. James's, court of. 52.

St. Jean. See La Perche, Joseph.

Library of Congress

St. John river, 46, 47.

St. Johns (New Brunswick), 198.

St. John's island, 48.

St. Joseph county (Ind.), 115.

St. Josephs (Mich., town), 238.

St. Josephs river, 115, 178, 179, 209, 238, 240, 309, 332; fur trade on, 99, 376, 377; Linctot's movements toward, 105; in war of 1812–15, 322, 339, 340; as a boundary, 452. See Fort St. Josephs.

St. Lawrence, gulf of, 37, 41–43.

St. Lawrence river, 23, 24, 37, 41, 42, 47, 53, 54; Algonquins on, 9; ascended by Nicolet, 12; in Pontiac war, 214; in the Revolution, 182–184, 190; in war of 1812–15, 291.

St. Leger, Col. —, British officer in the Revolution, 175.

St. Louis, 248, 252, 258–260, 268, 269, 290, 295, 415; British-Indian attack on (1780), 109, 111, 148, 151–156, 161; Spaniards at, 114; war of 1812–15, 291, 316, 321–324, 327, 340, 348, 353; Forsyth at, 242; in 1827, 358, 363, 365, 367; early banking, 443; nickname for, 143; distance from Prairie du Chien, 248.

St. Louis river, as a boundary point, 468, 486, 489, 490, 493, 494. See Ohio river.

St. Lucia, 45.

Saint-Lusson, Sieur de, procès-verbal of 1671, 26; at Sault Ste. Marie, 26–29.

St. Mary's river, 47, 48, 464.

Library of Congress

St. Paul (Minn.), detached from Wisconsin Territory, 468, 490; railway interests of, 447.

St. Peter island, 45.

St. Peters river, 103, 104, 120, 124, 262, 271, 272, 363; Indian name for, 381; mentioned by Perrot, 36; in war of 1812–15, 350; fur trade on, 388.

Saint Pierre Eglise (canton), France, 18.

St. Pierre, —, fur trader, 210, 211.

Saint Romald, seignior of. See Callières, James de.

St. Sebastian, 291.

St. Vincent island, 47.

Saline river, 320, 363.

Salt creek (Mo.), 320.

Salt springs of Michigan. 474, 475.

Sanderson, James, Milwaukee pioneer, 245.

Sandstone, red, mentioned by Radisson, 83.

Sandy Creek (Indian village), 325–327, 338, 341, 353.

Sanguina, 129.

“Saratoga,” 453.

Saskatchewan river. 124.

Library of Congress

Sassassaoua Cotton Indians, 27.

Sauk Harbor, early harbor proposition, 481.

Saukville, 230, 231.

Sault Ste. Marie, 124; on Champlain's map, 10; visited by Nicolet, 12; Radisson at, 57. 69; St. Lusson at, 27, 28; in the Revolution, 134, 150, 153, 160, 170; Cadotte at, 142; in war of 1812–15, 266, 334; as a boundary point. 470.

Savigny, — de, friend of Nicolet, 17.

Saw-mills, early, 416–420, 433.

Sawyer, Judge —, lead smelter, 365.

Sawyer, Philetus, elected to congress, 381.

Saxton, —, early Racine trader, 228.

Scalping knives, 378.

Scalping parties, in the Revolution, 98, 132, 154, 156, 175.

Scalps, 87.

Schank, John, British naval commissioner, 193, 196, 197, 200–202.

Scharf, J. Thomas, *History of St. Louis*, 109, 143, 316.

Schindler, Thérèse, fur trader, 373, 375.

Library of Congress

Schoolcraft, Henry R., visits La Pointe, 372; map of Apostle islands, 372; *Expedition to Sources of Mississippi*, 372; *Indian Tribes*, 223.

Schoolcraft county (Mich.), 461.

Schools. See Education.

Schuyler, Peter, mayor of Albany (N. Y.), 97.

Scotland, banking in. 437, 440, 448.

Scott, John, Missouri congressman, 396.

Scott county (Ky.), 368.

Scott (town), Brown county, 389.

Scull, Gideon D., *Radisson's Voyages*, 64, 65, 78.

Seaton, Charles, Watertown pioneer, 418.

Seigar, a Pottawattomie, 320.

543

Selkirk settlement, 365.

Senahgewoin, Pottawattomie chief, 239.

Seneca Indians, in the Revolution, 175; in war of 1812–15, 332.

“Seneca,” British scow, 185, 189, 192, 199, 202.

Seymour, Horatio, New York capitalist, 413.

Library of Congress

Shagwamigan bay. See Chequamegon bay.

Shanty Town (Green Bay), 219, 226; mentioned by Martin, 385, 386, 388, 391.

Shawano, an Indian, 347.

Shawano (Shawnee and Shawnese) Indians, 33; in the Revolution, 114, 175, 180; in war of 1812–15, 332, 335, 342, 347.

Shawneetown (Ill.), 356, 357.

Shay rebellion (Mass.), 214.

Shea, John G., *Discovery of the Mississippi*, 1, 25.

Sheboygan, 231; Jacques Vieau, Sr., at, 221; war of 1812–15, 339; early harbor proposition, 481.

Sheboygan county, county-commissioner system in, 510.

Sheboygan river, 229, 394, 404.

Sherman family (Chicago), 229.

Shipboy, John, British naval builder, 185, 189, 202.

Shot, manufacture of, at Old Helena, 403.

Sibley, H. H., Minnesota pioneer, 492.

Side Looks. See Ashawaubomay.

Sigenauk, Indian chief at Milwaukee, 210, 239.

Library of Congress

Sillery, Canada, 17.

Silver creek, 331.

Sinclair, Patrick, lieut. governor of Mackinaw, 109, 114, 116, 140, 145, 151, 159, 162, 164, 170, 172–174, 207, 210; letters to Haldimand, 147, 149, 151, 153, 155, 157, 158; to Powell 163; to Brehm, 141, 144, 154; from Haldimand, 160, 161; from Brehm, 149; sketch, 141.

Sinnawchewon. See Petchaho.

Sinsinawa mound, 398.

Sioux Indians, 11, 14, 33, 35, 36, 252; visited by Nicolet, 14; heard of by Radisson, 66, 68–72; visited by Radisson, 67, 82, 83, 85, 92; in the Revolution, 102–107, 109–111, 115–117, 132, 134, 135, 139, 142, 144, 145, 147, 148, 151, 155, 156, 164, 166–170; in war of 1812–15, 255, 261–263, 265, 267, 269, 274, 276, 286, 290, 319, 322, 324; in Red Bird war, 249, 360, 361.

Sirchihome, Sac warrior, 108.

Siskomsin, Sac chief, 105–108.

Sissitons. See Sioux.

Skunk Grove, Racine county, early trading post at, 233, 234.

Slaughter, Col. William B., 402.

Slavery, aristocratic effect of, 503; in Wisconsin, 393.

Sleeping Bear point, 205.

Library of Congress

Sloane, Sir Hans, antiquarian collector, 64.

Small-pox, among Indians, 170, 225, 387.

Smith, Daniel, lumberman, 232.

Smith, Elizabeth. See Martin, Elizabeth S.

Smith, George, early banker, 436–438, 442.

Smith, H. H., lumberman, 232.

Smith, Judge Melancthon, Sr., anti-federalist leader, 381, 382.

Smith, Col. Melancthon, Jr., U. S. A., 381.

Snow-shoes, 79, 82, 95.

Snyder, Van Vechten and Co.'s *Map of Manitowoc County*, 221.

Soleil, an Indian, 297.

Soloman, —, fur trader, 99.

Songeskiton Indians, 36.

South, political influences of the, on Wisconsin local government, 502–511.

South Bend (Ind.), 115, 178, 179.

South Carolina (state), 471.

South Carolina island, 372.

Library of Congress

South island (Lake of the Desert), 476, 484, 485.

Southport. See Kenosha.

South sea, 28.

Southwest Fur Company, 375.

Spain, preliminary articles of peace with England and France, 36; definitive treaty, 39.

Spaniards, heard of by Radisson, 70, 73, 74; early dealings with Indians, 33; land grant at McGregor (Iowa), 249; on the Mississippi in the Revolution, 114, 143–146, 149, 151, 152, 154–156, 160; capture of Fort St. Josephs, 163; in war of 1812–15, 282, 292, 313, 335, 349; influence on Northwestern Indians, 110.

Spencer, David E., “Local Government in Wisconsin,” 502.

Sparks, Jared, *Life and Writings of Washington*, 451; *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 163.

Spoon river, 366.

Springfield (Ill.), 365, 366.

Spring Green, 403.

Squatters, prohibited under King George's proclamation, 51.

Stags, 79, 82, 85, 86.

Stambaugh, Col. Samuel C., Indian agent at Green Bay, 392; his treaty, 220; in Black Hawk war, 393.

Standing Earth. See Ahkeenebéway.

Library of Congress

Stark, Capt. —, in Rogers's rangers, 213, 216.

544

Stark, John, Galena pioneer, 497.

Starr, Elisha, Milwaukee pioneer, 245.

State rights doctrine in Wisconsin, 481–483, 500, 501.

Steamboats, on upper Mississippi (1848), 492.

Steele, Franklin, Minnesota pioneer, 492.

Stephenson county (Ill.), claimed by Wisconsin, 497, 499.

Stevens Point, 219.

Stillwater (Minn.), early settlement at, 488.

Stinkards, nation of. See Winnebagoes.

Story, Albert S., river-improvement commissioner, 410.

Street, Gen. Joseph M., Indian agent at Prairie du Chien, 248, 249; letters to Edwards, 356, 362; sketch, 356, 357.

Street, Thomas, son of Joseph M., 364.

Strong, Moses M., in territorial council, 479; defends Vineyard, 408; in constitutional convention, 489; *History of Wisconsin Territory*, 408.

Stuntz, George R., surveys northwestern boundary of Wisconsin, 493, 494.

Library of Congress

Suffrage question, in constitutional convention, 408, 409.

Sugar river, 401.

Suiseban, an Indian chief, 168.

Sullivan, John, early surveyor, 359, 495.

Sullivan, Gen. John, Indian expedition, 214.

Sulte, Benjamin, antiquarian, 20, 22; on Nicolet, 4; in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 2; *Melanges d'Histoire et de Littérature*, 1, 11, 15, 16, 25; *Interprètes du temps de Champlain*, 3, 19; *L'Opinion Publique*, 25; *Chronique Trifluvienne*, 25.

Summit prairie, Waukesha county, 418.

"Superior," proposed state of, 489, 491, 492.

Surveys, 429, 430, 456; under King George's proclamation, 50; of Wisconsin-Michigan boundaries, 475–479, 484, 485; of Wisconsin-Minnesota boundaries, 493, 494; of Wisconsin-Illinois boundaries. 495; United States coast and geodetic, 501. See "Boundaries of Wisconsin."

Susell. See Tete de Chien.

Susquehanna river, 214.

Sweden, operations against Napoleon, 291.

Switzerland, death place of Haldimand, 115.

"Sylvania," 453.

Library of Congress

Talcott, Capt. A., early surveyor, 456, 458, 494, 495.

Talon, —, intendant of New France, 26.

Tampico river, 34.

Tank, Otto, with Fox and Wisconsin Improvement Company, 412.

Tank, Mrs. Otto, gifts to the Society, 383.

Tank library, 383.

Tartars, confused with the Sioux, 11.

Taverns, at Aztalan, 422; Blue Mounds, 397, 398; Dodgeville, 401; Havana (Ill.), 366; Jefferson, 425; Mackinaw (summer hotel), 370; Martinsburgh (N. Y.), 380; Milwaukee (Cottage inn), 219; Milwaukee (Triangle), 245; Port Washington, 231; Watertown, 419; Waukesha, 418.

Taxes, under Quebec act, 59; under Jefferson's plan, 62; local assessment in Wisconsin, 508, 510; in Milwaukee in 1837, 231.

Taychoperah, Winnebago name for Four Lakes, 401.

Taylor, Maj. Zachary, in war 1812–15, 330.

Tecumseh, 261, 319, 346, 347.

Tennessee, Chickasaws in, 33.

Tennessee island, 372.

Tennessee river, 33, 113.

Library of Congress

Tenney, Horace A., *Fathers of Wisconsin*, 380, 409.

Terre, 103.

Terre Haute (Ind.), 243.

Teskinawa, Sac chief, 111.

Tete de Chien, Winnebago chief, 260, 261, 263.

Texas island, 372.

Thames river, 319, 325, 327, 328. 346.

Thibeau, Mrs. See Vieau, Madeleine.

Thierry, —, 285, 287.

Thomas, Lieut. Martin, lead-mine agent, 358, 360.

Thompson, David, astronomer, 125.

Thompson, I., 314.

Thompson, Zachariah, British naval officer, 185, 186, 189, 190, 193.

Thorne, William, British naval officer, 200.

Three Rivers, Canada, 12, 18, 28, 65, 67; Nicolet at, 15–17, 20: diocese of, 4.

Thurman, Alien G., in house of representatives, 487.

Thwaites, Reuben G., “Sketch of Morgan L. Martin,” 380; “Boundaries of Wisconsin,” 451; obtains “Narrative of Andrew J. Vieau. Sr.,” 218; obtains “Statement of George

Library of Congress

P. Delaplaine," 243; obtains "Narrative of Morgan L. Martin," 385; edits "American Fur Company's Invoices," 370; *Historical Sketch of Public Schools of Madison*, 422.

545

Tiffany, George O., Milwaukee pioneer, 245.

"Tiger," fur-trade vessel, 377.

Tisch, Henry, cited, 221.

Tobago island, 47.

Toledo (Ohio), boundary dispute over, 457–460.

Tomah (Thomas), Winnebago chief, 274, 284, 285, 287–289, 311, 315.

Tonnerre Noir (Black Thunder), Sioux chief, 286.

Tonty, Henri de, at Kapaha, 31; at Arkansas, 32; with La Salle, 35.

Torigny, France, 19, 20.

Torture of prisoners, by Indians, 16.

Touppine, De la, with St. Lusson, 29.

Town-government system, in Wisconsin, 506–511.

Town-meetings, in New England, 502–505.

Township organization, in Jefferson county, 421.

Trails, early Indian, in Wisconsin, 229, 280; in Jefferson county, 419.

Library of Congress

"Treasury Board," British naval vessel, 197.

Treaties, Westphalia (1648), Madrid (1667 and 1750), Nimeguen (1678–79), Ryswick (1697), Utrecht (1713), Baden (1714), Hague alliance (1717), London alliance (1718), Vienna (1738), Aix la Chapelle (1748), Spain and Portugal (1668, 1715, 1761), and France and Portugal (1713), 40; Preliminary articles (1762), 36; Definitive (1763), 39, 53, 453; Provisional articles (1782), 60; Definitive (1783), 60, 114. 453, 487; Prairie du Chien (1783), 166; Greenville, Ohio (1795), 880. 456; St. Louis (1804), 360; United States and Great Britain (1814), 259, 260, 314, 315, 338–341; Portage des Sioux (1815), 354; St. Louis (1816), 358–360, 865, 495; Prairie du Chien (1825), 249, 858–360; Rock Island (1839), 130, 481; Chicago (1833), 387; Prairie du Chien (1827), 249; Ashburton (1842), 469.

Trempealeau mountain, as a boundary point, 488, 489, 491.

Turkey river, 151, 365.

Turquois, mentioned by Radisson, 86.

Turtle, The, war chief, 127.

Tuscarora, G. R. Clark at, 189.

Tushet,—,British naval commander, 185.

Twiggs, Maj. David E., character of, 399.

Twin Rivers. See Two Rivers (Wis.).

Twiss, William, British naval officer, 193, 195, 196.

Two Creeks (Wis.), 221.

Library of Congress

Two Rivers (Lower Canada), 164.

Two Rivers (Wis.), 211, 232, 233.

Tyler, Royal, cited, 420.

Union, disruption of the, foreshadowed in 1818, 462.

United States, department of state, 453, 456; department of war, orders surveys in Wisconsin, 410; department of war appraises Fox-Wisconsin improvement, 413.

Upham, D. A. J., in territorial legislature, 499.

Urville, Dumont d', 18.

Utica (N. Y.), 417.

Utrecht, treaty of, 40, 41.

Vale, George S., Milwaukee tavern-keeper 245.

Varnier, Lord, 26.

Vaudreuil, Chevalier de la, governor of New France, 184.

Veau, Jean. See Vieau, Jacques, Sr.

Veréndrye, Varennes de la, explores Grand Portage, 125.

Vermillion river, 340.

Vermont, 416, 417, 420.

Vermont island, 372.

Library of Congress

Verrier, vicar general of Canada, 22.

Verville, Charles Gautier de, 98, 113, 117, 121, 122, 129, 132, 135; journal of visit to the Mississippi, 100–111; at Green Bay, 120, 125, 128; letter to De Peyster, 125; at Prairie du Chien, 128, 134; burns Fort Peoria, 187, 143; on the sloop “Felicity,” 141, 142; letter from Cadott, 170; sketch, 100.

Verville, Claude Germain Gautier de, father of Charles Gautier, 100.

“Victory,” British schooner, 199.

Vieau, Amable, 219, 220, 223.

Vieau, Andrew J., 248, 244; “Narrative,” 218; birth, 219, 225; early schooling, 225, 226; clerks for Juneau, 226, 228, 229; buys one Juneau, 229; fur-trading operations, 229–233; letters, 281, 232; cited, 219, 222, 231, 232, 246.

Vieau, Charles, 219, 223.

Vieau, Jacques, Sr., parentage, 218, 219; early life, 218, 219; marriage, 219; in service of Northwest Fur Company, 220; at Kewaunee, 220; at Sheboygan, 221; at Manitowoc, 221; at Milwaukee, 221. 225, 246; life at the post, 223–225; at Portage, 223; in war of 1812–15, 224, 273, 277, 283, 284, 296, 297, 306; 35

546

retirement, 225; death, 219; mentioned by Martin, 386, 387, 404–406.

Vieau, Jacques, Jr., 219, 220, 233, 234, 246, 404–405.

Vieau, Joseph, 220, 223.

Vieau, Josette, wife of Solomon Juneau, 219, 224.

Library of Congress

Vieau, Louis, 219, 223, 233, 234.

Vieau, Madeline, 219, 220.

Vieau, Mary, 220.

Vieau, Nicholas, 220, 223, 226.

Vieau, Paul, 219, 220.

Vieau, Peter, 220, 223, 226.

“Vigilant,” British schooner, 198.

Village des Pins, 107.

Village organization in Wisconsin, 505, 506.

Villeneuve, Marie Louise Thérèse, mother of Charles Gautier, 100.

Vimont, Father, *Relation*, 15, 24.

Vimotolaque, Fox chief. 166.

Vincennes (Ind.), 242, 320, 340; Clark at, 97, 113, 133, 136, 144, 152, 182, 258; Gibault's mission to, 123; Hamilton at, 125, 126, 128; in war of 1812–15, 331, 340; as a boundary point, 354, 355, 460.

Vineyard, James R., kills Arndt, 407, 408.

Vinton, Samuel F., in congress, 487, 488.

Library of Congress

Virginia, 98, 113, 258: operations in, during the Revolution, 113, 114, 129, 130, 131, 175. 176; her land cession, 454, 459, 47: local government in, 502–504, 509: *Calendar of State Papers*, 106, 133.

Virginia island, 372.

“Virginians.” nickname for Americans, 127, 128.

Vliet, Garret, surveyor, 243.

Voyageurs, 141, 286, 393, 395. See “Nicolet, Jean.”

Vreteneque, Fox chief, 111.

Wabash (region), captured by G. R. Clark, 98.

Wabash river, 123; Shawanoes on the, 33; in the Revolution. 113, 151, 157, 178; in the war of 1812–15, 320, 340, 346: fur trade on, 376; as a boundary point, 454, 460, 495.

Wabasha, Sioux chief, in the Revolution, 111, 132, 134, 138, 145–147, 151, 156, 157, 161, 166, 169, in the war of 1812–15, 263, 290; in 1827, 360.

Wabashaw point, 203, 211, 212.

“Waggon,” British sloop, 198.

Wahbenukqua (Morning Star), Menomonee ma den, tradition relative to, 236, 237.

Wahmeteegoosh (Little Frenchman), Chippewa chief, 230.

Walker, George H., Milwaukee pioneer, 245.

Walker's point (Milwaukee), 226–228, 417.

Library of Congress

Wallace, William H., fur trader, 376.

Walton, Nathaniel, 230.

Wampun, 102, 103, 105, 107–109, 116, 120, 123, 127, 129, 133, 142, 149, 159, 169, 182–183, 207, 209, 210, 290, 349, 361, 379.

Wanaquibé, Pottawattomie chief, 180.

Wapello, Sac chief, 357.

Wapello county (Iowa), 357.

Ward,—, lumberman, 232.

Ward, Lindsey, early Milwaukee storekeeper, 245.

Warner, Goodrich, fur trader, 376.

Warren, Hooper, letter on Illinois-Wisconsin boundary dispute, 465, 497.

Warren, Truman A., fur trader, 376.

Wars, French and Indian, 213; Pontiac, 213–217: Revolution, 97–212, 247, 258, 329; of 1812–15, 214, 224, 242 254–255, 372, 458; Red Bird. 24,. 358, 360–362, 366–368, 395–397, 399; with Mexico, 329; Black Hawk, 226, 238, 316, 357, 365, 403, 426, 427; Rebellion, 381, 430, 445.

“Warrick,” British naval vessel, 197.

Washburne, E. B., *Edwards Papers*, 247, 316, 318, 356, 465.

Washington, George, 336; plan for Northwestern states. 451, 452.

Library of Congress

Washington county (Minn.), 490.

Washington county (Wis.), county-commissioner system in, 507, 510; early settlement in, 231.

Washington (D. C.), 295, 356, 357, 361, 363, 364, 369, 391, 392, 430, 453, 456, 493.

Washington island, 394.

“Washington.” early vessel on upper lakes, 394.

“Washington” proposed state of, 453.

Washington (town). See Port Washington.

Wasson, —, British soldier, 281.

Waterloo (town), 421.

Water-powers, in Jefferson county, 416–420.

Watertown. 230; founded. 418–420.

Watertown and Horicon railway, 447.

Waukesha (village), 230, 404, 418.

Waukesha county, 231; early fur trade in, 219, 230.

Waukesha road, 230.

Wawzéekootee (He That Shoots in the Pine Tops), a Sioux, 360.

Webster, Daniel, 448.

Library of Congress

547

Webster. J. D.. early surveyor, 430.

Wechemquae, an Indian, 277.

Weeks. —, Milwaukee pioneer, 245. “Welcome,” British sloop, 120–122, 159, 187, 189, 199.

Wellington, Duke of, 291.

Wells, Daniel, 245; befriends George Smith, 436–438.

Wesacotasepe river. See Brulé river.

West, Important State Papers relative to the, 26.

West Florida (province), 46–52.

West Indies, 46, 141, 184.

Western Historical Company, *History of Columbia County*, 404, 415; *Crawford County*, 249, 361; *Dane County*, 397; *Grant County*, 397; *Iowa County*, 403; *Jefferson County*, 418, 420, 423, 431; *Milwaukee County*, 218, 220, 222, 405; *Racine and Kenosha Counties*, 233; *Washington and Ozaukee Counties*, 231; *Waukesha County*, 231, 418, 419.

Western Reserve Historical Society, 370.

Western Territory. See Northwest Territory.

Western World, 356.

Wheeler, A. C., *Chronicles of Milwaukee*, 222.

Library of Congress

Whig party, 356, 380.

Whistler, Maj. William, Red Bird surrenders to, 367.

Whitcomb, James, commissioner of general land office, 475.

White (Blanche) river, 207.

White Crow, Winnebago chief, village of, 401.

White Earth river, as a boundary point, 462, 463, 465, 486.

White Hall (Vt.). 417.

Whiteside, W. B., Illinois pioneer, 324.

Whitesides county (Ill.), claimed by Wisconsin, 498.

Whitewater, 427.

Whitney, Daniel, fur trader, 386–388; shot-maker, 403, 404.

Whiton, Edward V., in territorial council 479; characterized by Martin, 408, 409.

Wickham, Samuel, British midshipman, 197.

Wild-cat currency, 436, 439, 440.

Wild-cats, 79.

Wilkinson, Gen. James, in war of 1812–15, 291.

Williams, Eleazer, Episcopalian missionary, 390.

Library of Congress

Williams, John M., lead miner, 397.

Williamsburg (Va.), 98.

Willing, Capt. James, conquest of Natchez, 137.

Wilmot,—, fur trader, 272.

Winchester, Gen. James, defeat of, 331.

“Windate,” British naval vessel, 200.

Winnebago county (Ill.), claimed by Wisconsin, 497.

Winnebago county (Wis.), 417.

Winnebago Indians, 100; early reports concerning, 11, 24; early names for, 13, 69; mentioned in *Jesuit Relations*, 1; visited by Nicolet, 13–15; in the Revolution, 102–105, 109–111, 113, 116, 125–127, 132, 134, 147, 154–157, 164, 166–170; mentioned by Le Clair, 241; in lead mines, 397–399; mentioned by Martin, 400, 401; in Red Bird war, 249; mentioned by Vieau, 221, 226, 395–397; on Doty's island, 395; in war of 1812–15, 251, 255, 260–263, 265, 267–270, 278, 286, 294, 300, 303, 309, 312, 313, 319, 321, 323, 324, 327, 330, 333, 334, 337–342, 347, 353, 354; in 1827, 357–361, 365, 367, 369; in Black Hawk war, 427; in Jefferson county, 430; attempted removal of, 430, 431; kill La Framboise, 373.

Winnebago rapids, 109, 278, 895.

Winnipeg river, 124.

Winona (Minn.), 132.

Library of Congress

Winsor, Justin, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, 98, 114, 136, 163.

Wisconsin (Territory and state), early knowledge of, 24; Nicolet's discovery of, 1, 2; early fur-traders, 371–379; Black Hawk war, 426, 427; early attempts to erect the Territory, 463–465; Territory erected, 417. 465, 466, 506; territorial legislature, 380, 381, 407, 408, 472, 506, 507; admitted to the Union, 468; state legislature, 410, 411, 507; constitutional conventions, 380, 381, 408, 409, 468, 485, 488–492, 500, 501; early spellings of Wisconsin, 464, 467, 471, 478, 479; extent of, in 1836, 466; in 1838, 407, 468; in 1848, 468; boundary dispute with Michigan, 463–485; with Minnesota, 486–494; with Illinois, 462, 465, 468, 494–501; with Missouri, 468, 469; bank question, in the legislature, 436, 437, 443, 444; early currency, 439, 440; state loans, 444, 435; first census, 432; railway interests, 446–450; local government in, 504; its rapid growth, 483, 441, 444; Milwaukee and Rock river canal, 449; state university hill, 401.

Wisconsin, State Historical Society of, archives of, 393; Martin's services, 381–383; Mrs. Tank's gifts, 383; Mitchell's services, 548 446; *Collections* , 2, 19, 25, 65, 97, 101, 130, 446, Collections, 2, 19, 25, 65, 97, 101, 130, 132, 142, 151, 164, 170, 174, 218, 219, 224, 278–281, 286, 316, 322, 328, 350, 358, 360, 361, 364, 367, 372, 375, 382, 387, 388, 390, 391, 393, 399, 401, 403, 427, 465. 466, 472, 476, 478.

Wisconsin City. See Janesville, 418. Wisconsin Heights, battle of, 427.

Wisconsin Journal of Education , 493.

Wisconsin river, 2, 36, 148, 248, 254, 262, 279, 373, 399, 403, 404, 430; heard of by Nicolet, 14, 15; probably explored by Radisson, 67: G. R. Clark's agents on, 113: Gaulier on, 109, 120, 126; fur trade on, 388: early canoe voyages on, 395, 395, 399, 402: early map of, 396, 397; in war of 1812–15, 321; in 1827, 359–361; Black Hawk's defeat, 427; improvement of, 403, 409–415; headwaters of, 476.

Library of Congress

Wistweaw (Blacksmith), a Menomonee, 399, 400.

Wolf Indians, 335.

Wolf river, fur trade on, 388.

Women in the fur trade, 373–375.

Women's rights. *See* Suffrage.

Woodbridge, William, United States senator, 381.

Woodpecker island, 372.

“Wyandall,” British sloop, 199.

Wyandott Indians, 175, 180; in war of 1812–15, 322, 331, 332.

“Wyandott,” British gunboat, 186, 189.

Wyman, Sibyl, wife of Thompson Maxwell, 213.

Yancton uniform, 367.

Yanktons. *See* Sioux.

Yeverden, Switzerland, 115.

York, Duke of, 258.

York factory, (Hudson's bay), 261.

You, Pierre, with La Salle, 32, 35.

Library of Congress

Young, George L. Indian agent in Kansas, 219.